تاریخ فرشتہ

History of the Rise of the Mohamedan Power in India

Till the Year A.D. 1612

Translated from the Original Persian of

MOHAMED KASIM FERISHTA

Vol. I

JOHN BRIGGS
M.R.A.S.

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF
MAHOMED KASIM FERISHTA

by

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY

TO WHICH IS ADDED
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQEST
BY THE KINGS OF HYDRABAD
OF THOSE PARTS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCES DENOMINATED
THE CEDED DISTRICTS AND NORTHERN CIRCARS

WITH COPIOUS NOTES
In Four Volumes (Bound in Two)

VOL. I

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Mahomed Kasim Hindoo Shah, surnamed Ferishta, a Persian historian, was born at Astrabad on the borders of Caspian Sea, in *c.* 1570 A.D.* He came to Bijapur in 1589 and spent the remainder of his life under the immediate protection of the Shah Ibrahim Adil II., who appointed him to write a History of India. He died at Bijapur in about 1611 A.D.† In the introduction of his work he gave a summary of the history of India prior to the time of the Mahomedan conquest, and also of the Arab conquests of the Indian border lands. Ferishta is reputed as one of the most trustworthy of the Oriental historians. His work has come to be regarded as a classic and still maintains a high place as an authority. So early as 1768-72 Alexander Dow translated portions of it and it appeared in three volumes under the name *The History of Indostan*. This was followed in 1794 by the *History of the Dekkan* in two volumes, translated by Jonathan Scott. But these were fragmentary renderings. Sir James Mackintosh, then President of the Literary Society of Bombay, urged Colonel John Briggs of the Madras Army to translate the portion of Ferishta's history which had not yet been touched upon by Europeans. After twenty years of labour Briggs published in 1829 the complete translation of Ferishta's history under the name *History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* in four volumes. Briggs added, besides copious notes, "an account of the conquest by the Kings of Hyderabad, of those parts of the Madras Provinces denominated the Ceded Districts and Northern Circars."

R. Cambray & Co. published a reprint of this great work in 1908 from Calcutta and it is now out of print for many years. The present edition of this authentic record of the Mahomedan period of Indian History is being reprinted and we hope that our endeavour will be appreciated by the students of Indian History and Research Scholars.

* According to M. Jules Mohl (*Journal des Savants*, 1840, p. 213), he was born in A.D. 1550.

† Mohl supposed that he survived as late as A.D. 1623.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

THE causes which led to the publication of this work require some explanation, both because portions of Ferishta have already appeared in English, and because the circumstances which gave rise to the present translation did not originate in a desire to supersede the former versions. Several years ago Sir James Mackintosh, then President of the Literary Society of Bombay, with that zeal for the diffusion of knowledge which has ever marked his character, urged me to translate the portion of Ferishta's history which had not yet been touched upon by Europeans. I promised to do so if, on commencing the task, I found myself equal to it; and I trust when this work meets his eye he will think that I have fairly fulfilled my engagement.

My professional duties, for some time, prevented my attending to his suggestion, though it was not lost upon me; for in less than one year a considerable part of one of the minor histories was translated; and in two more the task assigned me was completed. During this interval I had compared several authors contemporary with Ferishta, both in the languages of Asia and of Europe, and I then first conceived the idea of writing a complete work on the Mahomedan Power in India, compiled from the various materials to which I might hereafter obtain access. Having resolved to take Ferishta as my basis, I found it requisite to study him very closely; but on examining Colonel Dow's translation of the History of the Kings of Dehly, I found it so difficult to follow the narrative, owing to the confusion in the proper names of persons and of places, that I had to consult the original throughout, and my notes and alterations alone made nearly a volume. In these observations, it is by no means my wish to detract from the merit justly due to Colonel Dow. It was impossible that he should correct the geographical errors which existed, perhaps, even in his original manuscript, when there were no maps of the country; and it was difficult for him to attain sufficient proficiency in the language of the text to give full force to the narrative of the author at a period when no elementary works in Persian had yet been published. But to Colonel Dow the world is much indebted for bringing even a portion of Ferishta to light, and for exciting in the mind of every person who reads

his translation a wish to become better acquainted with the author. Upon the whole, therefore, great praise is due to Colonel Dow, and his name will be handed down to posterity with respect, as one of the earliest and most indefatigable of our Oriental scholars. Instead of confining himself, however to mere translation, he has filled his work with his own observations, which have been so embodied in the text, that Gibbon declares it impossible to distinguish the translator from the original author; and which in some cases so plainly indicated the hand of a modern European writer, that Dr. Johnson and Mr. Burke were justified in doubting it to be the work of a Mahomedan of the sixteenth century, till Mr. Orme procured part of Ferishta's history to be translated in London, and compared it with Colonel Dow's. Having proceeded thus far in my labours, I resolved to examine the translation made by Dr. Jonathan Scott of the History of the Kings of Koolburga, Beejapoor, and Ahmudnuggur. This comparison soon convinced me how much that accomplished Orientalist had surpassed all former translators; and I found little to alter, with the exception of a few proper names, which a more thorough acquaintance with the geography and language of the Deccan enabled me to correct. Dr. Scott's copy of Ferishta appears, however, to have been occasionally defective; though had he translated the whole instead of a small portion of it, the present attempt might have been unnecessary. Before the end of the year 1815 I had thus completed the translation of the whole work, with copious notes. I had besides collated a great part of an original manuscript in my possession, with several other copies, carefully examining it with maps; and I also continued to pursue with ardour my labours for procuring materials for an original history. The ready access afforded by Mr. Russell the resident at Hydrabad, by Mr. Elphinstone the resident at Poona, and by Mr. Wm. Erskine of Bombay, to their European and Oriental libraries, as well as to those of all the learned natives with whom they had any acquaintance or influence, entitles them to my grateful thanks. My researches had enabled me to fill eleven folio volumes of manuscript, party translations, and party notes, for my general history, which was in a state of forwardness, when an event occurred that led to the publication of this translation alone.

The war which broke out in India in 1817 rendered it necessary for me to accompany the army that marched to Malwa. I

left my library and manuscripts at Poona, with the exception of the translation of Ferishtra, which had been sent to Mr. William Erskine at Bombay. On the 5th of November, 1817, the Peshwa attacked the Poona residency, driving before his troops the members of the resident's establishment, among whom were several English ladies and their children; and after sacking the place, the troops set fire to the houses, and burned them with their contents. My own family had the good fortune to escape with their lives; but the whole of my property of every description, including my library, together with my manuscripts, the labour of so many years, was lost or destroyed. After an absence of fifteen months, I revisited Poona at the end of the war, for a few days only, and I then purchased two of my English manuscripts, which are all that I was ever able to obtain. I also procured one copy of Ferishta in Persian, which contained several valuable annotations and corrections. This copy has since been carefully collated with several others, and a new and correct edition was left by me at Bombay in 1827, in order to be printed. My intention of compiling the Mahomedan history is, therefore, now at an end; but as I was in possession of a correct translation of Ferishta from a very good copy of the original, I felt that it contained sufficiently interesting matter to admit of a separate publication; and thus I offer it to the world, although it is, in truth, only a small part of a mass of historical matter that can never be recovered.

After a rapid and imperfect account of Hindoo history previously to the Mahomedan invasion, Ferishta gives a sketch of the conquests of the early Arabians in Persia, their progress into Chorasmia, and their settlements in the north-eastern parts of Iran. The detailed portion of his history commences in the year 977, with the origin of the dynasty of Ghizny. It was then the Mahomedans first came in contact with the Hindoos; but no permanent establishment east of the Indus took place for half a century, and shortly after the Indians, with the exception of those in the Punjab, shook off the Mahomedan yoke. In the year 1191 they again became subject to the attacks of the Moslems, who in 1206 founed the kingdom of Dehly. Nearly a century elapsed in rendering this power stable, when in 1294 the first Mahomedan soldier ventured to cross the Nurbudda, and a small army invaded the Deccan. At this period the Dehly kingdom had attained its zenith, under the rule of its first conquerors; and not only successfully resisted

all the efforts of Chungiz Khan to subdue it, but even afforded an honourable retreat to thirteen kings of Eastern Asia, which had been expelled from their thrones. But Dehly was doomed to witness a downfall more sudden than its elevation.

Seven dynasties had passed away in three centuries; and the last had sunk to a low ebb when Tamerlane invaded India in the year 1400. This warlike chief, however, found so little to induce him to retain the conquest, that after having sacked the country, and committed unheard-of cruelties and ravages, he abandoned it, without leaving one soldier behind to entitle him to consider it as part of his vast dominions. During the ensuing century three more dynasties reigned in Dehly; and the imbecility of the house of Lody enabled Babur at the head of twelve thousand men to subdue the empire in 1526, and to establish the house of the Great Mogul, a member of which family still occupies the shadow of a throne, that once belonged to one of the most powerful monarchies in the universe.

Previously to the conquest by Babur, several Mahomedan governors of provinces had raised themselves into independent kingdoms, which they continued to rule till a few years before Ferishta wrote his work in 1612. Nearly about that period most of them had become gradually subjugated by Akbur to the parent empire; and his descendant Aurungzeeb could make it his boast, that in his reign only one Mahomedan sovereign issued his mandates throughout all India.

Besides the Dehly history, therefore, the author has had occasion to detail the events occurring throughout thirteen independent kingdoms, which existed for the greater portion of two centuries; in so doing he has given their origin, the rise and extent of their power, their internal administration and policy, and, lastly, the dissolution of all those whose end he lived to witness.

Such is the outline of Ferishta's labours. When we reflect on the extensive regions over which the historian passes; the numerous races of Arabs, Persians, Toorks, and Afghans, with their peculiarities of language, religion, and tribes; when to these are added the innumerable subdivisions of the Hindoo races, with their several tongues, habits, and customs, it will be acknowledged that it is no easy task to enter fully into the details, and to become familiar with the several new proper names which occur in every page. If to this be added the difficulty of tracing the movements

of numerous armies of many different kingdoms, marching and countermarching over a region as extensive as Europe, we shall not be surprised to find errors in the various copies of Ferishta which at present exist.

It could not be expected that in the absence of the art of printing such a work should be correctly transmitted for any length of time. The mere copyist is a person whose principal duty is to write a fair hand; to acquire which forms the whole business of his life. The method and precision that are necessary in this occupation are for the most part obtained by sedentary habits. The transcriber despairs of becoming a scholar, and his avocation prevents his being a traveller; yet who but a traveller and a scholar, in countries where maps are unknown, can be acquainted with the various proper names of persons and tribes pervading a work of this nature, or with the correct titles and positions of places which occur throughout?

Of all the languages in the world, the Persian character is, perhaps, the most difficult to decipher with accuracy, and the most liable to orthographical errors. In writing it, the diacritical points, by which alone any thing like certainty is attainable, are frequently omitted; and in an alphabet, where a dot above a letter is negative, and one below the same letter is positive, who shall venture to decide, in an obscure passage, which is correct? Or how is it possible that a person unacquainted with the true orthography of proper names can render a faithful transcript of a carelessly written original? These obstacles occur in every page of Ferishta; and unlike a work of fancy or taste, the reader of history is rigidly bound to adhere to the letter of the text. It would be useless and unprofitable to enumerate all the difficulties that arise in attempting to collate a work of this nature, for I am persuaded that such a task can only be properly accomplished by some public institution. Fortunately the person who was my first assistant in 1812 remained with me till I left India in 1827, and his whole life had been devoted to the study of Indian history. At my request, he travelled for several years successively throughout the Deccan, and made copies of every Persian inscription on stone to be found in all the towns of note in that country. These inscriptions have been chiefly useful in determining dates, whether of persons deceased or of buildings erected; and the result of his labours enabled me to add marginal notes to the original. In

addition, a glossary of obsolete words found in Ferishta has been formed, and appended to the Persian text. The individual to whom I feel myself bound to say I owe so much is Meer Kheirat Ally Khan, commonly called Mooshtak, a person of good family in Akburabad (Agra), and who is at present the Persian secretary, or moonshy, at the residency at Satara.

It has been observed by Dr. Spelman, in his translation of Xenophon, "that there is not a more difficult, a more discouraging, (but he adds) or a more useful task than that of a translator;" and Pope, in the preface to his Iliad, remarks, "that there have not been more men misled in former times by a servile, dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical, insolent hope of raising and improving their author." It has been my wish to avoid both these errors by giving Ferishta to the public in the very words he would probably have used, had he, as a native of the East, written in English.

I have ventured to make no alterations, but have endeavoured to render obscure passages clear, by explanatory notes. In some places I have omitted the poetry that occasionally intervenes, as it seems rather to clog than elucidate the subject; and the chapter on the Saints, which has no relation to the history, has been altogether excluded. In the arrangement of the work I have followed the order of the original, which appears to have been modelled with great good sense and correct taste, and it seems to me preferable to that adopted in the History of modern Europe by Russell. Had Ferishta preserved in mere chronological succession the events of the several different monarchies, and represented them in the order they occurred, it would have been extremely difficult to follow the thread of the entire history. He has, therefore, given the account of every kingdom separately, and has a chapter for each complete in itself. By way of convenience to those who peruse the translation, I have affixed at the beginning of every dynasty a short genealogical table of each royal family, which makes it easy for the reader to refresh his memory, at any period of the history, with the relation the several princes of the blood bear to one another. This idea suggested itself to me many years ago in studying the wars of the houses of York and Lancaster, and I have since usually adopted the plan in the perusal of other histories. In addition to this aid, a chronological synop-

sis of the events which were simultaneously occurring in Europe and in India is also appended.

In the third volume, instead of a recapitulation of the events of Europe, I have added an abstract of the Portuguese annals in Asia, from Faria-é-Souza, as belonging to the period and the histories of the knigdoms with which the Europeans came in contact in the sixteenth century. To prevent, as much as possible, the confusion which would otherwise have occurred, from princes bearing the same name being engaged in war with each other (as is sometimes the case even in European history), I have been careful to preserve to each family some distinguishing appellation. Thus, for instance, in the first volume, the kings of Ghizny bear the title of Sooltan, which was bestowed on Mahmood the Great by the Caliph of Bagdad. The several other dynasties or families of Ghoory, Eibuk, Altmish, Bulbun, Khiljy, Toghluk, Syud, and Lody, have their fixed designation, and cannot well be confounded. In the second volume, the title of Padshah, assumed by Babur, belongs exclusively to the whole race of the Great Mogul. The intermediate Afghan family has its peculiar name of Soor, while the first dynasty of the kings of the Deccan is entitled Bahmuny. In the third volume will be found the kings of the minor Deccany monarchies, with their especial affixes of Adil Shah of Beejapoor, Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur, Kootb Shah of Golconda or Hydrabad, Imad Shah of Berar, and Bereed Shah of Bidur. Ferishta laments that he was unable to procure any history of the kings of Golconda or Hydrabad; but begs if such a work should ever appear, that it may be included in his. This deficiency I have been able to supply, and it is added as an appendix in the body of the third volume. In the fourth volume, the title of Shah is affixed to denote the kings of Guzerat, while that of Sooltan is prefixed to distinguish those of Malwa. The Kandeish princes of the race of Farook were content to assume the title of Khan, and may be thus known. The Jam dynasty of Sind, the Lunga family of Mooltan, and the Chuk race of Kashmeer, has each its peculiar denomination; while the titles of Shurky and Poorby serve to mark the kings of Joonpoor and Bengal.

The perusal of this history cannot be otherwise than instructive, if it be merely to show the certain effects of good and bad government among a people whom our ignorance disposes us to consider as devoid of moral energy, and who are prone to submit

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The perusal of this history cannot be otherwise than instructive, if it be merely to show the certain effects of good and bad government among a people whom our ignorance disposes us to consider as devoid of moral energy, and who are prone to submit

without resistance to the grossest oppression. It is not my intention to dilate on the origin of this misconception of the Indian character, and a volume would not suffice to point out all the instances to the contrary with which the work abounds. The rapid success of Akbur in subjugating the greater portion of India, by a policy which elevated all classes of his subjects, whether newly subdued or otherwise, and of whatever creed or country, to the level to which their rank in society entitled them; and the rapid downfall of the government of Aurungzeeb, who oppressed the Hindoo population by a poll-tax, and by disqualifications from public employ, are the most striking which occur in the Mahomedan history. The early success of the Portuguese under Albuquerque and Nuno de Cunha may be chiefly ascribed to the confidence they reposed in the natives; and the decline of their power may be dated from the time when, under the name of religion, they persecuted them on account of their national tenets. These events form prominent land-marks in history which our own rulers seem prudently to have avoided.

It was the wisdom, or, perhaps, the good fortune, of the ruling administration in England, to select such governors as Clive and Hastings, in the early part of our Eastern career, who formed the ground-work of our gigantic dominion in the East; and it is to the great men who have subsequently ruled those possessions that they owe their present prosperity.

This is not the place to discuss a question of such magnitude. The present form of administration has arisen out of circumstances foreign to the objects contemplated in the original institution of the commercial body which now presides over it, but it stands pre-eminent among all the political phenomena in the annals of history. To appreciate this engine of government fully, it is necessary, not only to view it as a whole, but to observe the course of its action; and the more it is examined, the more one is struck with the magnitude of its power, and the energy and efficiency of its operation. It is a subject for deep speculation, how, if it were removed, its place could be supplied; but we may, I think, pronounce with confidence, that whosoever shall venture to do so, either by changing its constitution, or even by violently disturbing its motion, will incur the risk of involving in ruin the British power in India.

No part of the arrangement of the work has given me more perplexity than the adoption of some uniform plan for the orthography of Oriental words. In writing for the English public, I preferred adapting the letters to the familiar pronunciation of our own language rather than to those of the continent of Europe; and my object has been to confine the power of each letter or diphthong to one simple sound, in whatever situation it be placed.

Thus the vowels are pronounced:—

a as in *water, wall, ball.*
e as in *met, bell, level.*
i as in *bit, hill, lip.*
o as in *hold, bold.*
u as in *but, must.*
y as in *truly.*—Where this letter is placed at the beginning or middle of a word it is sounded as in *youth joyous.*

The following diphthongs and double letters are used to supply the varied sounds of some of the vowels:—

ee as in *fleet, feel, seem.*
oo as in *school, tool.*
ou as in *our, hour, flour.*
ei as in *sleight, height.*

Of the consonants, the letter *c* is never used except in conjunction with *h*, when the two letters have the same sound as in *church*. The Persian letter is خ expressed by the letters *kh*, which combined, have the sound of *ch* in the Scotch word *loch*, a lake. The letter غ is written with the letters *gh*, representing a guttural *g*, which is foreign to any of the western languages. The rest of the consonants have the same sound as in English. For the use of the Oriental scholar an appendix is added, containing all the proper names in the Persian character, with the meaning, as far as was practicable, to each name. These orthographical rules have been applied to the proper names of persons and things, but not always to those of towns or countries, which are written as they are usually to be found in maps; and a table of latitudes and longitudes for those places whose positions have been ascertained is appended, though I regret it is not more complete.

The notes which have been added are the result either of personal observation or of information obtained for the purpose. In

these the name of my friend Colonel Tod frequently appears, and to him I am much indebted for his unreserved communications on all points connected with the history and geography of Raj-poothana and northern India. My thanks are also due to Mr. Henry Ellis, the author of Lord Amherst's Embassy to China; and to Mr. De Morgan, Mathematical Professor in the University of London, for their uniform kindness in rendering me assistance and advice on all occasions.

In preparing the indices to the last volume, I received much aid from Mr. J. Mitchell, Dr. Rosen, the Professor of Oriental Literature in the University of London, and Dr. Bernard Dorn; and I take this opportunity to return my thanks to these gentle-men for their assistance.

After what has been said in the early part of this preface, I trust I shall be exculpated from the charge of endeavouring to supersede the former translations from any notion of my superior fitness to undertake the task. I have shown that I originally en-tertained no such idea; nor would this work have been brought forward in its present shape had not the circumstances which occurred at Poona deprived me of the labours of many years' study and anxiety, and left this sole wreck behind. The chief merits of a translator seem to me to consist in faithfully rendering the sentiments of the author into the language of the translation free alike from the crudities of foreign idioms, from the vervosity and terseness which belong to some tongues, and from affectation. How far I have succeeded in following these rules I leave the public to determine.

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CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY

MAHOMED GHOORY

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN EIBUK

ARAM

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ALTMISH

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN

KEIKOBAD

JULAL-OOD-DEEN FEROZE KHILJY

ALLA-OOD-DEEN KHILJY

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK

MAHOMED TOGHLUK

FEROZE TOGHLUK

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MAHMOOD TOGHLUK

SYUD MAHOMED

SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN

BHEILOLE LODY AFGHAN

SIKUNDUR LODY AFGHAN

IBRAHIM LODY AFGHAN

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

In the perusal of a history in which the author in many instances writes from personal observation, and amid scenes wherein he is himself an actor, it is always pleasing to have some account of his life: to know at least whence he came, who he was, in what age he lived, and what was his fate. It would be peculiarly interesting had we the means of developing all these particulars regarding Ferishta; but his modesty has prevented our knowing half as much of him as we could wish; and it is to be regretted, that events, of which we have only a slender account, have combined to leave us almost without a trace of the end of this excellent historian. From the mention he occasionally makes of himself, in order to verify his narrative, we learn that Mahomed Kasim, surnamed Ferishta, was born at Astrabad, on the border of the Caspian sea; that he was the son of Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, a learned man, who, quitting his native country, travelled into India, and eventually reached Ahmudnuggur in the Deccan, during the reign of Moortuza Nizam Shah. Ferishta has left us in ignorance of the precise date of his birth; but as he states that he had only attained his twelfth year when he reached Ahmudnuggur, and that he was a fellow-student with the young Prince Meeran Hoossein Nizam Shah, who deposed his father at the age of sixteen, in the year 1587, it is fair to conclude that our author was but little older than this Prince; and we may therefore assume that he was born about the year 1570. Gholam Ally Hindoo Shah, the father of Ferishta, was selected, on account of his erudition, to instruct the Prince Meeran Hoossein in the Persian language, and it seems probable that the former died at Ahmudnuggur not long after his arrival there. Ferishta was thus left an orphan in his youth; but the introduction which his father's acquirements had procured for him at court, secured to his son the patronage and favour of the King Moortuza Nizam Shah, so that we find him on the day his royal master was dethroned holding the office of captain of the guard. On this occasion, he only escaped the common fate of the King's attendants owing to the Prince Meeran Hoossein recognising him, and personally interposing to save his life. Meeran Hoossein was himself deposed and

murdered in less than a year. Ferishta, then aged seventeen, appears to have taken no active part in the revolutions which succeeded the death of his patron. His religious persuasion (he being a Sheea) prevented his having many friends among the stronger party at court, and this circumstance naturally made him anxious to avoid the scenes which were likely to ensue; so that we find him not long after quitting Ahmudnuggur, and proceeding to the neighbouring court of Beejapoor.

According to his own statement, he reached that city in the year 1589, and was kindly received by the minister and regent Dilawur Khan, who introduced him to the King Ibrahim Adil Shah II. From the station Ferishta filled under Moortuza Nizam Shah, it seems likely that he entered the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. in a military capacity; a supposition which is rather confirmed by the mention he makes of himself immediately after his arrival at Beejapoor. Scarcely had he reached that capital, when Dilawur Khan induced the young King to take the field in support of Boorhan Nizam Shah, the legitimate sovereign of Ahmudnuggur, against an usurper named Jumal Khan, a person who at the same time wielded the sceptre, and pretended to work miracles as the leader of a new religious sect. The regent of Beejapoor was as anxious to bring the enemy to action as the young King Ibrahim was desirous to delay, until Boorhan Nizam Shah should bring his forces into the field.* Jumal Khan, however, at the head of the troops of Ahmudnuggur, advanced by the route of Purenda towards Beejapoor; and Dilawur Khan, contrary to the King's commands, attacked him in the vicinity of the Bheema river. During the action, several Beejapoor chiefs of distinction deserted Dilawur Khan, and returned to Darasun, a spot situated at the junction of the Sena and Bheema rivers, where the King remained encamped. Dilawur Khan was defeated, and the Beejapoor army retreated during the night to Shahdoorg. Ferishta modestly remarks;—"The wounds which I received during the action prevented my travelling, and I fell a prisoner into the hands of Jumal Khan, but afterwards effected my escape;" so that when Jumal Khan was compelled to fall back to oppose Boorhan Nizam Shah, now in the field on the north, Ferishta was enabled

* This difference of opinion between Ibrahim Adil Shah and his minister produced two factions, and was attended with serious consequences.

to rejoin the Beejapoor army. On the retreat of Jumal Khan, the Beejapoor troops pursued him for nearly one hundred and sixty miles, as far as the Rohunkehra Ghat, when a second disagreement took place between the King and his minister Dilawur Khan. A great coolness had subsisted between them ever since the battle of Darasun, and this subsequent difference determined the King to free himself from Dilawur Khan's trammels; but the attachment of the royal household servants and the bodyguard to the minister rendered such a project exceedingly difficult. At length, however, the King gained over Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany, whose division was encamped at the distance of a mile from the regent, to support him.

The King, having mounted his horse secretly, left his tent to proceed to Ein-ool-Moolk's camp, when his foster-brother Elias Khan, who was on duty, perceiving him, ran up, and asked whither he was going. He replied, "Ask no questions; but if you choose to accompany me, do so." Elias Khan instantly followed with a hundred horsemen; and during the night several chieftains, together with about three thousand men, joined him also. "Among this number," says Ferishta, "was the author of this history." Dilawur Khan in vain endeavoured to regain his power, but was compelled to fly to Ahmudnuggur.

No further mention is made of himself by Ferishta for several years; and it appears likely, that shortly after this period he commenced the compilation of his history, in furtherance of which, he observes, his patron, Ibrahim Adil Shah, spared no expense to procure the most ample materials. But of the thirty-four standard books mentioned as the sources whence he drew his information, besides twenty others alluded to in his history, very few are now extant. Ferishta seems to have finished his account of the Beejapoor kings in 1596, at the age of twenty-six, and the remaining portions of his work must have been composed in the few following years. At the age of thirty-four, he escorted the Princess Begum Sooltana from Beejapoor to Ahmudnuggur, was present at her nuptials with the Prince Daniel Mirza, at Moongy Peitun in 1604, and "attended her palanquin" as far as Boorhanpoor in Kandeish, the capital of her husband's government.

After his return to Beejapoor, he was deputed on a mission to the Great Mogul Jehangeer, the successor of Akbur. The latter prince is stated to have died of grief on hearing of the

death of his son Daniel, who did not long survive his marriage with the Beejapoor princess. Ferishta over took the court of Jehangeer near Lahore, on his route to Kashmeer, in the year 1606; and although our author does not mention the object of his mission, yet knowing as we do the connection which subsisted between the two families, and that Jehangeer had lately ascended the throne, it may be fairly inferred that Ferishta was selected as one of the most accomplished persons of the Beejapoor court, to convey his sovereign's condolence on the loss of a father, and also his congratulation to Jehangeer on his accession to the throne of the most potent kingdom in the East.*

From the work being sometimes denominated Nowrus Nama, we are led to suppose it was finished during the residence of Ibrahim Adil Shah in his new capital, styled Nowrus, which he commenced building in 1599; and Ferishta makes mention of the existence of the Portuguese and the English factories at Surat, in the year 1611, about which time his work was probably brought to a close, when he had attained his forty-first year; and the following reasons lead to the supposition that he died shortly after. Owing to some superstitious fancy, Ibrahim Adil Shah was induced to remove his court from his capital, after reigning thirty-two years, and he selected the village of Torgha, situated about three miles due west of Beejapoor, for the site of the new town, which he denominated Nowrus (Novel), a favourite appellation given at the time to a new coin stuck on the occasion, and which soon became a familiar term at court for all the new fashions, thus accounting for a work like that of Ferishta being so denominated. Ibrahim Adil Shah abandoned Nowrus in a few years, and returned to reside permanently at Beejapoor, where he died in the year 1626, fifteen years after we have any traces of Ferishta. The fashion which pervaded the court of Beejapoor for fine buildings appears to have prevailed most about this period; and the superb mosque, calculated to contain five thousand persons kneeling, built by his uncle Ally Adil Shah I., probably gave rise to the taste which produced those superb works now remaining as monuments of the magnificence of the Beejapoor court. The palace of Kamil Khan the Regent; the mosque and reservoir of

* That admirable traveller, Bernier, must have been in the camp at the same time.

Chand Beeby; the chaste and beautiful tomb of Ibrahim Adil Shah II., the patron of Ferishta; and the mausoleum over his son Mahomed, whose cupola excedes in diameter that of St. Paul's, being inferior in size only to that of St. Peter's at Rome, are now standing and in good repair; and, together with the numerous fine edifices which are scattered for miles over the plain, afford ample proofs of the splendour of the times. Had Ferishta lived long after completing his history, considering the distinction which he had attained at court, it seems probable we should have known more of him, either as a minister or as an author. We may conclude, also, that he would have procured and completed the history of the Golconda sovereigns now extant, to which he alludes, but which he had then failed in obtaining; and also that of Khoosrow Shah of Budukhshan, which he promised to write. Had he died at Beejapoor after the return of the court, it is probable so eminent a person would not have been denied some mausoleum to commemorate his name. It seems, therefore, extremely likely that the death of our author occurred during the residence of the court at Nowrus, as, subsequently to the abandonment of that city, its buildings fell so rapidly to decay, that, with the exception of a part of the uncompleted wall, and some few ruins of palaces, little remains that is worthy of notice.

The only monument, therefore, of this industrious historian is to be found in his works, of which the following pages are a translation.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

MAHOMED KASIM HINDOO SHAH, surnamed Ferishta, the most humble of the subjects of this realm, begs to state to the learned, that in his youthful days he was early inspired with a desire of compiling a history of the conquests of Islam in Hind, and of giving some account of the holy personages who have flourished in this country; but being unable to procure the materials necessary for this purpose at Ahmudnuggur, where he then resided, his wish was not fulfilled, when in the year 998 (A.D. 1589) he proceeded from that city to Beejapoor, and was introduced to the prince who then filled the throne of the latter kingdom. That monarch devoted much of his time to the study of history, and frequently heaped favours on this author, urging him to complete the object which had ever been uppermost in his mind.

In order to effect this end, he was directed to obtain historical works from all quarters; and in a short time a vast collection of materials was brought together and minutely examined. Of these not one work contained all the information which was required; for, though the history of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy embraces a great portion of the period alluded to, it was found so defective in some parts, that the author even was capable of supplying many of the deficiences from his personal knowledge alone. The desire, therefore, of becoming the historian of the rise of the Mahomedan power in India more and more filled the writer's mind. He, in consequence, began to arrange his materials; and having, in the course of time, brought his task to a close, he presented it in the year 1018 (A.D. 1609), under the title of "The History of Ferishta," to his revered monarch, to whom his labours are thus humbly dedicated.

As the author conceives it would be highly unbecoming in him to make comments on those writers who have touched on the same subjects, and who have drawn their mantles over their heads, and sunk into the slumber of the tomb, he places the finger of silence on his lips, and is dumb as to their imperfections. He leaves his readers to judge of *his* work for themselves; begging them to understand, that the height of his ambition amounts only to the desire that his history may rank in comparison with theirs, as the Caaba at Mecca does with the holy Temple of Jerusalem, and as Ally ranks with the prophet Mahomed.

The author's fervent hope is, that these simple and unadorned annals, founded on truth, but devoid of all pretension to elegancy of style, or beauty of composition, may be acceptable to the Prince to whom they are dedicated; and that the contents of these volumes may be disseminated far and wide over the regions of the earth.

In the compilation of this work the following original manuscripts were consulted:—

1. Turjooma Yemuny.
2. Zein-ool-Akhbar.
3. Taj-ool-Maasir.
4. Moolhikat Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen of Beejapoor.
5. Tubkat-i-Nasiry.
6. History of Feroze Shah.
7. Victories of Feroze Shah.
8. Commentaries of Babur.
9. Commentaries of Hoomayoon.
10. History of Moobarik Shah.
11. Another History of Moobarik Shah.
12. Bahmun Nama, an heroic Poem, by Sheikh Azoory.
13. Tareekh Bina-i-Gety.
14. Siraj-oot-Tareekh Bahmuny, by Moolla Mahomed Lary.
15. Tohfut-oos-Sulateen Bahmuny, by Moolla Dawood Bidry.
16. History of One thousand years, by Moolla Ahmud of Nineveh.
17. Rozut-oos-Suffa.
18. Hubeeb-oos-Seer.
19. History, by Hajy Mahomed Kundahry.
20. Tubkat Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, by Nuseer Shah.
21. Memoirs of the Reign of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat.
22. History of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat.
23. History of Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat.
24. Another History of Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat.
25. History of Mahmood the Great of Mando.
26. History of Mahmood the Lesser of Mando.
27. History, by Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy.
28. History of Bengal.
29. History of Sind.
30. History of Kashmeer.
31. Fowayid-ool-Fowad.

32. Kheir-ool-Mujalis.
33. History of Kootb Shah.
34. Sir-ool-Aarifeen, by Sheikh Jumal, the Poet.
35. Nooska Kootby.*

The work is divided into an intronduction, twelve chapters, and a conclusion.

The Introduction treats of the Progress of Mahomedism in India.

Chapter
I. The Kings of Ghizny and Lahore.
II. The Kings of Dehly.
III. The Kings of the Deccan.
IV. The Kings of Guzerat.
V. The Kings of Malwa.
VI. The Kings of Kandeish.

Chapter
VII. The Kings of Bengal and Behar.
VIII. The Kings of Mooltan.
IX. The Rulers of Sind.
X. The Kings of Kashmeer.
XI. An Account of Malabar.
XII. An Account of the Saints of India.

Conclusion : giving some Account of the Geography and Climate of India.

* Besides the works specified in the author's preface, quotations are made from the following in the body of the work: viz.

1. Saky Nama.
2. Towareekh Ahmud Oolla Moostowfy.
3. Towareekh Murihaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany.
4. Jama-ool-Hikayat.
5. Maasir-ool-Moolook.
6. Futtooh-ool-Bulad.
7. Travels of Abool Nusr Nuskatty.
8. Travels of Abool Fuzeel
9. Futtooh-oos-Sulateen.
10. Towareekh Ghoory, by Fukhr-ood-Deen Moobarik Shah Lody.
11. Towareekh Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Attar. } Both these works give account of Somnat.
12. Zein-ool-Maasir. }
13. Goolistan of Sady.
14. Towareekh Goozeda.
15. Mukhzun-ool-Asrar, by Sheikh Nizamy, dedicated to Sooltan Beiram Bin Musaood Ghiznevy.
16. Kuleel-oo-Dumna, called also Anwur Soheily.
17. Towareekh Jehan Ara, by Kazy Ahmud Ghufarry.
18. Huj-Nama.
19. Khoolasut-ool-Insha.
20. Rozut-ool-Insha.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

ON

THE HINDOOS

THE Mahabharut is the most celebrated historical work among the Hindoos. It was translated from the original Sanscrit into Persian verse by Sheikh Abool Fuzl, the son of Sheikh Mobarik, by order of Akbur Padshah, and it consists of more than 100,000 couplets. Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, the author of this work, having made an abstract of that translation, has availed himself of it to form the introductory part of this history.

The philosophers and sages of India have related the formation of this earth differently, according to their own notions. Thirteen various accounts are given in the Mahabharut alone, not one of which is sufficiently satisfactory to induce us to adopt it in preference to another. The Hindoos divide time into four ages: 1st, Sutyoog; 2d, Tritayoog; 3d, Duwapuryoog; 4th, Kulyoog; and they assert, that the four ages continue in succession to all eternity; the present being the Kulyoog, which when at an end, the Sutyoog will re-commence. The earth, therefore, is by them, deemed eternal, without beginning and without end: though some brahmins assert, that this world will have an end, and that a judgment-day will come.

The Sutyoog is said to have lasted during a period of 1,728,000 years; when virtue and truth prevailed, and man lived 100,000 years.

The Tritayoog is a period of 1,296,000 years; three parts of the creation, during that time, obeyed the word of God, and the life of man was 10,000 years.

The Dwapuryoog is a period of 864,000 years; during which half of the creation was wicked, and man only lived 1000 years.

The Kulyoog is a period of 432,000 years. Men, in this period, became sinful; only one quarter of the human race followed the dictates of God, and the life of man was curtailed to 100 years. According to the Hindoo account, in the present year (1015 of the Hijra), 4684 years of the Kulyoog have elapsed.[1]

1. It may be useful to state, that the Yoogs progress in an arithmetical ratio of 1, 2, 3, 4, from the smallest to the greatest number, and

In the beginning, God created the four elements; besides which the Hindoos reckon the æther as a fifth element; and after that, according to some accounts, he created man, whom he called Brumma; to whom he gave the power of creating every living thing. The Hindoos are of opinion, that the æther, which they consider an element, is immaterial; that air only moves round the earth; that the planets, which are emanations from the Deity, have appeared on earth as men; who, after terrestrial mortality, are translated into heaven, in reward of their holy works on earth, by which they approximate so nearly to the Divinity in excellence, as to partake of his glory. It would appear from some of their books, that they consider the firmament itself as the divine essence.

Brahma, in virtue of the power vested in him, created four tribes of the human race; viz. 1st, Brahman; 2d, Kshetry; 3d, Byse; and 4th, Soodr. The first was charged with the worship of the divinity, and the instruction of the human species. The second was appointed to rule over mankind. The third was required to plough the ground, and perform all sorts of handicraft. The fourth was doomed to be servile to the other three tribes. Brahma then wrote the book to direct mankind, which he called Veda. This is a work on theology, composed of 100,000 slogs; each slog or couplet being four churun, each churun or verse containing not more than 26 or less than 21 letters. Brahma lived 100 years of the sutyoog, each year containing 360 days, each day being 4000 years of the present age, and each night the same. The brahmins unanimously agree, that there is but one Brahma; that he has appeared 1001 times; and of the life of the present Brahma 50 years and half a day have elapsed, and the other half is now in progress.

It is related, that in the latter end of the Dwapuryoog, in the city of Hustnapoor,[2] Raja Bhurt, of the tribe of Kshetry, sat on the throne; after whom, seven rajas lineally descended from him

are divisible both by the common Indian cycle of 60 years, which is the usual divisor of time among them, as also by the figure 9, which is applicable both to time and things. These observations are intended to convey to the reader's mind the notion that the extravagancy of the Hindoo calculations are not without method, and require only the key to become intelligible and within the limits of our belief. This is not the place to discuss a question which would fill a volume.

2. A town of this name still exists about 45 miles N.E. of Dehly.

reigned. The eighth was named Kooroo, and the Koorooket, or field of Tahnesur, is called after him. His descendants are denominated Kooroos. This dynasty reigned for six generations, till the accession of Veechitrveera Tej Raja, of the same line. He had two sons, the one D'hertrashtra, the Conqueror, and the other Pundoo (the Fair[3]); but the former, being blind, was put aside (although the elder), and his younger brother Pundoo sat on the throne, from whom is sprung the Pandoo dynasty. Pundoo left five sons; Yoodishteer (the Bold), called also Dhurma Raja; Bheema, and Arjoon, all born of one mother, called Koonty; while Nukool and Sahadeva were born of Madry. D'hertrashtra had 101 sons 100 born of a daughter of the Raja Gand'har, the eldest of whom was called Dooryodhun, and another son called Yooyoocha, born of a plebeian's daughter. From the descendants of D'hertrashtra are the Kooroo tribe; while the decendants of his younger brother, Pundoo, are called Pandoos. Upon the death of Pundoo, D'hertrashtra, notwithstanding the circumstance of his blindness, was proclaimed raja, and his eldest son, Dooryodhun, became regent; and entertaining a jealousy of his cousins (the five Pandoos), he determined to put them to death. D'hertrashtra, too, was not without his apprehensions from his nephews, the Pandoos, whom he commanded to build their houses outside of the town, in order to prevent family disputes. Dooryodhun bribed the architects to construct the houses with large quantities of pitch and bitumen, so that they might easily be consumed; but the Pandoos, anticipating his intentions, set fire to their habitations, and, with their mother, left Hustnapoor. In this conflagration a woman named Bheel,[4] together with her five sons, who had been bribed to commit the act, fell victims to the flames; but the Kooroos, on the next day, finding the remains of Bheel and her sons, concluded that they were those of the Pandoos. After this event, the Pandoos having withdrawn from Hustnapoor, travelled over great part of India, and fought several battles, accounts of which occupy the greater part of the Mahabharut. At length they reached the city of Kumpila,[5] where the five bro-

3. The word signifies, literally, *yellow*.

4. The Mahabharut states, that a woman of the tribe of Kisat (the appellation given to the Bheel tribe), with her five sons were accidentally sleeping on the premises, and were consumed.

5. On the banks of the Ganges.

thers, being married in succession to Drowpdy, the daughter of the raja of Kumpila, agreed that she should live with one of them for 72 days, by which means each contrived to enjoy her company for one-fifth part of every year. Some Hindoos, however, deny this fact. Be it as it may; Dooryodhun hearing the Pandoos were alive, determined to ascertain the truth; and unable to dispute their rights, he invited them to Hustnapoor, when he gave over to them Indraprust[6] as their hereditary patrimony, and half of the kingdom of Hustnapoor. The Pandoos gained strength and power daily, while the Kooroos, although they pretended friendship, retained malice in their hearts. At length, the elder brother (Yoodishteer) resolved to celebrate a festival in honour of the gods, at which it was necessary that all the kings of the earth should be present to pay homage to him. Yoodishteer accordingly despatched his brothers to the four corners of the earth; who subdued, and brought to the feast the kings of Khutta, Room, Hubush, Ajum, Arabia, and Toorkistan.[7] Dooryodhun, having long beheld with envy the rising power of his cousins, could no longer restrain his jealousy, and sought means to subvert their authority. Unable to expel them by force, he determined, if possible, to effect it by stratagem. In those days gambling with dice was a common amusement; and as he knew that the brothers were much addicted to this vice, he resolved, with the assistance of sharpers, to lead them on to lose to him their share of the empire. The Pandoos, falling into the snare, lost all they possessed, but their kingdom.

Dooryodhun now proposed one more throw, with a promise, that if he lost, he would restore all he had won, but if the Pandoos lost, they should abandon their country, and wander for twelve years; and on their return it was required, that they should re-

6. Indraprustha, or Indraput. A town of this name still exists on the banks of the Soorswutty river, and I was induced to believe it to be that here alluded to; but my friend, Colonel Tod, whose researches in Hindoo History are so profound, and whose acquaintance with the geography of that part of India is so complete, states that Indraprushta is the ancient appellation for the city of Dehly, an appellation which it received from the Tuar dynasty, in the eighth century of our era, and which race descended in a direct line from the Pandoos; and that, consequently, the Indraprustha in question is the ancient town of Dehly.

7. These names are evidently the result of Mahomedan interpolation. No such places are mentioned in the Mahabharut.

main concealed for a whole year, without making themselves known, but if discovered, they were again to perform twelve years more penance. The Pandoos lost, and having performed their pilgrimage, on the thirteenth year, they settled in the district of Waee,[8] a country of the south. Dooryodhun sought throughout the empire, without discovering them, till at the end of the year, the Pandoos sent Krishna, the son of Vasdew, as ambassador to the capital, to claim their kingdom. Dooryodhun, however, refusing to restore it, and the Pandoos having procured a number of the rajas[9] of India to espouse their cause, attacked the forces of the Kooroos, near Tahnesur, in the beginning of the Kulyoog, when Dooryodhun was killed, and the Kooroos were defeated. The army of the Kooroos consisted of eleven kshoons, and that of the Pandoos of seven. Each kshoon consisting of 21,870 elephants, 21,870 chariots, 65,610 horsemen, and 109,350 foot.[10] The most

8. Waee, a town on the banks of the river Krishna, near the fort of Pandooghur, called after the exciled brothers, is situated 20 miles north of the fort of Satara.

9. Among these, Veerat Ray, the Raja of Waee, accompanied the Pandoos, and fell in the battle of Koorooket, on the plains of Tahnesur.

10. These incredible numbers are reducible by the figure 9, without a fraction, which authorises us to believe that the real numbers have been multiplied by this sacred and mystical figure. Admitting this to be the case, which seems highly probable, the numerical strength of the armies comes within the bounds of rational belief; and if we allow two riders to each elephant and chariot, it furnishes us also with even numbers, and the armies will then stand thus :—

	Elephant Riders	Charioteers	Cavalry	Infantry	Grand Total Men
Pandoos, 7 kshoons	3402	3402	5103	8505	20412
Kooroos, 11 kshoons	5346	5346	8019	13365	32076
		Grand total of both armies		...	52488

By this account the Pandoos would have brought 1701, and the Kooroos 2673 elephants into the field, which however disproportionate they may appear to the number of men in modern times, yet when we consider that the missile weapons of those days did not penetrate easily into the elephant's hide, and that great numbers were used in all battles in India up to the introduction of artillery, the proportion is not so large. Akbur, according to Ferishta, had never more than 6,000, but never less than 5,000 elephants during the whole of his reign, within the last two centuries; and the Nabob of Luknow has employed 700 on a hunting party, even within the last 40 years.

extraordinary part of the tale is, that only twelve men[11] of both armies are said to have survived the battle. These were, four of the Kooroos; the first Kripa Acharia, a brahmin, the tutor of the cousins, distinguished alike for his courage and his learning. The second, Ashwathama, the son of the philosopher Drone, who fell in the battle; the third, Keert Varma, of the family of Yado; and the fourth, Sunjye, the intelligencer of D'hertrashtra, and who acted as his charioteer during the battle. Also eight of the Pandoos, viz. the five Pandoo brothers; sixth, Satik Yado; seventh, Yooyoocha (half brother of Dooryodhun); and eighth, Krishna, who had been employed as ambassador to Dooryodhun, from Waee. With respect to this latter personage, we shall give his history as translated from the Mahabharut.

"The city of Mutra is celebrated as the birth-place of Krishna. The Hindoos are not all agreed as to the rank which he holds among the holy personages. Some respect him as a prophet only, while others deify him.

"Before the battle of Tahnesur, Raja Kuns, having heard from his astrologers that Krishna would put him to death, sought in all directions to seize him, but he concealed himself, and lived for eleven years in the house of Nunda, a cow-keeper, and at last obtained an opportunity of putting Raja Kuns to death, and of placing Oogur Sein, the father of Kuns, on the throne, retaining the management of the government in his own hands. At length, he caused his subjects to pay him divine honours, and obtained many proselytes. It is said, he devoted thirty-two years of his life to mirth and gaiety, in the city of Mutra, and the tales related of him are as marvellous as preposterous.

"The neighbouring rajas, jealous of his power, resolved to attack him. Among these, Jarasundha, the Raja of Bahar, marched with a large force from Patna, for that purpose; while on the west, Kal-Yevun,[12] a Mlecha[13] sovereign, although not of the

11. With respect to the twelve persons who survived the battle, we must suppose the officers of distinction only are alluded to, whose names are given.

12. The Hindoo books speak of all the westerns as Yevun, whom the Persians call Yoonan. Alexander and his army are designated Yevun by the Hindoos, and Yoonan by the Persians; a corruption, probably, of the word Ionian.

13. The word Mlecha signifies barbarian, and was applied to all

Hindoo persuasion, marched into India to reduce his power. This prince is supposed to be of Arabian extraction. Krishna, unable to resist the froces of these powers, was compelled to retreat, and reached Dwarka on the sea-coast (situated 100 coss[14] from the present city of Ahmudabad), where he was beseiged for a period of seventy-eight years, unable to force his way through his enemies, and at length he died at the age of one hundred and twenty-five; while some assert that he is still living in concealment." But to return to our history: after the battle of Koorooket, and the death of Dooryodhun, the five Pandoos reigned 36 years, and then abdicated their throne, which put an end to the dynasty.

From Raja Kooroo to the death of Pundoo was a period of	.. ..	76 years.
To that of Dooryodhun Kooroo	..	13 ditto.
To that of Yoodishteer, commonly called Dhurma, Raja Pandoo	.. ..	36 ditto.
Total	..	125 years.

Some years after the abdication of the Pandoos, a great grandson of Arjoon Pandoo sat upon the throne, and among other pursuits of literature, being desirous that a history of his family should be written, a person named Vias undertook the work, and compiled the Mahabharut, which is said to mean the great battle; but upon enquiry, I do not find that the word Bharut signifies battle, and I should therefore suppose, that the letter A has been added, and that the Maha-Bhurt signifies the history of the family of Bhurt, the founder of the dynasty of Koowur and Pandoo. Vias also wrote commentaries on the four Vedas, viz. Roog Veda, Yejoor Veda, Athurwun Veda, Siam Veda: the three former works are on philosophy and theology, while the latter (the only one now extant) is a history, and is called Mahabharut, of which 24,000 slogs out of 100,000 are occupied in relating

who did not adopt the rules of caste; as the Romans termed all those "Barbari" who were not Romans.

14. Two hundred miles. Dwarka is nearly insulated. It is situated near the most extreme point of the district of Hulwab, in Guzerat, and within the entrance of the gulf of Cutch.

the history of the wars of the Pandoos. The Hindoos, like the Chinese and Tartars, deny the flood of Noah.[15]

Some of the Hindoos assert, that the tribes of Brahmin and Kshetry existed from time immemorial, but that the Rajpoots are a modern tribe, only known since the beginning of the Kulyoog. The same is related of many other different tribes. The Rajpoots attained power since the death of Raja Vikramajeet, from whom is derived the present Hindoo era, being something more than 1600 years. The origin of the Rajpoots is thus related. The rajas, not satisfied with their married wives, had frequently children by their female slaves, who, although not legitimate successors to the throne, were styled Rajpoots, or the children of the rajas, and the children of Raja Sooruj, whose history we shall now relate, were the first to whom the name of rajpoot was given. The population of India, like that of other parts of the globe, arose from the descendants of Noah. After the flood, Noah's three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet, began to cultivate the fields for their own subsistence and that of their children.

The first king of whose history we have any information was Krishna; he is not the Krishna of Mutra. This Prince was elected by the voice of the people of Behar; and the first city built in India was the city of Oude. Krishna's prime minister was Bahmun, a native of Bengal. The King, being of gigantic stature, could procure no horse to carry him; he directed, therefore, an elephant to be tamed, on which he used to ride. The plough and reep-rook are ascribed to the invention of Bahmun, who it is said also formed the first alphabet. Having lived 400 years, the King died. He was contemporary with Tahmorasp of Persia. He left thirty-seven sons, of whom Mahraja, his eldest, sat on the throne after him. Mahraja encouraged literature and manufactures; and during his reign his country became populous, and the inhabitants wealthy. Mahraja divided the people of India

15. Here Ferishta's knowledge of Hindoo cosmography is defective, as their sacred writings distinctly trace a deluge which bears a close and important similitude to that recorded by Moses, though, in the poetical language and style of the Hindoos, it is involved in a puerile description. Swyambhoma, "The Lord of the earth," is warned to the intended destruction of mankind by a flood, and he is directed to provide a bark denominated "*Arga,*" into which he enters with seven holy persons besides himself, and the seed of every living thing.

into tribes. To the brahmins were alloted the business of letters and the conduct of the affairs of the state; to another tribe, farming; and to a third, manufactures; thus these occupations have descended from father to son. He called the tribes after the chiefs of each; such as Rahtore, Chowhan, Powar, and Beis, &c. Mahraja always maintained a friendly intercourse with the kings of Persia; but Dongur Sein, one of his nephews, having left his court, took protection with Fureedoon, King of Persia, who detached his son Koorshasp with a force to attack Punjab, in order to compel Mahraja to yield some part of his territory to his nephew. The war lasted ten years, when Mahraja was at length reduced to cede a part of his kingdom to Dongur Sein. In the latter part of his reign the zemindars of Shewala[16] and Carnatic attacked and drove Shiva Ray, his lieutenant from the Deccan. Mahraja, having sent his eldest son with a large force to reinstate Shiva Ray, and to punish the rebels, the Prince was defeated and slain. Shiva Ray again sought refuge at the court of Mahraja, who was more grieved at the defeat of his army than at the loss of his son; for the princes of the islands of Acheen, and Malacca, and Pegu, and of the Malabar coast, had never before dared to rebel. At this time, also, an attack on the north-west frontier threatened his empire; and being compelled to send his lieutenant, Malchund of Malwa, to defend the Punjab, he was unprepared at present to carry on the war with the Deccanies. Malchund, unable to stand the brunt of the Persian forces, ceded the Punjab to them in perpetuity, besides making presents of elephants, &c. Some authors, however, relate that Fureedoon even possessed the Punjab; and that the descendants of Koorshasp, down to the celebrated Roostoom, held it in subjection, together with Kabul, Tibhet, Sind and Nemrooz. On his return Malchund (from whom the country of Malwa derives its name), having marched against the zemindars of the Deccan, who fled at the approach of his army, reinstated Shiva Ray in his government. On this occasion he is said to have built the celebrated fort of Gualiar. The science of music, also, was introduced into Hindoostan by Malchund, who brought it during this expedition from the country of Tullinga. Malchund, long after, resided at Gualiar, and the descendants of the Tullingy musicians spread from that place over

16. Ceylon

the north of India.[17] Mahraja, after a reign of seven hundred years, died, leaving his eldest son, Kesoo Ray, to succeed him.

Kesoo Ray, having ascended the throne, detached his brothers in command of armies to make conquests, while he himself, taking the route of Kalpy, entered Gondwana, and marched as far south as Shewala Dweep;[18] levying tribute on all the rajas through whose country he passed. On his return, however, being attacked by these same rajas, and unable to oppose them successfully, he made overtures for peace, and was permitted to return to his capital without molestation. On his arrival, he despatched an ambassador to the King of Persia, begging his assistance. Munoo Chehr sent Sam, the son of Nureeman, with an army, to support him; and Kesoo Ray having met him with his own troops at Jalundur in the Punjab, proceeded to the Deccan. The rajas, intimidated by the Persian troops, acknowledged allegiance to Kesoo Ray, who having accompanied the Persians as far as the Punjab on their return to Eeran, marched back to Oude, where he reigned for a period of two hundred and twenty years, and was succeeded by his son Munere Ray. The town of Munere is one of the monuments of this prince's reign, which he passed in the encouragement of literature, and in the promotion of the happiness of his subjects. He was, however, guilty of ingratitude towards Persia, in spite of the obligations his father owed to that empire. On the death of Munoo Chehr in Eeran, Afrasiab Toork, King of Tooran, invaded that kingdom; and Munere Ray also having invaded Punjab, seized it for himself from the officers of Zal, the son of Sam, making Jalundur his capital. At the same time, Muncre Ray sent an envoy to Afrasiab, acknowledging fealty to him After this the Punjab remained in possession of the kings of India till the reign of Keikobad, who having deputed

17. It is a curious fact, that the word Bye, used in the Deccan to signify a genteel woman in general, is applied to professed singing woman only in Hindoostan; and that the word Kulwuntin, a professional dancing woman, in the language of the Deccan, is changed into Kulawutin in Hindoostan, and is there also applicable to dancing girls. It must be understood, that throughout this work the word Hindoostan is applied to the country north of the Nerbudda and Mahanudda rivers, while the whole of the peninsula, south of the same line, is included in the word Deccan.

18. The island of Ceylon.

Roostoom, the son of Zal to re-conquer that province, Munere Ray was defeated, and not only expelled from the Punjab, but seeking protection among the hills of J'harkund, and Gondwana, he died there after a reign of five hundred and thirty-seven years.

Roostoom having thus conquered India, resolved to prevent any of the sons of Munere Ray from sitting on its throne, on account of their treachery towards Persia; he therefore placed Sooruj, a Hindoo chief on the musnud, and returned to Persia. Sooruj reigned over Hindoostan; and his authority was acknowledged from the sea of Bengal as far as the Deccan. It is related that it was in his time a brahmin persuaded him to set up idols, and from that period the Hindoos became idolaters, before which they, like the Persians, worshipped the sun and the stars.[19] The worship of images, however, was not introduced in the reign of Sooruj. He was a contemporary, and tributary of Keikobad, and had reigned two hundred and fifty years when he died. He gave his sister's daughter in marriage to Roostoom.

Sooruj having left thirty-five sons, Bhay Raja, the eldest, succeeded his father, and built the city of Bhay-raja, commonly called Bhairaich: he was a great admirer of music. Among the public works of his reign is the completion of the city of Benares, the foundation of which was laid by his father. Some are of opinion also that Bhay Raj invested his brothers with the title of Rajpoot, and that he gave distinctive names to some other tribes. He was so impolitic as to abandon the regulations established by Mahraja, so that he became a victim to the enmity of Kedar, a brahmin of the Sewalik mountains, who, attacking and defeating

19. The sentence is very remarkable, and it would be curious to know whence Ferishta derived his information. If the fact he states could be relied on, it would afford us a clew to fix the period when the Ramayan, the Bharut, and the tenth canto of the Bhagwut, losing their simple character as heroic national poems, became identified with the sacred works. There appears every day stronger reason to believe, that the worship of the Bull, the Lingum, and Yony, is the same as the Phallic worship of Egypt, and that of the Calf and the Pillar, emblematic of Bal or the Sun, by the nations surrounding the Israelites; that this worship is originally founded on Sabæism, and that the emblems are types of the season of fructification. Abundant proof exists in India of the antiquity of the Tauric and Phallic worship over that of idolatry and of demi-god heroes. All the temples of the latter are modern compared with those dedicated to Mahdeva.

him, eventually obtained the kingdom. Bhay Raja reigned thirty-six years.

Kedar Raja was a man of erudition, and had also seen the world, so that he raised India from the state of depravity into which it had fallen under Bhay Raja. He was contemporary with Kei-Kaoos and Kei-Khoosrow, to whom he used to transmit annual tribute. He laid the founadtion and built the fortress of Kalunjur. In the latter part of his reign he was attacked by Sunkul, a chieftain of Kooch, who having collected a large force, not only subdued Bung[20] and Behar, but also attacked Kedar, whom he defeated in several actions, and usurped his empire, after a reign of nineteen years.

Sunkul, having ascended the throne, laid the foundation of Luknowty, in Bengal, since known by the name of Goor or Gowr, which was the capital of the province for 2000 years, but being destroyed in the time of the Mogul empire, Tanda became the seat of government.

Sunkul Raja maintained an army of 4000 elephants, 100,000 horse, and 400,000 foot, and refused to pay tribute to Afrasiab, who sent 50,000 Toorky horse, under the command of Peeranweisa to attack him. Sunkul Raja, having opposed him in the neighbourhood of the Kooch hills, on the Bengal frontier, two days and nights were occupied in fighting, on which occasion the Toorks lost 13,000 men, and the Hindoos 50,000. On the third day the Toorks retreated, defending themselves till they reached the hills, where they took post, and Peeranweisa wrote to Afrasiab an account of his situation.

At this period, Afrasiab was in the city of Kunukdiz, situated between Khutta and Khootun, and distant one month's journey from Khanbaligh. On hearing from Peeranweisa, he marched at the head of 100,000 horse to his assistance. On his arrival, he found Peeranweisa surrounded by an infinite number of rajas collected from all parts. Afrasiab, attacking the Hindoos without delay, dispersed them, and thus released his general from his perilous situation. He then pursued Sunkul Raja to his capital of Luknowty, from whence he fled precipitately to the mountains of Tirhoot. From thence he sent ambassadors to Afrasiab, entreating his forgiveness, and permission to pay his respects to him; but

20. Bengal.

he was required to appear before the great king with a sword suspended round his neck, and a shroud on his shoulders. Afrasiab, having carried Sunkul Raja to Tooran, left his country under the government of Sunkul Raja's son. Sunkul remained with Afrasiab many years, but was at last slain in action, by the hand of Roostoom. His reign lasted during a period of sixty-four years.

When Afrasiab returned to Tooran, he conferred the government of India on Rohut, the son of Sunkul Raja. His kingdom extended from Gurhy as far as Malwa, the revenues of which he divided into three equal portions. One he gave in charity; of another part was sent to his father, and part as tribute to Afrasiab; while the remainder was applied to the support of his government. This portion of his revenue being insufficient for his protection, the Raja of Malwa wrested out of his hands the strong fortress of Gualiar, Rohut Ray, who built the fortress of Rohutas (Rohtas), and beautified it with temples, took the field, in hopes, of recovering Gualiar, but was obliged eventually to withdraw without attaining his object. He kept his court usually at Kunowj, where he reigned for a period of eighty years, when he died.

Raja Rohut leaving no male issue of age, a revolution took place, in which Mahraja,- a person of the tribe of Kutchwaha, from the district of Marwar, succeeded in placing himself on the throne. He attacked Nehrwala,[21] and having reduced the zemindars of those parts (who were chiefly shepherds), laid the foundation of some sea-ports, and caused ships of different sizes to be constructed. Mahraja II. was contemporary with Gooshtasp, and reigned forty years, during which time he paid annual tribute to Persia. Mahraja was succeeded at his death by his nephew, Kedar Raja, whom he made his heir by his last testament. During this reign, Roostoom being slain, Kedar attacked, and wrested from his descendants, the Punjab. Having remained some time in the town of Behera,[22] he built the fortress of Jummoo, where he left Doorga, one of his relations, of the tribe of Boolbas, which tribe has inhabited that country ever since. Doorga having con-

21. Puttun in Goojrat.

22. This town, situated in the Gara, is often mentioned in early history; and in the first invasion of the Moslems it belonged to Goga Chowhan.

tracted alliances with the Gukkurs and Chowbea, the ancient zemindars of the Punjab, as also with the people who reside in the hills between Kabul and Kandahar, marched against Kedar Raja, who fled from the Punjab. These tribes, who were before separate, now formed one powerful state, and I imagine they are those whom we call Afghans.[23] Kedar Raja reigned forty-three years.

After the death of Kedar Raja, his minister, Jye Chund, who was also generalissimo of the army, usurped the throne. His accession was followed by a severe dearth, which carried off thousands of his subjects, whom he by no means attempted to relieve in their distress, but spent his time in gaiety at the city of Byana. After a reign of sixty years, he died. He was contemporary with Bahmun and Darab. Jye Chund left an infant son, whom his widow raised to the throne, and who would have ruled the empire in his name; but Dehloo, the uncle of the young king, aided by the nobles, having deposed him, ascended the musnud. This prince, as famous for his justice as for his valour devoted his time to the good of his subjects, and built the city of Dehly. After having reigned only four years, P'hoor, a Raja of Kumaoon, collecting a considerable force, attacked Dehloo took him prisoner, and sent him into confinement in the fort of Rohtas, himself usurping the empire. Raja P'hoor pushed on his conquests through Bung, as far as the ocean, and having collected a great army, refused to pay tribute to the kings of Persia. The brahminical and other historians are agreed that P'hoor[24] marched his army to the frontiers of India, in order to oppose the progress of Alexander, on which occasion P'hoor lost his life in battle, after having reigned seventy-three years. At this period, also, the Rajas of Deccan having become powerful, established their independence. Among others, was Koolchund, the founder of Koolburga; Merchund, the founder of Mirch; Beejychund, the founder of Beejanuggur; besides many others whose names would only serve to swell out this work.

It is related, that when Alexander the Great came into India, Raja Bidur (the founder of the city of that name, and the chief

23. It does not appear on what grounds Ferishta founds this opinion.

24. Porus.

of a tribe whose descendants are celebrated to this day in the Deccan for their bravery), having heard of the fame of the Greek monarch, sent his son as ambassador, with a number of elephants and other valuables to him, to prevent his invading the Deccan. After the death of P'hoor, Sunsar Chund[25] made himself master of the empire of India, but sent an annual tribute to Goodurz, king of Persia: his country was usurped by Joona, the nephew of P'hoor. Joona is described as a liberal prince, who promoted the cultivation of the arts, and built many towns on the banks of the Ganges and Jumna. He was contemporary with Ardsheer Babegan, who invaded India; but being met by Joona with valuable presents of gold and elephants on the frontier, Ardsheer was induced to withdraw his army. Joona, returning to Kunowj, died, after a reign of ninety years.

He was succeeded by the eldest of his twenty-two sons, named Kullian Chund, a cruel and despotic prince, who put his subjects to death without cause or remorse. The unfortunate inhabitants of his kingdom, flying from his tyranny, left the city of Kunowj a mere ruin. After him, no raja of consequence reigned in Kunowj, excepting Ramdew, whose history will shortly be related. As I shall not confine my account of the rajas of Hindoostan to the dynasty of Kunowj, I now proceed to that of Malwa, and of the celebrated Vikramajeet Power.

The history of Vikramajeet, the most illustrious and virtuous sovereign of his age, has been transmitted to posterity in the legends which still remain among his countrymen. It is said that he passed the early part of his life among holy men, affecting poverty, and performing penance. At the age of fifty he assumed the command of an army, and in the course of a few years conquered the whole country of Nehrwala[26] and Malwa, over which he ruled with justice. The Hindoos are of opinion, that he was inspired, and could foretell coming events: he avoided all display of pomp, living in the same manner as his subjects, using earthen utensils instead of gold, and sleeping on a mat instead of a bed. Oojein became well inhabited during his reign, on account of the idol dedicated to Mahkaly which he set up in that city. He also built the fort of D'har. From the

25. He is also called Chandragoopta, supposed to be the Sandracottus of the Greeks.

26. Nehrwala here seems to imply Guzerat in general.

death of Vikramajeet, the Hindoos date one of their eras, which at the present day is 1663, answering to the year 1015 of the Hijra. He was contemporary with Ardsheer Babegan, and some say with Shahpoor. In the latter end of his reign, Shalivhan, a raja of the Deccan, making war with him, several battles ensued, in the last of which, Vikramajeet lost his kingdom and his life. After his death Malwa long remained in a state of anarchy, till at length Raja Bhoj, setting up pretensions to the throne, assumed the reigns of government. Raja Bhoj, also of the tribe of Power, followed the steps of his predecessor Vikramajeet. He founded many towns, among which are those of Kurgone, Beejygur, and Hundia. Twice yearly he kept a great feast which lasted forty days; during which all the most celebrated dancers and singers of Hindoostan being assembled, he distributed food and wine; and at the end of the feast, new clothes, and ten miskals[27] were presented to each guest. He died after a reign of forty years. At this period, one Vasdew, seizing on the province of Kunowj, established himself in that principality. During his reign, Beiramgoor, King of Persia, came to the court of Kunowj in disguise. While at the capital a wild elephant in the neighbourhood had done much mischief, having killed many people, who went out to attack him. Among others, Vasdew himself had often gone out for the same purpose without success. Shortly after the arrival of Beiramgoor, the same elephant, penetrating to the very gates of the city, caused much alarm: the Persian prince ran alone to the spot, and with a single arrow laid him dead at his feet. Raja Vasdew requested that the stranger who had killed the elephant might be brought to him. As he was entering the court, the Indian ambassador, who had just returned from Persia, whither he had conveyed, the annual tribute, recognising the King of Persia, informed Vasdew of the circumstance. The Raja, descending from his throne, seated the stranger upon it, and after giving him his daughter in marriage, furnished him with a suitable escort, which attended him back to Persia. Vasdew died after reigning seventy years; during which time the fort of Kalpy was built. He left thirty-two sons, who disputed the succession with each other for two years: the throne was at length ascended by Ramdew Rahtore, the general of the late Vasdew. Having reduced

27. Of gold, probably.

the rebellious officers and rajas of his country, Ramdew marched to the province of Marwar, from whence he expelled the tribe of Kutchwaha, and established that of Rahtore, which has remained there ever since; while that of Kutchwaha removed to the neighbourhood of Rohtas. On his return to Kunowj, he marched against Bengal, and taking possession of capital, he obtained great treasures, after having been absent from Kunowj for three years.

Four years after this event, proceeding to Malwa, he reduced it, and built many towns and cities in that kingdom; among which was Nurwur, where having left a garrison of rahtories, he deputed an embassy to Shew Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, soliciting his daughter in marriage. That Prince, dreading the power of Ramdew, sent her with valuable presents, along with the ambassador. Ramdew remained for two years in peace and happiness, after which, attacking the rajas of Sewalik, he extorted from them annual tribute. In that war, Ramdew was opposed by the Raja of Kumaoon (who inherited his country and crown from a long line of ancestors that had ruled upwards of 2000 years): a sanguinary battle took place, which lasted during the whole of one day, from sunrise to sunset, wherein many thousands were slain on both sides; till at length the Raja of Kumaoon was defeated with the loss of all his elephants and treasures, and fled to the hills. Ramdew having subsequently compelled his enemy to give him his daughter in marriage, left him in possession of his country, and marching towards Nagrakote, plundered it, and at length arrived at a place called Shewkote Pindy,[28] where (on account of his veneration for the idol Doorga, which is situated at a small distance on the top of a neighbouring hill at Nagrakote), he halted, and summoned the raja to appear before him. The Raja would by no means consent, but agreed to meet Ramdew at the temple, wherein the idol was placed. Thus the two princes met at the temple, when the Raja having given his daughter in marriage to the son of Ramdew, the latter proceeded from thence to the fort of Jummoo. The Raja of Jummoo opposed him in the woods, but was eventually defeated. Ramdew pursued him to the fort of Jummoo, which he attacked, and subdued. At length the Raja consented to become tributary, and gave his daughter to another

28. This place is written differently in various manuscripts, and is not down in any of the maps I have consulted.

of Ramdew's sons. Ramdew being then in the vicinity of the Behut, a river which takes its rise in the hilly tract of Kashmeer, and flows through the territory of the Punjab, proceeded through Bengal as far as the sea-shore, where the Sewalik[29] mountains have their termination.

Ramdew was employed five months in making the journey, having subjected, during that period, upwards of five hundred rajas, after which he returned to his capital, where he gave presents to his soldiers, and celebrated a feast on the occasion. Ramdew reigned for upwards of fifty-four years, and then died: he was contemporary with Feroze, the Sassanian, whose son Keikobad succeeded him, to both of which monarchs annual tribute was paid by India. After the death of Ramdew, his numerous sons all disputing the succession, civil warrs ensued. Purtab Chund, the general of Ramdew, of the tribe of Sesodia, taking advantage of these events, and collecting a force, ascended the throne, in spite of the endeavours of the princes, whom he seized and put to death, and thus established his authority. Having raised himself to the same elevation as his predecessor, Purtab Chund refused to pay tribute to Persia, and the ambassador of Nowsherwan returned empty-handed. In consequence of this defection, the Persian troops invaded Mooltan and Punjab; and Purtab Chund sent peace-offerings both to the generals and to the Persian King himself, to prevent further devastation. From this, he transmitted the annual tribute as usual. After the death of Purtab Chund each of his generals seized on a province; while his progeny, flying from Kunowj, occupied a small tract of country in the hills of Koombulmere, in the neighbourhood of Chittoor and Mundsoor; the descendants of whom at present hold it in sovereignty. They are distinguished by the appellation of Rana, significant of a petty prince.[30]

Among the other generals and rajas who became powerful after the death of Purtab Chund, was Anund-dew Rajpoot, of the

29. The term Sewalik seems synonymous with Himalaya.

30. The Sisodia family, the head of which is styled Rana, still reigns over Chittoor and Oodypoor; and its descendants have given rajas to the principalities of Dongurpoor and Purtabghur.—Vide Sir J. Malcolm's Report on Malwa, vol. i. pp. 504-506. Ferishta is in error when he asserts that Rana signifies a petty prince: it always has been borne by the highest Hindoo kings, and is distinctive of pre-eminence.

tribe of Beis. Having collected a large force in Malwa, he conquered the countries of Nehrwala and Marhatt, in the Deccan. He built also the forts of Ramgir and Mahoor in Berar, as well as the fort of Mando in Malwa. He lived in the age of Khoosrow Purvees, and died after a reign of sixteen years.

At this time a Hindoo named Maldew, having collected a force in the Dooab, attacked and seized the cities of Dehly and Kunowj. He made the latter city his residence, which attained a condition so flourishing that it has seldom been equalled. An idea of its population may be formed, when it is stated that Kunowj contained 30,000 shops for the sale of *pan*,[31] and 60,000 families of public dancers and singers. After having reigned forty-two years, Maldew died; but leaving no sons fit to succeed him, anarchy and civil war every where prevailed. From that time till the Mahomedan invasion no single raja ruled over India; for when Sooltan Mahmood Ghizny invaded it, the country was divided into principalities, as follows:

Kunowj	..	Koowur Raj.
Meerut	..	Hurdut Raj.
Mahavun[32]	..	Goolchunder Ray.
Lahore	..	Jeipal, the son of Hutpal.

Thus also Malwa, Guzerat, Ajmeer, Gualiar, &c. had each separate rajas.

31. Pan, an aromatic leaf, much eaten by the Indians.

32. A village on the left bank of the Jumna, about ten miles below Mutra, is supposed to be the spot here alluded to.

HISTORY

OF THE

MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind was Mohalib[1] Bin Aby Sufra.

In the 28th year of the Hijra (A.D. 648), shortly after the accession of the Caliph Oothman, that prince deputed Abdoolla Bin Amir, governor of Bussora, to reduce the province of Fars, which had revolted since the death of the Caliph Oomur. Abdoolla having succeeded in quelling the insurrection, returned to Bussora.

Two years after this event, the Caliph Oothman removed Wuleed Bin Atiba from the government of Koofa on account of his licentious excesses, and appointed Syeed Bin Aby-ool-Aas governor in his stead. Syeed shortly after led an army through Persia as far as Tubristan; on which occasion he was accompanied by Hussun and Hoossein, the two sons of Ally, and by their exertions he reduced the province of Joorjan, the capital of which is Astrabad, on the borders of the Caspian Sea, and received from the inhabitants, whom he converted to the true faith, a contribution of two hundred thousand deenars.

On the following year A.H. 31 (A.D. 651), Abdoolla Bin Amir was again deputed, to lead an army into Kirman, and eventually into Khorassan. His advanced guard, under the command of Huneef Bin Keis, subdued the provinces of Seestan, Kohistan, and Nyshapoor. At the latter place, Abdoolla was joined by the

1. The Mohalibees were a race of princes descended from this chieftain, which ruled over Laristan and Ormuz, in the caliphat of the Omyades of Syria. They at last revolted from Yezeed II., were defeated, and lost their government.

Bin Shanah, an Arabian poet, has celebrated the valor and munificence of the Mohalibees, and both Abool Furrah of Isfahan and Abool Fida mention one Mahomed Mohaliby in their works. *Vide* D'Herbelot, Bib. Ori. art. Mohaleb.

Prince of Toos, and from thence proceeded to reduce Surukhsh, Hirat, Badghees, Ghoor, Joorjistan, Murv, Talikhan, and Bulkh.

After these successes Abdoolla quitted the army and proceeded to Mecca, making the following distribution of the conquered provinces amongst his respective generals:

To Keis, the son of Hashem,—Khorassan.

To Huneef, the son of Keis,—Murv, Talikhan, and Nyshapoor.

To Khalid, the son of Abdoolla,—Badghees, Goor, and Joorjistan.

In the year A.H. 32 (A.D. 652), Abdool Rahman Bin Rubeea was deputed from Bagdad to Persia to propagate the true faith; but being overpowered by numbers, he was slain and his army dispersed; many of his followers sought protection in Joorjan and Geelan. In the same year, Karoon, one of the nobles of the Persian government, having learned that Abdoolla had gone to Mecca, and had divided his army over the several conquered provinces, collected a body of forty thousand men composed of the inhabitants of Tubus, Herat, Badghees, Ghoor, and Kohistan, and marched against the Moslem forces. Karoon was, however, defeated by Abdoolla Bin Jazim, one of the officers of Huneef, in Nyshapoor, with an inconsiderable body of four thousand men, for which service Abdoolla received the charge of the government of Khorassan.

In the year A.H. 44 (A.D. 664), the Caliph Moavia Bin Aby Soofian nominated Zeead, the son of Oomya, to the government of Bussora, Seestan, and Khorassan. In the same year also Abdool Ruhman Bin Shimur, another Arab Ameer of distinction, marched from Murv to Kabul, where he made converts of upwards of twelve thousand persons. At the same time, also, Mohalib Bin Aby-Suffra, proceeding with a detachment from thence, in the direction of India, penetrated as far as Mooltan; when, having plundered the country, he returned to the head-quarters of the army at Khorassan, bringing with him many prisoners, who were compelled to become converts to the faith.

In the year A.H. 53 (A.D. 672), Zeead, the son of Oomyah, died at Bussorah of the plague, which now made its appearance in that city. Before that Moavia, however, had heard of his death, he nominated Abdoolla, the son of Zeead, to the govern-

ment of Koofa, who, proceeding with an army through Persia to Mawuroolnuhr, partly reduced it. Being now recalled from his conquests to fill the stations lately held by his father as governor of Bussorah, Abdoolla proceeded thither, leaving his relative Salim Bin Zoora in the government of Khorassan.

Three years after this A.H. 56 (A.D. 678), Salim was superseded by Saad, Bin Oothman Bin Iffan now appointed governor of Khorassan by the Caliph Moavia. Saad was recalled in the year A.H. 59 (A.D. 681), and Abdool Ruhman, the son of Zeead, who formerly invaded Kabul, was nominated ruler of Khorassan. He was subsequently, removed to make room for Sulim Bin-Zeead, in the year A.H. 62 (A.D. 683), by Yezeed, the son of Moavia, who had then succeeded to the Caliphate. Among the persons who accompanied Sulim to his new government was Mohalib, the son of Aby-Suffra. Shortly after his arrival in Khorassan, Sulim deputed his brother, Yezeed Bin Zeead, to Seestan. Not long after, Yezeed, having learned that the Prince of Kabul, throwing off his allegiance, had attacked and taken prisoner Aby Oobeyda, the son of Zeead, the late governor of Seestan, he marched with a force to recover that province, but was defeated in a pitched battle. When Sulim heard this news, he sent Tilla Bin Abdoolla, an officer of his court, as envoy to the court of Kabul, to ransom Aby Oobeyda; to obtain which object he paid 500,000 dirhems. Tilla afterwards received the government of Seestan as a reward for his services on this occasion, where, having collected a large force, he subdued Kabul, and Khalid Bin Abdoolla (said by some to be the son of Khalid Bin Wuleed, and by others the son of Aboo Jehl) was nominated to its government. Khalid being subsequently superseded, became apprehensive of returning to Arabia by the route of Persia, on account of the enemies he had in that country, and equally so of remaining in Kabul, under his successor. He retired, therefore, with his family, and a number of Arab retainers, into the Soolimany mountains, situated between Mooltan and Pishawur, where he took up his residence, and gave his daughter in marriage to one of the Afghan chiefs, who had become a proselyte to Mahommedism. From this marriage many children were born, among whom were two sons famous in history. The one Lody, the other Soor; who each, subsequently became head of the tribes which to this day bear their name.

I have read in the Mutla-ool-Anwar,[2] a work written by a respectable author, and which I procured at Boorhanpoor, a town of Kandeish in the Dekkan, that the Afghans are Copts of the race of the Pharaohs; and that when the prophet Moses got the better of that infidel who was overwhelmed in the Red Sea, many of the Copts became converts to the Jewish faith; but others, stubborn and self-willed, refusing to embrace the true faith, leaving their country, came to India, and eventually settled in the Soolimany mountains, where they bore the name of Afghans. At the time when Abraha marched against Mecca, he was accompanied by several tribes of infidels from far and near, and, on that occasion, a body of these Afghans,[3] it is said, also joined his forces. These tribes were eventually annihilated.

At the time of the settlement of Abdoolla, the Afghans, already converts to the true faith, received the Mahomedans among them, whose flocks and herds increased; and their agriculture flourished so rapidly, that in a few years afterwards, at the time of the invasion of Sind and Mooltan by Mahomed Kassim, they afforded protection to his followers who remained with them. In the year A.H. 63 (A.D. 682), the Mahomedan Afghans, issuing from their mountain, invaded and laid waste the inhabited countries, such as Kirman, Sheewuran, and Pishawur. The Raja of Lahore, who was related to the Ray[4] of Ajmeer, sent 1,000 horse to attack and annihilate these marauders; but the former being defeated with severe loss, the Raja despatched his nephew with a force of 2,000 horse and 5,000 infantry to make a second endeavour to expel them.

The Afghans having procured reinforcements from Khulij, Ghoor, and Kabul, to the number of four thousand men, marched against the Indian forces. The two armies fought, in the five ensuing months, seventy actions; but the winter setting in

2. This is one of many works to which Ferishta alludes, but whose names are not included among those from which he drew the materials of this history. I have in vain searched for the Mutla-ool-Anwar in India; for the fact quoted in this place might be more explicit in the original, and lead to important conclusions regarding the dispersion of the Jewish host after it left Egypt.

3. By this is meant evidently the race of Copts which refused to become converts to the Jewish or true faith.

4. The terms Ray and Raja will be found to be synonymous throughout the work.

severely, the Indians were compelled to retreat to Lahore, an object which they effected with great difficulty. In the following spring the Indians again took the field, under their former general. The Afghans met them on a plain between Kirman and Pishawur, where several indecisive actions took place, till at length the rainy season being about to commence, the Indians took the opportunity of a temporary advantage which they had gained over the Afghans to retreat by forced marches, so as to cross the Neelab while yet fordable. The same cause also induced the Mahomedans to return within their frontiers. About this period some disputes arising between the Gukkurs[5] and the Raja of Lahore, this race formed a treaty of alliance, defensive and offensive with the Afghans, who compelled the Raja of Lahore to submit to terms from the Gukkurs, to whom he could otherwise himself have dictated conditions.

This treaty included the cession of certain territories in perpetuity to the Gukkurs, and to the tribe of Khullij, which was permitted by the Afghans to reside in the country of Lumghan; it was secretly provided, also, that they should protect the Indian frontier from the Mahomedan invasions. The Mahomedan Afghans, notwithstanding, still continued their depredations, and advanced near Pishawur, where they erected a fort in the hills to which they gave the name of Khybur, subduing at the same time the province of Roh. This district extends from Swad and Beejowr, on the north, as far south as Seewy near Bhukkur in Sind; and from east to west from Hussun Abdall to Kabul and Kandahar.

During the reign of the Samany kings, the Afghans formed a barrier between the kingdom of Mooltan and Lahore, and thus we find the Samany troops always limited their predatory excursions to Sind and Tatta. When the government of Ghizny devolved on Aluptugeen, his general, Subooktugeen frequently invaded the provinces of Mooltan and Lumghan, carrying away its inhabitants as slaves, in spite of the efforts of the Afghans. Jeipal, the Raja of Lahore, concerted measures with the Bhattia[6]

5. Mr. Elphinstone mentions this race of people, whom he encountered on his return from Kabul in the Punjab. Elph. Kabul, Introduction, p. 78.

6. He was one of the princes tributary to the Raja of Lahore; his capital was Bhutnere,—Bulneer of Arrowsmith.

Raja, and being convinced that his troops were unable to withstand the inclemency of the northern climate so as to retaliate on the invaders, concerted measures with Bhattia Raja to obtain the services of Sheikh Humeed, Afghan, who being appointed governor of Mooltan and Lumghan, placed garrisons of Afghan troops in those districts.

From that period the Afghans became military chiefs. On the death of Aluptugeen, Subooktugeen succeeded to his power; and Sheikh Humeed perceiving that his own country would, in all probability, suffer in the incursions with which Subooktugeen threatened India, united himself with that prince.

Subooktugeen, from motives of policy, avoided the districts of Sheikh Humeed by every means in his power; but his son Mahmood, on the contrary, made furious war against the Afghans, putting to death all who did not acknowledge his supremacy, by which means he eventually compelled the whole of the tribes to submit to him.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF LAHORE, BETTER KNOWN BY THE TITLE OF GHIZNIVIDES

ALTHOUGH Ameer Nasir-ood-deen Subooktugeen neither crossed the Indus nor subdued any part of Punjab, all writers include him in the dynasty of the kings of Lahore. Historians affirm that Ameer Subooktugeen, who afterwards acquired the title of Nasir-ood-deen, was a Toork by descent. He was educated, and taught the use of arms, among the other slaves of Aluptugeen. During the reign of the house of Samany,[1] Aluptugeen was honoured with the government of Khorassan, where having raised himself to distinction, on the death of Abdool Mullik Samany, the nobles sent a deputation to consult him regarding a successor. Aluptugeen hesitated not to oppose the accession of the Prince Munsoor on the plea of his being too young, recommending that his uncle should for the present assume the reins of government. Before his answer arrived, a party at the capital had raised Munsoor to the throne, and, consequently, when the young king sent for Aluptugeen to court, he, being apprehensive for his life, made excuses, and neglected to appear. In the year A.H. 351 (A.D. 962), he broke out into open rebellion, and marched to Ghizny, which he subdued, and there established an independent power.

Munsoor hearing of his defection, conferred the government of Khorassan on Abool-Hussun Mahomed, the son of Ibrahim Sanjur, Toorkoman, and twice sent armies to attack Aluptugeen, which were on both occasions defeated.

According to the narrative of Ahmud-oolla Moostowfy, Aluptugeen retained his independence fifteen years, during which period his general, Subooktugeen, being engaged in frequent wars with the Indians, as often defeated them. Aluptugeen died in the year A.H. 365 (A.D. 975) and his son Aboo-Isaac, accompanied by Subooktugeen, proceeded to Bokhara. At this time Aboo-Isaac received a formal commission from Munsoor, as

1. This dynasty reigned over Transoxania, holding its court at Bokhara. Its power extended over Khwaruzm, Marvur-ool-nehr, Joorjan, Khorassan, Seewustan, and Ghizny.

governor ot Ghizny; and Subooktugeen was also appointed by the king his deputy and provisional successor. Aboo-Isaac survived this event but a short period, when Subooktugeen in the year A.H. 367 (A.D. 977), was unanimously acknowledged king by the chiefs of Ghizny.

On this occasion, also, he espoused the daughter of Aluptugeen, and became as celebrated for his justice in the administration of his affairs as for the great popularity he acquired among his subjects, of all conditions.

Minhaj-oos-Sira Joorjany has given the following account of Subooktugeen's origin: "A merchant of the name of Nusr-Hajy having purchased Subooktugeen while yet a boy, brought him from Toorkistan to Bokhara, where he was sold to Aluptugeen, who, perceiving in him the promise of future greatness, raised him by degrees to posts of confidence and distinction, till at length, on his establishing his independence at Ghizny, he conferred on him the title of Ameer-ool-Omra (chief of the nobles), and also that of Vakeel-i-Mootluk, or representative." Subooktugeen is said to be lineally descended from Yezdijerd (the last of the Persian monarchs), who, when flying from his enemies during the Caliphate of Oothman, was murdered at a water-mill near the town of Murv. His family being left in Toorkistan formed connections among the people, and his descendants became Toorks. His genealogy is as follows: Subooktugeen, the son of Jookan, the son of Kuzil-Hukum, the son of Kuzil-Arslan, the son of Ferooz, the son of Yezdijird, king of Persia.[2] Soon after Subooktugeen had assumed the ensigns of royalty, he had nearly lost his life by the hands of one Toghan, an independent chief, on the confines of the province of Ghizny. Toghan had lately been restored to his government (from which he had been expelled by one of his neighbours), on condition that he should hold it of the crown of Ghizny. But he failed in his allegiance. Subooktugen, while making a circuit of his dominions, came to this chief's province, where, having invited him to the chase, and being alone, he upbraided him with his breach of faith. Toghan, feeling the reproof bitterly, put his hand on his sword, the king drew this in self-defence; a combat

2. Thus we have but five generations to Subooktugeen from the death of Yezdijerd, a number too scanty to extend over a period of 320 years.

ensued, in which Subooktugen was wounded in the hand, and his attendants interfering, as well as those of Toghan, an action took place, wherein Toghan being defeated, fled to the fort of Boost. The fort was besieged and taken, but Toghan effected his escape.

It was here the king became acquainted with Abool Futteh, the most learned man of his day. He was originally secretary to the chief of Boost,[3] whom Subooktugen had expelled in favour of the ungrateful Toghan. Abool Futteh now became secretary to Subooktugen, and continued in his office at Ghizny till the accession of Mahmood, when he retired in disgust to Toorkistan.

Subooktugeen, having reduced the fortress of Boost, marched to Kandahar, and conquered that province; the governor of which place, although made prisoner, was afterwards enrolled among the officers of the Ghizny court. Towards the close of the first year of his reign, A.H. 367 (A.D. 977), the King, resolving on a war with the idolaters of India, marched in that direction, and having taken certain forts, caused mosques to be built, and then returned with considerable spoil to Ghizny.

Jeipal, the son of Hutpal, of the Brahmin tribe reigned at that time over the country, extending in length from Surhind to Lumghan, and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmeer to Moultan. He resided in the fort of Bitunda for the convenience of taking steps for opposing the Mahomedans; and finding, by their reiterated invasions, that he was unlikely to enjoy tranquillity at home, he raised a great army, and brought together numerous elephants, with a design to attack them in their own country. Subooktugeen, receiving intelligence of Jeipal's intentions, marched another force towards India. The two armies coming in sight of each other, on the confines of Lumghan, some skirmishes ensued, and Mahmood, the son of Subooktugeen, though then but a boy, gave signal proofs of his valour and conduct.

Many days elapsed without the opponents having engaged each other, when it was mentioned to Mahmood, that in the camp of Jeipal was a spring, into which, if a mixture of ordure

3. Boost, at present the capital of Zabulistan, is a considerable and well-built city: the country round it is pleasant and fertile; and being situated on the confines of India and Persia, it drives a considerable trade with both countries. It lies in 23° north lat.

should be thrown the sky would immediately become overcast, and a dreadful storm of hail and wind arise. Mahmood having caused this to be done, the effects became visible; for instantly the sky lowered, and thunder, lightning, wind, and hail succeeded, turning the day into night, and spreading horror and destruction around; in so much that a great part of the cattle was killed, and some thousands of the soldiers of both armies perished. But the troops of Ghizny being more hardy than those of Hindoostan, suffered less than their enemies. Jeipal in the morning found his army so dispersed and dejected from the effects of the storm, that, fearing Subooktugeen would take advantage of his condition to attack him, he made overtures for peace, in which he offered to pay to the king of Ghizny a certain tribute, and to propitiate him with presents of elephants and gold.

Subooktugeen was disposed to accede to these proposals, but his son Mahmood prevailed with his father to reject them. Jeipal now sent other ambassadors to explain to Subooktugeen the customs of the Indian soldiers, particularly the rajpoots, who, "if driven to desperation," said he, "murder their wives and children, set fire to their houses and property, let loose their hair, and rushing on the enemy, are heedless of death, in order to obtain revenge."

Subooktugeen, convinced of the truth of Jeipal's statement, consented to terms. Jeipal agreed to pay a large sum in specie, and to deliver to Subooktugeen fifty elephants. Unable to discharge the whole sum in camp, Jeipal desired that persons on the part of Subooktugeen, should accompany him to Lahore, to receive the balance; for whose safety hostages were left with Subooktugeen. On reaching Lahore, finding Subooktugeen had returned to Ghizny, at the instance of his Braminical advisers, Jeipal refused payment, and imprisoned the persons left to receive the money.

It was then customary among the Rajas, in affairs of moment, to assemble a council consisting of an equal number of the most respectable Brahmins, who sat on the right of the throne, and of the noblest Kshetries, who sat on the left. The Kshetries perceiving that Jeipal mediated so impolitic a measure represented to him the fatal consequences of this step. "The troops," said they "have not yet forgotten the terrors of the

enemy's arms, and Jeipal may rest assured that Subooktugeen will not brook such an insult without a dreadful revenge."

The opinion of the council was that he should comply strictly with the terms of the treaty, that the people might enjoy the blessings of tranquillity. But the King remained obstinate, and refused to attend to their advice. Intelligence of the restraint put on his officers reaching the ear of Subooktugeen, like a foaming torrent he hastened with his army towards Hindoostan.

Jeipal also, having collected his troops, marched forth to oppose him. It is related, that on this occasion the neighbouring Rajas supplied troops and money, particularly those of Dehly, Ajmeer, Kalunjur, and Kunowj, whose forces having united in the Punjab, the whole composed an army of a hundred thousand horse, besides an innumerable host of foot.

The two armies having met on the confines of Lumghan, Subooktugeen ascended a hill to view the forces of Jeipal, which appeared in extent like the boundless ocean, and in number like the ants or the locusts of the wilderness. But Subooktugeen considered himself as a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep; calling, therefore, his chiefs together, he encouraged them to glory, and issued to each his commands. His soldiers, though few in number, were divided into squadrons of five hundred men each, which were directed to attack successively, one particular point of the Hindoo line, so that it might continually have to encounter fresh troops.

The Hindoos, being worse mounted than the cavalry of Subooktugeen, were unable to withstand them, and wearied out by the manœuvre just mentioned, began to give way. Subooktugeen perceiving their disorder, made a general assault: the Hindoos were every where defeated, and fled, and were pursued, with great slaughter, to the banks of the Neelab. Subooktugeen acquired in this action both fame and wealth, for, besides the rich plunder of the Indian camp, he levied heavy contributions on the countries of Lumghan and Pishawur, including all the territory west of the Neelab; causing himself to be acknowledged king over that country, and appointing one of his officers, with ten thousand horse, to the Government of Pishawur.

The Afghans and Khiljies[4] who resided among the mountains

4. A tartar horde or family, which appears to have occupied a place among the Afghan mountains at an early period. They seem always to be spoken of as distinct from Afghans.

having taken the oath of allegiance to Subooktugeen, many of them were enlisted in his army, after which he returned in triumph to Ghizny.

Abool Munsoor, King of Bokhara, died about this time, and his son Nooh the Sixth, of the house of Samany, sat upon the throne. Being attacked by one Faik, a rebel chief, Abool Nusr Farsy was deputed from Bokhara to Subooktugeen, to beg his assistance. Subooktugeen, influenced by gratitude to the house of Samany, hastened with his army towards Mavur-ool-Nehr, while Nooh advanced to the country of Suruksh to meet him. Subooktugeen sent a messenger to Nooh, requesting that on account of his age and infirmities, he might be excused from dismounting when they met. On advancing, however, and recognising the features of the royal house of Samany in the face of the young prince, he was unable to control his emotions of loyalty, and throwing himself from his horse, ran to kiss his stirrup, which the young king perceiving, prevented the attempt by himself dismounting, and receiving him in his embrace.

The season being too far advanced for military operations, it was agreed, that Subooktugeen should return, during the winter, to Ghizny; and Ameer Nooh, after conferring the usual dresses of honour, returned to Bokhara. Boo Ally Hussun, Bin Sunjur, who having seized part of Khorassan had given an asylum to Faik, heard of the alliance formed between Ameer Nooh and Subooktugeen, and now became apprehensive of the consequence of favouring the rebel. Having consulted his council as to where he should find protection in case fortune deserted him, it was resolved that he should endeavour to ensure the alliance of Fukhr-odd-Dowla Delimy, ruler of Joorjan.[5] He accordingly sent one Jafur Zoolkurnein ambassador to Joorjan, with valuable and curious presents, the produce of Khorassan and Toorkistan and a treaty of friendship was formed between these two princes.

Subooktugeen in the mean while put his troops in motion, and arrived at Bulkh,[6] where Ameer Nooh joined him with his forces from Bokhara. Faik and Boo-Ally-Hussun, hearing of this junction, marched (accompanied by Dara the general of Fukhr-

5. A small province to the north-east of Khorassan.

6. An ancient and great city near the Oxus or Amoo, situated west of Bokhara, in latitude 37° 10', and longitude 92° 21' east of Faro.

ood-Dowla) from Herat, to oppose the king. Subooktugeen, pitching his camp on an extensive plain, awaited the approach of the enemy. Who soon after appeared in his front. He then drew out his army in order of battle, and took post in the centre, having with him his son Mahmood, and the young king of Bokhara.

At first the rebel troops advanced with great intrepidity, and pressed so closely on the flanks of Subooktugeen, that both wings began to give ground, and his army was on the point of being defeated. At this critical moment Dara, the general of Fukhr-ood-Dowla, galloping up to the centre where Subooktugeen in person led his troops, laid his shield over his back (a signal of friendship), as he approached, and riding up to him, begged he would accept of his services. After this, returning to his division, he immediately brought it over to the side of Subooktugeen, and faced round on his deserted friends. Subooktugeen, taking advantage of the confusion which ensued, charged and put the enemy to flight, pursuing them with slaughter, and taking many prisoners.

Thus this unhappy man (Faik), who had raised his hand against his sovereign, lost his honour and his wealth, a tenth part of which might have maintained him and his family in splendour and happiness. Faik and Boo-Ally-Hussun fled, and took the route of Nyshapoor.[7] Subooktugeen, after this signal victory, received from the king of Bokhara the title of Nasir-ood-Deen (Hero of the faith), and his son Mahmood that of Syf-ood-Dowla (Sword of the state).

Ameer Nooh marched to Bokhara, and Subooktugeen and his son Mahmood to Nyshapoor. Faik and Boo-Ally-Hussun fled, at their approach, into Joorjan, and took refuge with Fukhr-ood-Dowla. The country being thus cleared of the enemy, Subooktugeen returned to Ghizny, while his son Mahmood remained at Nyshapoor with a small force. Faik and Boo-Ally-Hussun, availing themselves of this circumstance, collected their forces and attacked Mahmood, before he could receive reinforcements either from the emporor or his father, on which occasion he was defeated, and lost all his baggage.

Subooktugeen, hearing of his son's situation hastened towards Nyshapoor, and meeting with the troops of Faik, attacked them without delay. In the heat of the action, a dust was observed

7. Nyshapoor is still a very considerable city, well peopled, and carries on a great trade in all sorts of silk, stuffs, and carpets.

suddenly to rise in the rear of Boo-Ally-Hussun, which announced the apprcach of prince Mahmood. Faik and Boo-Ally-Hussun, finding they should soon be surrounded, made a desperate but unavailing charge against Subooktugeen. Mahmood arriving at that instant, attacked them like an angry lion, and they, unable to resist his fury, fled, and took refuge in the fort of Kilat.

After this victory, Subooktugeen resided at Bulkh, in peace and tranquillity, but in less than a year he fell into a languishing disorder, which not yielding to the power of medicine, he determined to try change of air; and accordingly commenced a journey to Ghizny. He became so weak when he arrived at Toormooz (not far from Bulkh), that he was obliged to stop there, and expired in the month of Shaban, A.H. 387 (August, A.D. 997), his remains being carried on to Ghizny for interment.

Subooktugeen was a prince of great bravery and conduct, and governed his subjects with prudence, equity, and moderation, for twenty years. He died in the fifty-sixth year of his age. After him fourteen kings of his race reigned at Ghizny and Lahore. His Vizier, Abool Abass Fazil, Bin Ahmud Isferany, was considered a great minister in the management both of civil and military affairs.

The author of the Jama-ool-Hikayat[8] relates, that "Subooktugeen was at first a private horseman in the service of Aluptugeen, and being of a vigorous and active disposition, used to hunt every day in the forest. It happened on a time, as he was engaged in the amusement of the chase, he saw a doe grazing along with her fawn. On which spurring his horse, he seized the fawn, and binding its legs proceeded on his return home. Having ridden but a short distance, he looked back, and beheld the doe following him, exhibiting every demonstration of affliction. The soul of Subooktugeen melting with pity, he unbound the fawn, and restored it to liberty: the happy mother turned her face to the wilderness, often turning round to gaze on Subooktugeen. He is said to have seen during that night, in a dream, the Prophet of God, (on whom be peace!) who said to him, 'That generosity which you have this day shown to a distressed

8. A collection of historical anecdotes and stories, more useful in commemorating the prevailing opinions of contemporaries than as a source of authenticity.

animal has been appreciated by God, and the kingdom of Ghizny is assigned to you in this world as your reward: let not thy power, however, undermine thy virtue, but thus continue the exercise of benevolence towards mankind.' "

It is stated, also, in the Maasir-ool-Moolook, that his son Mahmood, having built a pleasure-house in an elegant garden near the city of Ghizny, invited his father, when it was finished, to a magnificent entertainment which he had prepared for him.

Mahmood, in the joy of his heart, desired the opinion of Subooktugeen concerning the house and garden, which were much admired on account of the taste displayed in their formation. The king, to the great disappointment of his son, told him that he viewed the whole as a bauble, which any of his subjects might raise by the means of wealth; observing, that it was the business of a prince to raise more durable fabrics to fame, which might stand for ever, as objects worthy of imitation, but difficult to be surpassed by posterity. The poet Nizamy Oorazy of Samarkand makes upon this saying the following reflection: "Notwithstanding the numerous palaces built by Mahmood, who vaunted of their beauty and magnificence, yet we see not one stone in its proper place; though the poems of Oonsurry[9] still remains a splendid monument of his talents."

It is related in the Turjooma Yemny, that a short time previously to his death, Ameer Nasir-ood-Deen Subooktugeen held a conversation with Sheikh Abool Futteh of Boost. He observed, "In the exertions we make to avert disease with the hopes of recovery, I am forcibly reminded of the condition of sheep and the butcher. In the first instance, the sheep is brought into a strange place, is bound by the feet, and is apprehensive that his end is approaching. After much exertion he submits; and, on being shorn of his fleece, is allowed to get up and be at liberty; this ceremony is more than once renewed during his life; and, lastly, when the moment of death arrives, he permits himself to be quietly bound, and resigns his throat to the knife, while he firmly hopes he is only thrown down to be shorn. So we become, in the course of time, accustomed to the bed of sickness; we have recovered so often, that we have no apprehension of danger, till at last death comes suddenly upon us, and throws his noose round our necks, and we are in an instant throttled."

9. Oonsurry a celebrated poet who resided at the court of Mahmood.

It is said this conversation occurred only about forty days before the King's death.

AMEER ISMAEEL

SUBOOKTUGEEN dying suddenly, and his eldest son Mahmood being at Nyshapoor, his second son Ismaeel prevailed on his father, in his last moments, to appoint him his successor. Ismaeel was accordingly crowned with great solemnity at Bulkh. In order to acquire popularity, he opened the treasury and distributed great part of his father's wealth in presents to the nobility, and in expensive shows and entertainments to the people. He also augmented the pay of the troops, and rewarded small services with unusual profusion. The soldiers, however, perceived that this generosity arose out of apprehension of his brother, and they accordingly raised their demands, and became mutinous and disorderly.

When intelligence was brought to Mahmood of the death of his father, and the accession of his younger brother, he wrote to Ismaeel a letter, which he send by the hand of Abool Hussun Jumvy, stating, that since the death of his royal father, he held no one upon earth so dear as his beloved brother, but that the art of government required the maturity of experience, wisdom and age. That if Ismaeel were competent to so great a charge, it might have induced him not to interfere; but it must be evident that their father Subooktugeen, in vesting him with the control of the kingdom, was influenced alone by a consideration of the great distance at which his eldest son then was. He advised Ismaeel, therefore, seriously to reflect on his situation, to distinguish right from wrong, and to give up at once all pretensions to the crown; in which case (Mahmood said) he was willing to cede to him the government of the provinces of Bulkh and Khorassan.

Ismaeel rejected these proposals, and Mahmood saw no remedy but war. Having gained over to his interests both his uncle Boghraz and his own younger brother, Ameer Nuseer-ood-Deen Yoosoof, Mahmood advanced to Ghizny; while Ismaeel hastened also from Bulkh to the same point. As the armies approached, Mahmood endeavoured to avoid coming to extremities.

and having in vain tried to effect a reconciliation, was at length induced to form his troops in order of battle. Ismaeel also drew up his army, supported by a number of elephants. Both parties engaged with vigour; the action was bloody, and the victory long doubtful; Mahmood at last charged the centre of the enemy in person, and wholly discomfited it, compelling the fugitives to seek refuge in the citadel of Ghizny. Ismaeel was shortly after reduced to surrender, and to deliver up the keys of the garrison and treasury to his brother. Mahmood, having appointed a new ministry, proceeded with his army towards Bulkh. It is said, that a few days after the submission of Ismaeel, he was asked by his brother what he intended to have done with him had his better fortune prevailed. To which Ismaeel replied, he would have imprisoned him for life, granting to him, at the same time, every indulgence but his liberty, Mahmood made no remark at the time, but subsequently confined Ismaeel in a fort in Joorjan, where he remained till his death [10]

SULTAN MAHMOOD-GHIZNEVY[11]

WE are told by historians, that Mahmood was endowed with all the qualities of a great prince, and reflected lustre upon the faith: while others inform us, that in his disposition the vice of avarice held supreme sway. It appears to me, however, that he has been unjustly censured in this respect. It is true, he was insatiable in acquiring wealth; but it was expended in the prosecution of his

10. Historians are at variance as to the right of succession of the two brothers. D'Herbelot says that Subooktugeen intended his son Ismaeel to succeed him. It is admitted that he nominated him his successor on his death-bed, while it is as certain that he was only a youth compared to his elder brother Mahmood. Ferishta states that the latter was the son of a lady of good family of Zabulistan, but from the familiar appellation of Zabuly, which is given to her, we should suspect she was only a female slave, and this notion is confirmed from the satire of Firdowsy, who distinctly reproaches Mahmood with his origin from slaves both on his mother and father's side. This fact accounts for Subooktugeen's wish that Ismaeel, his legitimate son, should succeed him instead of either of his illegitimate children, Mahmood or Nuseer-ood-Deen Yoosoof.

11. His titles were Ameen-ool-Millut, defender of the faith, and Yemeen-ood-Dowlut, the right hand of the state.

distant and splendid conquests. We have the testimony of the Futteh-ool-Bulad, and the travels of Aboo-Nusr-Muscaty, and of the famous Abool-Fuzeel, that no king had ever more learned men at his court, maintained a finer army, or displayed more magnificence than Mahmood. All these objects could not have been obtained without great expense; so that, when he is accused of avarice, some few particular acts of his life must be alluded to, which ought by no means to affect his general character. In two instances this passion was certainly very conspicuous. First, in his conduct to Ferdowsy; and, secondly, in his exactions from his subjects, in the latter part of his reign.

Mahmood, who, it is stated, was deficient in personal beauty, said one day (observing himself in a glass), "The sight of a king should brighten the eyes of the beholders; but nature has been so unkind to me, that my appearance is positively forbidding." His Vizier replied, "It is not one in ten thousand of a king's subjects who are blessed with a sight of him; but your Majesty's virtues are diffused over all." But to proceed with our history. Mahmood was the eldest son of Subooktugeen. His mother was the daughter of a person of good family in Zabulistan; for which reason she is termed Zabuly. He was born on the night of the ninth Mohurrum, in the year 357 of the Hijra (15th December, 967,)—and Minhaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany states, that his birth took place on the same day of the year as that of the Prophet. Subooktugeen being asleep at the time of his birth, dreamed that he beheld a green tree springing forth from the fire-place of his house, which threw its shadow over the face of the earth, screening with its boughs, from the storms of heaven, the whole animal creation. This, indeed, was verified by the justice of Mahmood; for it has been metaphorically stated, that in his reign the wolf and the lamb drank together at the same brook. In the first month of his reign, a vein of gold, resembling a tree, of three cubits in depth, was discovered in a mine in Seestan, which yielded pure gold till the reign of Musaood, when it was lost in consequence of an earthquake.

Mahmood, having ejected his brother, hastened to Bulkh, from whence he sent an ambassador to Abool Munsoor, King of Bokhara, to whom the family of Ghizny still continued to own allegiance, complaining of the indignity which had been offered him by the nomination of Ameer Toozun Beg to the government

of Khorassan, a country so long in possession of his father. Mahmood received for answer, that he was already in possession of the territories of Bulkh, Toormooz, and Hirat,[12] and that it was expedient to divide the favours of Bokhara among all its officers. He was, moreover, informed that Toozun Beg had been a faithful and good servant, an insinuation which implied a reflection on the family of Ghizny for having rendered itself independent in the governments it held of the royal house of Samany.

Mahmood, not discouraged by this answer, sent Abool-Hussun Jumvy with rich presents to the court of Bokhara, and a letter couched in the following terms:—that "he hoped no such indignity would be imposed on him as to drive him to the necessity of throwing off that allegiance he had hitherto paid to the imperial house of Samany." The Emperor, instead of replying to the letter of Mahmood, contrived to gain over his ambassador to his own service, and appointed him to the office of Vizier. Mahmood accordingly marched to recover Nyshapoor from Toozun Beg, who, advised of his intention, abandoned the city, and sending intelligence of his situation to the Emperor Ameer Munsoor, that prince himself marched to oppose Mahmood, and in the rashness of inexperienced youth hastened towards Khorassan, without halting, till he reached Surukhsh. Mahmood, though he well knew that the Emperor was in no condition to oppose him, was induced, out of respect towards the imperial standards of Samany, to evacuate Nyshapoor, and to fall back on Moorghab. Ameer Toozun Beg, in the mean time, treacherously engaged in a conspiracy with Faik in the camp of Ameer Munsoor, and seizing that prince, put out his eyes, and raised Abdool-Mullik, the younger brother of Munsoor (then a boy), to the throne. Apprehensive, however, of the resentment of Mahmood, the conspirators hastened to Murv,[13] whither they

12. Hirat is situated in the southern part of the province of Khorassan, in 34° of N. lat. It was always a great city, and is very much increased in splendour since the ruin of the city of Meshed by the Uzbeks, and has become the capital of Khorassan. It is the chief mart of the commerce carried on between India and Persia.

13. Murv stands on a sandy plain, in 37° N. lat. and 88° E. long. from Faro. It was formerly one of the richest and most beautiful towns of Persia; but since the invasion of the Tartars under Chungiz into southern Asia, it has suffered so much, that at present it retains but the shadow of its former magnificence.

were pursued by Mahmood. Finding themselves hard pressed, they halted and gave battle, but were defeated. Faik carried off the young king, and fled to Bokhara; Toozun Beg also escaped, but was not heard of, till he began to collect his scattered troops. Faik, in the mean time, fell sick, and soon after died. Elik Khan, ruler of Kashghar, seizing the opportunity afforded by these dissensions, marched from Kashghar[14] to Bokhara, and slaying Abdool Mullik annihilated his whole race. Thus the house of Samany, which had continued to reign in Bokhara for a period of one hundred and twenty-eight years, became extinct.

Mahmod, at this juncture, employed himself in settling the government of the provinces of Bulkh and Khorassan, which he regulated in such a manner, that his fame reached the Caliph of Bagdad, Alkadir-Billa of the house of Abass; who sent him a rich honorary dress (such as he had never before bestowed on any king), and dignified Mahmood with the titles of Ameen-ool-Millut, and Yemeen-ood-Dowlut.[15] In the end of the month Zeekad, A.H. 390 (October, A.D. 1000), Mahmood proceeded from Bulkh to Hirat, and thence to Seestan, where having defeated Khuluf the son of Ahmed, the governor of that province, he returned to Ghizny. About the same time, also, he marched in the direction of India,[16] took many forts and provinces, in which having established his own governors, he returned to his capital. Having overcome all opposition to his government, he devoted himself for some time to the improvement of his country and to the organisation of courts of civil and criminal justice. He also deemed it politic to acknowledge the new ruler of Bokhara, and accordingly deputed Aboo-Tyub Soheil, Bin Sooliman, Salooky, with magnificent presents, to form an alliance[17] with Elik Khan, and to congratulate him on

14. Little Bokhara: this kingdom extends from 38° 30 lat. to 44° 30′, and from 105° to 120° E. long. It is populous and fertile, but on account of its great elevation it is much colder than might be expected.

15. The asylum of the faith, and the right arm of the state.

16. India, in this place, must mean dependent districts west of the Attock, for as yet no Mahomedan army appears to have crossed that river.

17. The connection went beyond a mere political union. Mahmood solicited and obtained, through the influence of his envoy, the daughter of Elik Khan in marriage.

his late acquisition of the territory of Bokhara. On the arrival of the ambassador in Toorkistan, he was met by deputations at all the principal towns (for many of the Toorks at this time had become Mahomedans), and being graciously received at Orkund by Elik Khan, the envoy remained there till the accomplishment of the objects of his journey.

Mahmood having settled the affairs of his empire, turned his thoughts towards Hind; and he accordingly marched, in the month of Shuval, A.H. 391, (August, A.D. 1001), from Ghizny, with ten thousand chosen horse, to Pishawur, where Jeipal, the Raja of Lahore, with twelve thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, supported by three hundred elephants, opposed him, on Mohurrum 8, A.H. 392, (November 27, A.D. 1001). An obstinate battle ensued, in which Mahmood was victorious; Jeipal with fifteen of his principal chiefs, being his sons and brethren, were taken prisoners, and five thousand of his troops were slain on the field of battle. Mahmood in this action acquired great fame and wealth: among the spoils were sixteen necklaces inlaid with jewels, one of which, that belonging to Jeipal, was valued by jewellers at the time at 180,000 deenars.[18]

After this victory, Mahmood marched from Pishawur, and investing the fort of Bitunda reduced it. In the opening of the ensuing spring he released his prisoners, on payment of a large ransom, and on their stipulating for an annual tribute; but he put to death many of the Afghan chiefs who had opposed him, and then returned to Ghizny.

It is said that, in those days, a custom prevailed among the Hindoos, that whatever raja was twice overpowered by strangers, became disqualified to reign. Jeipal, in compliance with this custom, resigned his crown to his son; and, having ordered a funeral pile to be prepared, he set fire to it with his own hands, and perished therein.

In the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 393, (November, A.D. 1002), Mahmood again marched into Seestan,[19] and brought Khuluf prisoner to Ghizny.

Finding, also, that the tribute from Hindoostan had not been paid, in the year A.H. 395 (A.D. 1004), he directed his march

18. Valuing the deenar at 9s., this sum would make 81,000*l*.

19. A maritime province of Persia, lying between Kirman, or the ancient Carmania, and the mouth of the Indus.

towards the city of Bhateea[20]; and passing through the province of Moultan, arrived before that place. Bhateea was fortified with an exceedingly high wall, and surrounded by a deep and broad ditch. It was at that time governed by Raja Beejy Ray, who having greatly molested the Mahomedan governors, whom Mahmood had established in Hindoostan, also refused to pay his proportion of the tribute to Anundpal, the son of Jeipal, on whom he was dependent.

When Mahmood entered the territories of Beejy Ray, that prince drew out his troops to receive him; and taking possession of strong posts, engaged the Mahomedans for the space of three days, during which time they suffered so much, that they were on the point of abandoning their enterprize. On the fourth day, Mahmood, addressing his troops, said he should in person lead the main attack, "For to-day, (said he), I have devoted myself to conquest or to death." Beejy Ray, on his part, having propitiated the gods, resolved also to combat with his wonted courage. Although the Mahomedans advanced with great impetuosity, they were frequently repulsed with slaughter; still, however, they returned, and renewed with ardor their attacks till evening, when Mahmood, turning his face towards Mecca, prostrated himself in sight of his troops, and implored the aid of the Prophet. "Advance, advance," cried the King, "our prayers have found favour with God." A loud shout from his soldiers responded their resolution, and the Mahomedans, pressing forward, compelled the enemy to give ground, and pursued them to the gates of the town.

Mahmood having next morning invested the fort of Bhateea, took measures to fill up the ditch, an undertaking which in a few days was nearly completed. Beejy Ray, deeming it impossible any longer to maintain the town, determined to leave only a small garrison for its defence; and, accordingly, one night, marched out with the rest of his troops, and took post in a wood on the banks of the Indus. Mahmood, informed of his retreat, detached part of his army to surprise him. Beejy Ray, deserted by most of his friends, and perceiving himself surrounded by the Mahomedans, attempted in vain to force his way, till, just as he was on the point of being made prisoner, he turned his sword

20. I have failed in fixing the position of this place.

against his own breast; and most of his adherents subsequently fell, in attempting to revenge the death of their master.

Mahmood, mean time, took Bhateea by assault. Two hundred and eighty elephants, many slaves, and other spoils, were obtained in the town; which Mahmood annexed, with its dependencies, to his own dominions, and returned victorious to Ghizny.

In the year A.H. 396 (A.D. 1005), Mahmood formed the design of reconquering Mooltan, which had revolted. Sheikh Humeed Lody, the first ruler of Mooltan had paid tribute to Ameer Subooktugeen, and after him his grandson Abool-Futteh Dawood, the son of Nuseer, the son of Sheikh Humeed. Abool-Futteh Dawood, now having abandoned the tenets of the faithful,[21] had at this time shaken off his allegiance. It is related in the Towareekh Alfy, that when he heard of the approach of Mahmood from Ghizny, Abool-Futteh Dawood solicited the aid of his ally Anundpal, the successor of Jeipal; who, true to his alliance, detached the greater part of his army to oppose Mahmood in Pishawur, where it was defeated, and pursued by his troops as far as the town of Sodra,[22] on the Chunab.

Anundpal, on this occasion deserting his capital, fled through the hills into Kashmeer. Mahmood now entered Mooltan, by the route of Bitunda: when Dawood received the intelligence of the fate of Anundpal's army, and being too weak to keep the field alone, he retreated, and subsequently purchased his pardon by a promise of an annual tribute of 20,000 golden dirhems,[23] and implicit obedience in future.

Mahmood having besieged Mooltan for seven days made these terms, and was preparing to return to Ghizny, when news was brought from Arslan Jazib, governor of Hirat, that Elik Khan, the king of Kashghar, had invaded his territory. He instantly repaired to Ghizny, having placed the management of the affairs of Hindoostan in the hands of Sewukpal, a Hindoo prince, who had formerly been made prisoner by Aboo-Ally-Sunjury, in Pishawur, and had become a convert to Mahomedism.

21. It is probable this passage merely alludes to heterodoxy and not to paganism.

22. The town of Sodra, called also Wuzeerabad, is situated on the left bank of the Chunab, about fifty miles due north of Lahore.

23. The dirhem is known as a small silver coin valued at about *5d*. The golden dirhem is not known or estimated in any work I have seen.

The particulars of the war with Elik Khan are these. We have already mentioned that a close alliance had been formed between Elik Khan and Mahmood, to the latter of whom the former had given his daughter in marriage. But factious persons about the two courts, by misrepresentations, had changed their former friendship into enmity. When Mahmood marched to Hindoostan, he left Khorassan almost destitute of troops, and Elik Khan, taking advantage of the circumstance, resolved to seize that province for himself. To accomplish his design, he ordered his chief general, Sipustugeen, to invade Khorassan, and directed Jakurtugeen to invade Bulkh. Arslan Jazib, the governor of Hirat, informed of these movements, hastened to Ghizny to secure the capital; and the chiefs of Khorassan finding themselves deserted, and being in no condition to oppose the enemy, submitted to Elik Khan.

Mahmood, having by long marches reached Ghizny, pushed onward with his army towards Bulkh, from whence Jakurtugeen although in full possession of the city, fled towards Toormooz. Mahmood detached Arslan Jazib with a great part of his army to expel Sipustugeen from Khorassan; who upon the approach of the troops of Ghizny, abandoned Hirat, ard retreated to Mawur-ool-Nehr.[24]

Elik Khan, seeing the state of his affairs, solicited the aid of Kuddur Khan of Khootun, who marched to join him with fifty thousand men. Strengthened by this alliance, Elik Khan crossed the river Jyhoon (Oxus), and encamped within four *fursungs*[25] of Bulkh. Mahmood was not backward to meet him. The command of the van of the army was given to his brother, the Prince Nuseer-ood-deen Yoosoof, governor of Joorjan, under whom fought Aboo-Nusr Koorioon and Abdoolla Taee. The right wing was entrusted to Altoon Tash Hajib, while the left, composed of Afghans and Khiljies, was commanded by Arslan Jazib. The main body was strengthened by five hundred elephants, placed in the intervals of the line, so that nothing might oppose the retreat of these animals in case of defeat.[26]

24. Literally, the country beyond the river Transoxania.

25. A fursung (parasang) is a land measure, varying from three to four miles. In general it answers to the league of Europe.

26. This passage requires explanation. Among the Hindoos a line of elephants usually preceded that of the infantry, and was intended to

The King of Kashghar posted himself in the centre. The Ameer Kuddur Khan led the right, and Sipustugeen the left wing. As both armies advanced to the charge, the shouts of warriors, the neighing of horses and the clashing of arms, reached the broad arch of heaven, while dust obscured the face of day. Elik Khan in person attempted with his personal guards to break through the centre of Mahmood's army; but the latter perceiving his intention, leaped from his horse, and kissing the ground, invoked the aid of the Almighty. He instantly mounted an elephant, encouraged his troops, and met the assault of Elik Khan. The elephant, seizing the standard bearer of the enemy in his trunk, tossed him aloft in the air. Mahmood now pressed forward with the line of elephants, which trod the enemy like locusts under their feet.

The Ghizny troops bravely supported their king, rushing on with headlong impetuosity, and driving the enemy with great slaughter before them. Elik Khan, defeated on all sides, crossed the river with a few of his surviving attendants, and never afterwards appeared in the field during the remainder of Mahmood's reign. It is related in the Towareekh Yumny, that the King, after this victory, proposed to pursue the enemy, which was thought unadvisable by his generals, on account of the inclemency of the season, it being then winter, and the troops hardly capable of motion. But Mahmood, firm in his determination, followed the fugitives for two whole days. On the third night, a storm of wind and snow overtook the Ghiznian army in the desert. The King's tents were, with much difficulty, pitched, while the army was without shelter. Mahmood having ordered a number of munkuls or stoves to be brought within his tents, they became so heated, that many of the courtiers began to throw off their upper garments, when a facetious chief, whose

break through the opposing army. If this succeeded, the victory was usually complete. If, however, the elephants were repulsed, and became alarmed, they ran back furiously on their own troops, causing that confusion among them which it was intended they should effect on their foes. Mahmood, having seen this happen, made the elephants form a part of his line, so that if they became alarmed, and fled, they might have room to do so; while the space they occupied was instantly filled by other troops, which deployed right and left from the rear of each division. Time, however, has convinced all nations that these timid and unwieldy animals are ill adapted for warfare.

name was Dilchuk, came in, shivering with cold. The King observing him, said, "Go out, Dilchuk, and tell the Winter that he may burst his cheeks with blustering, for here we defy his power." Dilchuk went out accordingly, and returning in a short time, kissed the ground, and thus addressed his master: "I have delivered the King's message to the Winter, but the surly season replies, that if his hands cannot reach the skirts of royalty, nor hurt the attendants of the court, yet he will so evince his power this night on the army, that in the morning Mahmood may be compelled to saddle his own horse."

The King smiled at this reply, but it presently rendered him thoughtful, and he determined to proceed no further. In the morning, some hundreds of men and horses were found to have perished from the cold. Mahmood at this time received advice from India, that Sewulpal,[27] the renegado Hindoo, had thrown off his allegiance, and returning to his former religion, had expelled all the officers appointed by the King.

Mahmood, resolving to punish this revolt, and having marched with great expedition towards India, detached some part of his cavalry in front, who, coming unexpectedly upon Sewulpal, defeated him, and brought him in prisoner. The rebel was compelled to pay the sum of 400,000 dirhems,[28] and was kept in confinement during the rest of his life.

Mahmood having thus settled his affairs in India, returned, in the autumn, to Ghizny; where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year A.H. 399 (A.D. 1008), he determined again to attack Anundpal, Raja of Lahore, for having lent his aid to Dawood, during the late defection in Mooltan. Anundpal, hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindoostan, who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty. Accordingly, the rajas of Oojein, Gualiar, Kalunjur, Kunowj, Dehly, and Ajmeer, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces advanced towards Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Mahomedans arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of

27. It is probable he was some relative of the Raja of Lahore. In some manuscripts this name is written Zab-Sa.

28. If this be the silver dirhem, the fine does not exceed 8333*l.* sterling.

the province of Pishawur, where they remained encamped forty days without coming into action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindoo females, on this occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts), to furnish resources for the war; and the Gukkurs, and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Mahomedans, who were obliged to entrench their camp.

Mahmood, having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gukkurs, who, inspite of the King's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops, and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gukkurs with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons, penetrated into the Mahomedan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Mahomedans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at lenth checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter, till, on a sudden, the elephant, upon which the prince who commanded the Hindoos rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha-balls,[29] and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindoos, who, seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. Abdoolla Taee, with six thousand Arabian horse, and Arslan Jazib, with 10,000 Toorks, Afghans, and Khiljies, pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindoos were killed in the retreat.. Of the spoil, 30 elephants (besides other booty) were brought to the King.

The King, in his zeal to propagate the faith, now marched

29. This passage is differently written in the various manuscripts I have seen; and, in some, the word *tope* (gun) has been written for *nupth* (naphtha), and *toofung* (musket) for *khudung* (arrow). But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention, A.D. 1317, long after which it was first applied to the purpose of war. It appears likely, also, that Babur was the first invader who introduced great guns into Upper India, in 1526, so that the words tope and toofung have been, probably, introduced by ignorant transcribers of the modern copies of this work, which are in general very faulty throughout. It is a remarkable fact that the words guns and muskets occur in the India House manuscript, which was copied in 1648; and it may therefore, probably be no error of the transcriber, the fact however, appears impossible.

against the Hindoos of Nagrakote, breaking down their idols and razing their temples. The fort, at that time denominated the Fort of Bheem, was closely invested by the Mahomedans, who had first laid waste the country around it with fire and sword. Bheem was built by a prince of the same name, on the top of a steep mountain, where the Hindoos, on account of its strength, had deposited the wealth consecrated to their idols by all the neighbouring kingdoms; so that in this fort there is supposed to have been a greater quantity of gold, silver, precious stones, and pearls, than was ever collected in the royal treasury of any prince on earth. Mahmood invested the place with such expedition, that the Hindoos had no time to throw in troops for its defence. The greater part of the garrison was before in the field, and those within consisted, for the most part, of priests, who, having little inclination to the bloody business of war, made overtures to capitulate, and on the third day Mahmood became master of this strong citadel without opposition or bloodshed.

In Bheem were found 700,000 golden dinars, 700 muns[30] of gold and silver plate, 200 muns of pure gold in ingots, 2000 muns of silver bullion, and twenty muns of various jewels, including pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies, which had been collected since the time of Bheem, the details of which would be tedious. With this vast booty Mahmood returned to Ghizny; and in the year A.H. 400 (A.D. 1009), prepared a magnificent festival, where he displayed to the people his wealth in golden thrones, and in other rich ornaments, on a great plain without the city of Ghizny, conferring on every individual of rank a princely present.

In the following year A.H. 401 (A.D. 1010), Mahmood led his army towards Ghoor. The native prince of that country, Mahomed, of the Afghan tribe of Soor (the same race which gave birth to the dynasty that eventually succeeded in subverting

30. The weight of the mun varies in all parts of the East. In some parts of Arabia it is only about 2 lb., that of Tubreez is 11 lb., that of Gamroon 7 lb. 8 oz., that of Muscat 8 lb. 12 oz., vide "Kelly's Cambist," p. 122. Ferishta derived his authority from Persian and Arabian historians, and we may conclude they spoke of the weights in use among them. If we take the smallest weight, we have 1400 lb. of gold and silver plate, 400 lb. of golden ingots, 4000 lb. of silver bullion, and 40 lb. weight of pearls, corals, diamonds, and rubies: the mean of the largest weights would not increase the weight fourfold, and the specie at 10*s*. the deenar is about 313,333*l*. sterling.

the family of Subooktugeen), occupied an entrenched camp with 10,000 men. Mahmood was repulsed in repeated assaults which he made from morning till noon. Finding that the troops of Ghoor defended their entrenchments with such obstinacy, he caused his army to retreat in apparent confusion, in order to allure the enemy out of his fortified position. The Ghoorians, deceived by the stratagem, pursued the army of Ghizny; when the King, facing about, attacked and defeated them with great slaughter. Mahomed Soor, being made prisoner, was brought to the King, but having taken poison, which he always kept under his ring, he died in a few hours; his country was annexed to the dominions of Ghizny. The author of the Towareekh Yumny affirms, that neither the sovereigns of Ghoor nor its inhabitants were Mahomedans till after this victory; whilst the author of the Tubkat-Nasiry, and Fukhr-ood-Deen Moobarik Shah Lody, the latter of whom wrote a history of the kings of Ghoor in verse, both affirm, that they were converted many years before, even so early as the time of Ally, the son-in-law of the Prophet; and they assert that, during the reigns of the Caliphs of the house of Oomya, the whole race of Islam was induced to revile the venerable Ally, with the exception only of the Ghoorians.

Mahmood, in the same year, was under the necessity of marching to Mooltan, which had revolted; where having cut off a number of the infidel inhabitants and brought Dawood, the son of Nuseer, prisoner to Ghizny, he confined him in the fort of Ghooruk for life.

In the year A.H. 402 (A.D. 1011), Mahmood resolved on the conquest of Tahnesur,[31] in the kingdom of Hindoostan. It had reached the ears of the King that Tahnesur was held in the same veneration by idolaters, as Mecca by the faithful; that they had there set up a number of idols, the principal of which they called Jugsoma, pretending that it had existed ever since the creation. Mahmood having reached Punjab, required, according to the subsisting treaty with Anundpal, that his army should not be molested on its march through his country. An embassy was accordingly sent to inform the Raja of his intentions, and desiring him to send safe-guards into his towns and villages, which he would take care should be protected from the followers of his camp.

31. A city 30 miles west of Dehly.

Anundpal, agreeing to this proposal, prepared an entertainment for the reception of the King, at the same time issuing orders for all his subjects to supply the camp with every necessary of life.

The Raja's brother, with two thousand horse was also sent to meet the army, and to deliver the following message:—"My brother is the subject and tributary of the King, but he begs permission to acquaint his Majesty, that Tahnesur is the principal place of worship of the inhabitants of the country: that if it is required by the religion of Mahmood to subvert the religion of others, he has already acquitted himself of that duty, in the destruction of the temple of Nagrakote. But if he should be pleased to alter his resolution regarding Tahnesur, Anundpal promises that the amount of the revenues of that country shall be annually paid to Mahmood; that a sum shall also be paid to reimburse him for the expense of his expedition, besides which, on his own part, he will present him with fifty elephants, and jewels to a considerable amount." Mahmood replied, "The religion of the faithful inculcates the following tenet: 'That in proportion as the tenets of the Prophet are diffused, and his followers exert themselves in the subversion of idolatry, so shall be their reward in heaven;' that, therefore, it behoved him, with the assistance of God, to root out the worship of idols from the face of all India. How then should he spare Tahnesur?"

This answer was communicated to the Raja of Dehly, who, resolving to oppose the invaders, sent messengers throughout Hindoostan to acquaint the other rajas that Mahmood, without provocation, was marching with a vast army to destroy Tahnesur, now under his immediate protection. He observed, that if a barrier was not expeditiously raised against this roaring torrent, the country of Hindoostan would be soon overwhelmed, and that it behoved them to unite their forces at Tahnesur, to avert the impending calamity.

Mahmood having reached Tahnesur before the Hindoos had time to take measures for its defence, the city was plundered, the idols broken, and the idol Jugsoma was sent to Ghizny to be trodden under foot. According to Hajy Mahommed Kandahary, a ruby was found in one of the temples weighing 450 miskals, and it was allowed by every one who saw it to be a wonder that had never before been heard of.

Mahmood, after the capture of Tahnesur, was desirous of proceeding to Dehly. But his nobles told him, that it would be impossible to keep possession of it, till he had rendered Mooltan a province of his own government, and secured himself from all apprehension of Anundpal, Raja of Lahore. The King resolved, therefore, for the present, to proceed no further, till he had accomplished these objects. Anundpal, however, conducted himself with so much policy and hospitality towards Mahmood, that he returned peaceably to Ghizny. On this occasion, the Mahomedan army brought to Ghizny 200,000 captives, and much wealth, so that the capital appeared like an Indian city, no soldier of the camp being without wealth, or without many slaves.

In the year A.H. 403 (A.D. 1012), Mahmood deputed his generals, Altoon-Tash and Arslan Jazib, to reduce the province of Joorjistan[32]; when the prince of that country, entitled Sar-Aboo-Nusr,[33] was taken prisoner. The appellation of Sar among the Tartars having the same signification as Ray in India, and Kysur (Cæsar) in Rome. Mahmood at this time wrote to the Caliph of Bagdad (Al-Kadir Billa Abassy), that as the greatest part of the province of Khorassan was under his jurisdiction, he hoped he would order his governors to give up the remainder. The Caliph, dreading the great power of Mahmood, consented without hesitation to this demand. Finding the Caliph so complying, he required him also to send an order for the surrender of the city of Samarkand; but the Caliph refusing to accede to this proposal, Mahmood wrote him a threatening letter, and repeated his demand, stating, that unless an order was forthwith sent for the cession, he would march to Bagdad, and putting him to death, would bring his ashes to Ghizny. The Caliph, roused with indignation, made a laconic but spirited reply, which had the effect of preventing Mahmood from again urging the request.

In the year A.H. 404 (A.D. 1013), Mahmood marched his army against the fort of Nindoona, situated on the mountains of Bulnat,[34] then in the possession of the Raja of Lahore. Anundpal had lately died, and his son, Jeipal[35] the Second,

32. It is frequently written Ghirjistan.
33. We recognise in this word, perhaps, the Czar of Muscovy.
34. For an account of Bulnat see Leyden's Baber.
35. It is very usual among Hindoos to give to children the name of their grandfather, if born after his death, from a notion that the grandsire's soul may be received into the infant's body.

had succeeded to the government. When the grandson of Jeipal saw that he could not oppose the King in the field, he drew off his army towards Kashmeer, leaving troops for the defence of his capital. Mahmood immediately invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. The King having granted to the besieged their lives took every thing of value out of the place, and appointing a new governor moved without delay towards Kashmeer, on which the Raja of Lahore, abandoning that province, fled to the hills. Mahmood plundered Kashmeer, and, having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet, returned with rich spoils to his capital.

Mahmood, in the year A.H. 406 (A.D. 1015), revisited Kashmeer with his army, in order to punish some revolted chiefs, and to besiege some forts, which he had not reduced in his former expedition. The first of those forts was Lokote, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated the King's utmost efforts; for not being able to reduce it during the summer season, he was obliged, on the approach of winter, to abandon his enterprize and return to Ghizny. On his route he was misled by his guides, and falling into extensive morasses, from which he for several days could not extricate his army, many of his troops perished, and he failed in all the enterprises of this campaign.

Abool Abass Mamoon, King of Khwaruzm, in the course of the same year, wrote to Mahmood, asking his sister in marriage, to which the King having agreed, she was sent to Khwaruzm.

In the year A.H. 407 (A.D. 1015), a revolt occurring in the government of Abool Abass, the conspirators attacked and defeated his guards. The prince fell into their hands, and was put to death. Mahmood, hearing of this disaster, marched to Bulkh, and thence to Khwaruzm. On arriving at Khoozarbund, he ordered his general, Mahomed Bin-Ibraheem Taee, to proceed in advance. This detachment had scarcely crossed the frontier, when, one day while the Mahomedans were engaged in prayer, Khumar Tash, the general of the Khwaruzmians, rushed upon them from a neighbouring wood, and making a great slaughter, put the whole to flight. Mahmood received intelligence of this affair, and sent a considerable force, consisting of his personal guards, to their support, which inspiring Ibraheem Taee's party

with courage, it rallied, and having routed the enemy took their chief prisoner, and brought him before the King.

Mahmood, found the Khwaruzmians prepared to receive him at Hazarasp; but they were soon defeated, their general Sipustugeen, a native of Bokhara, was taken prisoner, and the murderer of Abool-Abass suffered the punishment due to his crime. Mahmood spent some time in regulating the government, which he bestowed upon Altoon Tash Ameer Hajib, on whom he conferred the title of King of Khwaruzm.[36] He annexed, also, to his government, the province of Orkund.[37] Returning to Bulkh, Mahmood gave the government of Hirat to his son, the Prince Ameer Musaood, appointing Aboo-Soheil Mahomed, the son of Hoossein Zowzuny, his vizier; and the government of Koorkan he conferred on his younger son, the Prince Ameer Mahomed, under the tutelage of Aboo-Bukr Koohistany. After the final settlement of the affairs of Khwaruzm, the Ghiznian army was placed in cantonment for the winter at Boost.

In the spring of the year A.H. 409 (A.D. 1017), Mahmood with an army consisting of 100,000 chosen horse, and 20,000 foot, raised in the countries of Toorkistan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Khorassan, and the adjacent provinces, undertook an expedition against Kunowj, which, from the time of Gooshtasp, the father of Darab, till this period, had not been visited by any foreign enemy. Kunowj was distant from Ghizny three months' march, and seven formidable rivers intervened. When Mahmood reached the confines of Kashmeer, the prince, whom he had established in that country, sent him presents of all that was curious and valuable in his kingdom, and was directed to accompany the army. The King, with much difficulty, conducted his troops a long and tedious march, till he entered the plains of Hindoostan, and driving all opposition before him, advanced to Kunowj.

He there saw a city which raised its head[38] to the skies, and which in strength and beauty might boast of being unrivalled. The Indian prince of this rich city was Koowur-Ray. He affected

36. Khwaruzm, the Chorasmia of the ancients, is a city which gives its name to the province, as we say, the country and city of York.

37. It is frequently written Orgunj.

38. This oriental metaphor alludes to pride, which elevates its head from a sense of superiority.

great state and splendour, but being thus unexpectedly invaded, had no time to put himself in a posture of defence, or to collect his troops. Terrified by the great force, and the formidable appearance of the invaders, he resolved to sue for peace; and accordingly going out, with his family, to the camp, he submitted himself to Sooltan Mahmood. The author of the Hubeeboos Seer relates that he even embraced the Mahomedan faith. The King of Ghizny remained in Kunowj only three days, and then marched towards Merut, the raja of which place, Hurdut, retreated with his army, and left only a small garrison, which capitulated in a few days, agreeing to pay 250,000 silver deenars, and to deliver up thirty elephants. The King marched from thence to the fort of Muhavun, on the banks of the river Jumna. Koolchund, the Raja of Muhavun, having come forth to make his submission at the head of his troops, a quarrel accidently arose between some of the soldiers of both armies, and a fight ensued, in which most of the Hindoos were driven into the river. The Raja, in despair, slew his own wife and children on the spot, and then turned the point of his sword on himself. The fort subsequently surrendering, the conqueror obtained much treasure and booty, amongst which were 80 elephants.

Mahmood having refreshed his troops, and understanding that at some distance stood the rich city of Mutra, consecrated to Krishn-Vas-dew, whom the Hindoos venerate as an emanation of God; directed his march thither, and entering it with little opposition from the troops of the Raja of Dehly, to whom it belonged, gave it up to plunder. He broke down or burned all the idols, and amassed a vast quantity of gold and silver, of which the idols were mostly composed. He would have destroyed the temples also, but he found the labour would have been excessive; while some say that he was averted from his purpose by their admirable beauty. He certainly extravagantly extolled the magnificence of the buildings and city in a letter to the governor of Ghizny, in which the following passage occurs: "There are here a thousand edifices as firm as the faith of the faithful; most of them of marble, besides innumerable temples; nor is it likely this city has attained its present condition but at the expense of many millions of deenars, nor could such another be constructed under a period of two centuries."

Among the temples at Mutra were found five golden idols, whose eyes were of rubies, valued at 50,000 deenars.[39] On another idol was found a sapphire, weighing 400 miskals, and the image itself, being melted down, produced 98,300 miskals of pure gold; besides these images there were above 100 idols of silver, which loaded as many camels.[40] The King tarried in Mutra 20 days; in which time the city suffered greatly from fire, beside the damage it sustained by being pillaged. At length he continued his march along the course of a stream on whose banks were seven strong fortifications, all of which fell in succession: there were also discovered some very ancient temples, which, according to the Hindoos, had existed for 4000 years. Having sacked these temples and forts, the troops were led against the fort of Munj.[41] This fort was full of Rajpoots, who held out 25 days; but finding the place no longer tenable, some rushed through the breaches on the enemy, and met that death which they no longer endeavoured to avoid; others threw themselves headlong from the walls, and were dashed to pieces; and others, again, burned themselves in their houses, with their wives and children, so that not one of the garrison survived.

Mahmood, having secured what was valuable, next invested the fort of Raja Chundpal. But he had sent off all his treasure to the mountains, and at the approach of the King evacuated the place; there, however, still remained much spoil and provisions, which Mahmood divided amongst his troops.

Mahmood from hence marched against another raja, whose name was Chundur Ray. This prince, after some skirmishes, finding himself unable to cope with the Mahomedans, sent off his treasure and other valuable effects, and fled to the mountains. Chundur Ray had an elephant of uncommon size, such as had never before been seen in Hindoostan, which was not more remarkable for its enormous bulk than for its docility and courage. Mahmood, having heard much of this elephant, sent to the Raja, offering him advantageous terms of peace, and a great sum of money for this animal. The pride of Chundur Ray did

39. 22,333*l*.

40. One hundred camels would not carry more than 150,000*l* in silver.

41. The position of this place has not been fixed, if the name be correct.

not permit him to listen to terms with Mahomedans, so that Mahmood was disappointed. The elephant, however, happened one night to break loose from his keepers, and went into the Ghiznevide camp, where it permitted itself to be mounted and brought before the King, who called it Khoodadad, "The gift of God," because it came by accident into his hands. Mahmood, loaded with spoil and encumbered with captives, returned to Ghizny, where he caused the objects of his plunder to be displayed. They consisted of 20,000,000 of dirms[42] of gold and silver bullion, 5300 captives, 350 elephants, besides jewels, pearls, and precious effects, which could not be properly estimated. Nor was the private spoil of the army less than that which came into the public treasury.

The King, on his return, ordered a magnificent mosque to be built of marble and granite, of such beauty as struck every beholder with astonishment, and furnished it with rich carpets, and with candelabras and other ornaments of silver and gold. This mosque was universally known by the name of the Celestial Bride. In its neighbourhood the King founded an university, supplied with a vast collection of curious books in various languages. It contained also a museum of natural curiosities. For the maintenance of this establishment he appropriated a large sum of money, besides a sufficient fund for the maintenance of the students, and proper persons to instruct youth in the arts and sciences.

When the nobility of Ghizny perceived the taste of their king evince itself in architecture, they also endeavoured to vie with each other in the magnificence of their private palaces, as well as in public buildings which they raised for the embellishment of the city. Thus, in a short time, the capital was ornamented with mosques, porches, fountains, reservoirs, aqueducts, and cisterns, beyond any city in the East. Some authors affirm that among the curiosities which the King brought from India, was a bird resembling a dove, which possessed the peculiar faculty of discovering poison however secretly conveyed into any apartment in which the bird lived. It is said, on such occasions, the bird was affected with the smell of the poison in such a way,

42. Taking the dirm at *5d.* the sum would not amount to more than 416,666*l.* sterling.

as to fly distractedly about its cage, while tears streamed involuntarily from the eyes. This bird, with other curiosities, was sent as a present to the Caliph of Bagdad, Alkâdir Billa. Other authors mention a stone that he brought from Hindoostan, which being dipped in water and applied to wounds, proved efficacious in healing them.

The King, in the year A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019), caused an account of his exploits to be written and sent to the Caliph, who ordered it to be read to the people of Bagdad, making a great festival upon the occasion, expressive of his joy at the propagation of the faith.

In the year A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021), a petition was presented from his subjects, setting forth, that some tribes of Arabs had for many years interrupted the communication with Mecca, so that for fear of them, and on account of the weakness of the Caliph, who neglected to expel them, and whose power had long since declined, pilgrims were unable to pay their devotions at the shrine of the Prophet. The King immediately appointed Aboo-Mahomed, the Kazy-ool-Koozat,[43] with a considerable force, to accompany a kaflla, proceeding to Meeca, with a strong escort. But, lest the enemy should be too strong for him, he sent 30,000 dirms to procure a safe journey to the pilgrims. Accordingly many thousand individuals of all classes prepared to depart.

Having reached the desert of Keid, they beheld a large encampment of Arabs pitched on their route. This banditti drew up to oppose the pilgrims. Aboo-Mahomed, being desirous of treating with them, sent a message to their chief, offering him 5000 dirms. The chief, Humad Bin Ally, instead of accepting the proposal, resented it so much, that, without delay, he advanced to attack the kafila, Aboo-Mahomed, in the mean time, drew out his troops, when, fortunately, in the very beginning, of the action, a Turkish slave in the kafila, well skilled in archery, lodged an arrow in the brain of Humad Bin Ally. The Arabs, on the fall of their chief, fled; and the kafila, without further molestation, proceeded to Mecca, where having paid their devotions, they returned by the same route, and arrived at Ghizny.

Mahmood received this year advices from India that the neighbouring princes had, in his absence, attacked Koowur Ray.

43. This officer united the powers of chief of the high court of justice, and head of the religion.

the Raja of Kunowj, for entering into alliance with the King, and placing himself in subjection to him. Mahmood immediately marched to his aid, but before he arrived, Nunda Ray, Raja of Kalunjur, having besieged Kunowj, slew Koowur Ray, with a number of his principal chiefs. Mahmood arrived at the Jumna, and was surprised to find that the Raja of Lahore, who had so often fled before his troops, was now encamped on the opposite bank; but the deep and formidable river prevented an immediate attack. In this state of anxiety, eight of the royal guard of Mahmood's army, without orders, swam across, and entering the enemy's camp one morning by surprize, struck such a panic into his troops, that the Hindoos betook themselves to flight. The King, notwithstanding their success, reprobated the rashness of his guards, but supporting them with the remainder of his army, went in pursuit. It is not to be supposed, however, that eight individuals could succeed in routing a whole host, nor can it be doubted that these eight persons were officers, each followed by his own corps.

Nunda Ray, of Kalunjur, took post on the frontiers of his dominions, where he halted with his army to oppose Mahmood, having with him 36,000 horse, 45,000 foot, and 640 elephants. The King of Ghizny having reconnoitred the enemy from a rising ground, prostrated himself before God, and prayed that the standard of Islam might be successful. The day being far advanced, he determined to wait till next morning, which delay, in the event, disappointed his hopes, for Nunda Ray decamped during the night in the utmost disorder, leaving behind him his tents, equipage, and baggage.

Mahmood having reconnoitred the ground, and finding it really deserted, ordered his army to march into the enemy's camp. The booty was great, independently of 580 elephants, which were found in the neighbouring woods. Having laid waste the country with fire and sword, the Mahomedan army returned to Ghizny.

About this time the King learned that the inhabitants of two hilly tracts, denominated Kuriat and Nardein,[44] continued the worship of idols,[45] and had not embraced the faith of Islam. This country lies apparently between Toorkistan and Hindoostan, and

44. All my enquiries have failed in fixing these places.

45. The India House MS has "lions."

though its climate is extremely cold, it is remarkable for the excellence of its fruits. Mahmood resolved to carry the war against these infidels, and accordingly marched towards their country, taking with him a number of masons, carpenters, smiths, and labourers, to build a fort in order to overawe them after his departure. The ruler of the country of Kuriat, unable to oppose the King, submitted, at the same time acknowledging the faith of the Prophet. The Ghiznevide general, Ameer Ally, the son of Arslan Jazib, was now sent with a division of the army to reduce Nardein, which he accomplished, pillaging the country, and carrying away many of the people captives. In Nardein was a temple, which Ameer Ally destroyed, bringing from thence a stone on which were curious inscriptions, and which according to the Hindoos, must have been 40,000 years old. The King ordered a fort to be built in that place, and left it under the command of Amir-Bin Kuddur Suljooky. Shortly after, Mahmood marched in the direction of Kashmeer, and on the route invested the strong hold of Lokote, but finding it altogether impregnable, he decamped, and proceeding to Lahore, entered that city without opposition, giving it over to be sacked by his troops. Here wealth, and precious effects, beyond the power of calculation, fell into his hands. The Prince of Lahore, unable to contend with so powerful an adversary, fled to Ajmere for protection; and Mahmood, having appointed one of his officers to the government, and nominated other commanders to various districts in the territories of Hindoostan, himself returned in the spring to Ghizny.[46]

The warlike disposition of Mahmood could not long remain at peace. He marched again by the way of Lahore in the year A.H. 414 (A.D. 1023), against Nunda Ray of Kalunjur, and passing by the fort of Gualiar, he ordered it to be besieged. The Raja of Gualiar, however, prevailed on him to remove his army, by a seasonable application of rich presents, and thirty-five elephants. The army now marched against Kalunjur, and having invested that city, Nunda Ray offered 300 elephants besides other presents to obtain peace. The King agreed to the terms, and the Raja, in order to put the bravery of the Sooltan's troops to the test, intoxicated the elephants with drugs, and let them

46. Thus, after twenty-three years, we find Moslem governors left in India, east of the Indus.

loose, without riders, into the camp. Mahmood seeing he animals advance, and perceiving their condition, by the wildness of their manner, ordered a party of his best horse to seize, or kill them, or to drive them from the camp. Some of the Tartars, emulous of displaying their bravery in the presence of their king, fearlessly approached, and mounted some of the elephants,[47] and drove the rest into an adjacent wood, where they were all soon reduced to obedience.

The enemy perceiving the resolution of the Ghiznevides, was much intimidated, and Nunda Ray, thinking to soothe Mahmood by flattery, sent to him a panegyric in the Indian tongue, on the bravery of his troops. The King was pleased with the compliment; for the poetry was much admired by the learned men of India, Arabia, and Persia, who were at his court. In return, Mahmood conferred the government of fifteen forts upon Nunda, among which was Kanunjur itself, though the peace was principally obtained by the many valuable presents in jewels and gold which Nunda Ray made on this occasion.

Mahmood, in the year A.H. 415 (A.D. 1024), having mustered all his forces, found them to consist of 54,000 chosen horse, and 1300 elephants, disposable for foreign service. With this army he marched to Bulkh, to expel Allytuggeen from the government of Mawur-ool-Nehr, for oppressing the people, who complained of his tyranny to the King. When the chiefs of Mawur-ool-Nehr heard that the King had crossed the Jyhoon, they came with presents to meet him. Kuddur Khan, of Khootun, also paid him the compliment of a visit, and was honourably received. Mahmood prepared a great feast upon this occasion, and concluded a treaty, after which the monarchs took leave of each other, making an exchange of princely presents. Allytuggeen, seizing this opportunity, betook himself to flight, but the King of Ghizny sent a party of horse after him; after a long search he was discovered and brought to the camp, after which he was confined for life in one of the forts of India.

The celebrated temple of Somnat,[48] situated in the province

47. An elephant is a very docile animal; but unless a person had some knowledge of managing him, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to guide him when mounted.

48. Som signifies in Sanscrit the moon: it is well known how this planet affects the tides; and this circumstance was, no doubt, taken

of Guzerat, near the island of Dew, was in those times said to abound in riches, and was greatly frequented by devotees from all parts of Hindoostan. These infidels not only believed that souls after death went before Somnat, who transposed them into other bodies according to their merits in their former state, but also pretended that the ebb and flow of the tides represented the obeisance paid by the ocean to this shrine. Mahmood marched from Ghizny in the month of Shaban A.H. 415 (Sept. A.D. 1024), with his army, accompanied by 30,000 of the youths of Toorkistan and the neighbouring countries, who followed him without pay, for the purpose of attacking this temple.

Somnat, which gives its name to the city, is siuated on the sea-shore, and is to be seen in the district of Dew, now in the hands of Europeans.[49] Some historians affirm that the idol was brought from Mecca, where it stood before the time of the Prophet, but the Brahmins deny it, and say that it stood near the harbour of Dew since the time of Krishn, who was concealed in that place about 4000 years ago.

In the middle of the month of Rumzan, 415, (Oct. 1024), the Mahomedan army reached the city of Mooltan; and as a great desert lay before them, the King gave orders for the troops to provide themselves with several days' water and provisions, as also with provender for their horses, besides which, 20,000 camels were laden with supplies. Having passed the desert, the army reached the city of Ajmeer. Here, finding the Raja and inhabitants had abandoned the place, rather than submit to him, Mahmood ordered it to be sacked, and the adjacent country to be laid waste. Conceiving the reduction of the fort of Ajmeer would occupy too much time, he left it unmolested; and proceeding on his expedition took by assault some smaller forts on the road, till at length he arrived at Nehrwala, a frontier city of Guzerat, which was evacuated on his approach. Mahmood, taking the same precautions as before, by rapid marches reached Somnat without opposition. Here he saw a fortification on a narrow peninsula, washed on three sides by the sea, on the battlements of which appeared a vast host of people in arms, who, making a signal for a herald to approach, they proclaimed to him that

advantage of by the priests of Somnat to enhance the sanctity of the temple.

49. The Portuguese had possession of it when Ferishta wrote.

their great idol, Somnat, had drawn the Mahomedans thither to blast them in a moment, and to avenge the destruction of the gods of India. In the morning, the Mahomedan troops advancing to the walls, began the assault. The battlements were in a short time cleared by the archers, and the Hindoos, astonished and dispirited, crowded into the temple, and, prostrating themselves in tears before the idol, prayed for assistance. The Mahomedans, having seized this opportunity, applied their scaling ladders and mounted the walls, shouting aloud, "Alla Akbur!"[50]. The Hindoos, urged by despair, returned to the defence of the works, and made so spirited a resistance, that the Mahomedans, unable to retain their footing, and wearied with fatigue, fell back on all sides, and were at length obliged to retire. Next morning the action was renewed, but as fast as the besiegers scaled the walls, so fast were they hurled down headlong by the besieged, who now seemed resolved to defend the place to the last. Thus the labours of the second day proved even more unsuccessful than those of the first. On the third day an army of idolaters having arrived to reinforce the garrison, presented itself in order of battle in sight of the Ghizny camp. Mahmood determined to prevent this attempt to raise the siege, and having ordered a party to keep the garrison in check, himself engaged the enemy in the field.

The battle raged with great fury: victory was long doubtful, till two Indian princes, Brahma Dew and Dabishleem, with other reinforcements, joined their countrymen during the action, and inspired them with fresh courage. Mahmood at this moment perceiving his troops to waver, leaped from his horse, and, prostrating himself before God[51] implored his assistance. Then mounting again, he took Abool Hussun, the Circassian (one of his generals), by the hand, by way of encouragement, and advanced on the enemy. At the same time he cheered his troops with such energy, that, ashamed to abandon their King, with whom they had so often fought and bled, they, with one accord, gave a loud shout and rushed forwards. In this charge the Moslems broke through the enemy's line, and laid 5000 Hindoos

50. The war-cry of the Moslems, "God is great !"

51. This mode of inspiring his troops, so often mentioned by the writers of the age, is extremely characteristic of the nature of the wars waged by Mahmood of Ghizny in India.

dead at their feet. The rout became general. The garrison of Somnat, beholding this defeat, abandoned the defence of the place, and issuing out at a gate towards the sea, to the number of 4000, embarked in boats, intending to proceed o he island of Serendeep or Ceylon.[52] This manœuvre did not escape the King, who secured some boats left in a neighbouring creek, manned them with rowers, and some of his best troops, and pursued the enemy; on which occasion he took and sunk some of their flotilla, while a part only escaped. Having now placed guards round the walls and at the gates, Mahmood entered Somnat accompanied by his sons and a few of his nobles and principal attendants. On approaching the temple, he saw a superb edifice built of hewn stone. Its lofty roof was supported by fifty-six pillars curiously carved and set with precious stones. In the centre of the hall was Somnat, a stone idol, five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground. The King, approaching the image, raised his mace and struck of its nose. He ordered two pieces of the idol to be broken off and sent to Ghizny, that one might be thrown at the threshold of the public mosque, and the other at the court door of his own palace. These identical fragments are to this day (now 600 years ago) to be seen at Ghizny. Two more fragments were reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. It is a well authenticated fact, that when Mahmood was thus employed in destroying this idol, a crowd of Brahmins petitioned his attendants, and offered a quantity of gold if the King would desist from further mutilation. His officers endeavoured to persuade him to accept of the money; for they said that breaking one idol would not do away with idolatry altogether; that, therefore, it could serve no purpose to destroy the image entirely; but that such a sum of money given in charity among true believers would be a meritorious act. The King acknowledged there might be reason in what they said, but replied, that if he should consent to such a measure, his name would be handed down to posterity as "Mahmood the idol-seller," whereas he was

52. The conclusion drawn by the Moslem historian, that the fugitives from Somnat, after embarking, were necessarily going to Ceylon, conveys an idea of the imperfect notions the early writers of that nation had of Indian geography. It is not impossible the original author calls it the port of the Deeb, or the Island of Dew, then belonging to the Daby dynasty.

desirous of being known as "Mahmood the destroyer": he therefore directed the troops to proceed in their work. The next blow broke open the belly of Somnat, which was hollow, and discovered a quantity of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount which the Brahmins had offered.

The author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer relates, from other authorities, that Somnat was the name of the idol; but he is contradicted by Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Attar, who observes, that "the army of Mahmood found in Somnat the idol whose name was Nat." I have, however, enquired on this subject, and learn, that Soma was the name of the prince after which the idol Nat was called. Nat signifies, among the Hindoos, lord or chief, and is rendered applicable to idols. Thus we have Jugnat, signifying the lord of the creation, to whom divine honours are offered up. In the time of eclipses we are told that from 200,000 to 300,000 worshippers used to frequent this temple, and that the different princes of Hindoostan had bestowed in all 2000 villages, the revenues of which were applied to maintain its priests. This revenue was independent of other costly presents received from all parts of the empire. It was customary, also, for those idolaters to wash Somnat twice daily with fresh water from the Ganges, though that river is above 1000 miles distant.

Among the spoils of the temple was a chain of gold, weighing 200[53] muns, which hung from the top of the building by a ring; it supported a great bell, which called the people to worship. Besides 2000 Brahmins, who officiated as priests, there belonged to the temple 500 dancing women, 300 musicians, and 300 barbers to shave the devotees before being admitted to the sanctum; and it was even usual for the princes of Hindoostan sometimes to devote their daughters to the service of the temple. The King of Ghizny found in this temple a greater quantity of jewels and gold than it is thought any royal treasury ever contained before. In the Zein-ool-Maasir it is related that there were no lights in the temple, except one pendent lamp, which, being reflected from the jewels, spread a bright gleam over the whole edifice. Besides the great idol above mentioned, there were in the temple some thousands of small images, wrought in gold and silver, of various shapes and dimensions.

Mahmood, having secured the wealth of Somnat, prepared

53. Say 400 lb.

to chastise the Indian Prince Brahma Dew, the Raja of Nehrwala, who had assisted his countrymen during the siege, and who had cut off above 3000 of the faithful. Brahma Dew, after the taking of Somnat, instead of proceeding to Nehrwala, shut himself up in the fort of Gundaba,[54] distant of 40 fursungs from Somnat. The King having arrived before this fort, perceived it was surrounded on all sides by water, which, on account of its extent and depth, appeared impossible to approach; sending, however, to sound it, he understood that at one place it was fordable, though not easily to be passed by an army. Mahmood having ordered public prayers, and having cast his fortune[55] on the Koran, entered the water at the head of his troops, and reaching in safety the opposite side, immediately made an assault upon the place. Brahma Dew fled at the approach of the Mahomedans; and the Hindoos who defended the fort, seeing themselves deserted, quitted their posts on the walls. The assailants, having obtained easy possession, made dreadful havoc among the men, reserving the women and children as captives. The wealth of Brahma Dew was lodged in the King's treasury.

Mahmood, thus victorious, marched to Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat. He found the soil of that place so fertile, the air so pure and salubrious, and the country so well cultivated and pleasant, that, it is said, he proposed to take up his residence there for some years, and to make it his capital, conferring the government of Ghizny upon his son, the Prince Musaood. Some historians relate, that in that age there were gold mines in Guzerat, which induced Mahmood to wish to reside at Nehrwala; but there are now no traces of these mines, although in that time there might have been, since there are instances of the disappearance of mines, such as that in Seestan, which was swallowed up by an earthquake in the following reign. The King having heard of gold mines on the island of Ceylon, and in the country of Pegu,[56] it is said, seriously intended to fit out a fleet for the conquest of those regions, but he was diverted from this

54. The position of this place has not been ascertained, unless it be Gundavee.

55. The Mahomedans used the Koran as school-boys sometimes apply to the "Sortes Virgilii." Few persons, who have visited Shiraz, have not heard of the *Sortes Hafizii* at the tomb of that poet.

56. The golden Chersonesus of the ancients.

scheme, and prevailed on by his officers not to abandon his native kingdom.

Mahmood, yielding to their advice, consented to return to Ghizny, at the same time requesting some of his ministers to recommend a fit person to leave in the Government of Guzerat. After some consultation, they told the King, that on account of the great distance of this country from his other dominions, and the number of troops necessarily requisite for its defence, they thought it advisable that one of the natives should be made governor. The King, on further enquiry, being informed that the family of Dabishleem[57] was the noblest in those parts, and that one of that race was in the vicinity of the camp, living as a hermit, he resolved to place him on the throne.

Some authors, in opposition to this story, have informed us, that the hermit Dabishleem was a cruel and ambitious prince, who had made several attempts to wrest the government from his brothers, who had been compelled at length to seek an asylum within the sanctuary of a temple. The Debishleem, however, alluded to in the first instance, was another person of the same family, celebrated for his wisdom and learning, and, although the ruler of a province only, the whole of the Bramins of that part of the country highly respected him for the soundness of his judgment and good qualities. The King accordingly sent a friendly message, inviting Dabishleem to his presence, and, having fixed an annual tribute, created him governor of Guzerat.

That Prince, petitioned him to leave some troops for his protection; asserting, that the other Debishleem, as soon as Mahmood should vacate the country, would, undoubtedly, attack him, before his authority should be thoroughly established, the consequences of which might be easily foreseen; but if the King would afford him his protection, he would remit, annually, double

57. My enquiries have hitherto led to no satisfactory result on the subject of this family. A dynasty of Daby Rajpoots reigned at this period over Girnar, or Girnal Joonagur, in Kattywar, but it is hard to say this was one of them. On this passage, I am indebted to a learned friend for the following observations. The princes of Girnar were of the Daby race. Sinpam Daby was the uncle of *Asil*, who established the Asila Gehlutes at Asilgurh on his uncle's domain, two centuries before Mahmood. In the East-India-House manuscript the name is Dabasila.

the revenue of Kabulistan and Zabulistan. These considerations prevailed with Mahmood to form a design to reduce the Prince a part of his army to seize him, which, in a short time, brought him prisoner to Mahmood. He immediately delivered over the unfortunate Raja into the hands of his kinsman, the new ruler of Guzerat.

The Governor, addressing the King, said, "That it was contrary to the tenets of his religion to put a king to death, but that it was customary when one king got possession of another (his enemy), to make a dark pit under his throne, and there confine him for life, or till the death of his conqueror. That, for his own part, he deemed such usage too cruel, while, on the other hand (he said), if the Raja be confined in another prison, his adherents will, on the King's departure, attempt to release him." The new Raja, therefore, proposed, that the King should carry the former Raja to Ghizny. Mahmood complied, and after two years and six months' absence from his capital, directed his steps homewards. Intelligence being now received, that Brahma Dew and the Raja of Ajmeer, with others, had collected a great army in the desert to oppose his return, Mahmood determined to march direct by the route of Sind to Mooltan. Here, also, he encountered deserts on his march, wherein his army suffered greatly for want of water, and his cavalry for want of forage; but in the year A.H. 417 (A.D. 1026), he reached Ghizny, though not without much difficulty and loss. During his journey through the country of Sind, the army was misled for three days and nights by one of the Hindoo guides, in a sandy desert; so that many of the troops died raving mad from the intolerable heat and thirst. Mahmood suspecting his guide, commanded to be put to the torture, when he confessed, that he was one of the priests of Somnat, who, to revenge the injuries done to the temple, and thus endeavoured to bring about the ruin of the Ghiznevide army. The King ordered him to be executed; and, it being towards evening, he fell prostrate before God, imploring a speedy deliverance. A meteor was suddenly seen in the north, to which direction he shaped his course, and, before morning, found himself on the border of a lake.[58]

58. This water was probably the great western run or salt marsh. The course of the retreat of Mahmood is so indefinitely stated, that we

Dabishleem the Wise, being established on the throne of Guzerat, remitted tribute punctually to the King, and having sent a splendid embassy, he requested that the imprisoned Raja might be made over to him. That prince had by this time gained the regard of Mahmood, who was now unwilling to part with him. He was, however, over-persuaded by his counsellors, who were envious of the favour which the unfortunate Raja had acquired, and he was accordingly delivered into the hands of the person who brought the Guzerat tribute to Ghizny.

When they reached the dominions of Guzerat, Dabishleem the Wise gave orders to construct a vault under his own throne, in which he intended to confine the unhappy Raja, according to the custom of the Hindoos. In order to display his own power more completely, he advanced to some distance from his capital to meet his prisoner, and compelled that unfortunate prince to run before his horse, with a basin and ewer in his hand.

The King of Guzerat, it is said, being overheated on this occasion, lay down to repose under a shady tree: he drew a red handkerchief over his face, and ordered his attendants to withdraw. A vulture, which happened to be hovering over the spot, mistaking the red handkerchief for prey, pounced down on Dabishleem, and fixing its talons in his eyes rendered him totally blind, and thereby incapable to reign, according to the laws of the country. When the accident became public, the whole camp and city were filled with confusion. The imprisoned prince arriving at that instant, was received with acclamations, and instantly proclaimed king. He put the basin on the head of Dabishleem, and having placed the ewer in his hand, drove him before him into the dungeon which he himself had prepared, where he spent the remainder of his life. How wonderful are thy works, O God! who in the twinkling of an eye converted the punishment awarded by one prince to another into an instrument of his own destruction; thus fulfilling the Scripture, in which it is written. "He who digs a pit for his brother, shall himself fall therein."

cannot trace it satisfactorily. According to tradition, Mahmood attacked and reduced Chotun the ancient capital of the Haupa dynasty: it lies about 50 miles nearly east of Oomurkote, vide "Tod's Map." If this occurred in his retreat to Ghizny, we have some guide to point out his route, which might have been by Oomurkote, and thence northward, taking the course of the river till it falls into the Sind at Bukkur.

The author of the Jama ool Hikayat relates, that when Mahmood was in Guzerat he saw a small black idol under an arch, which to all appearance was suspended in the air without support. The King, amazed at this phenomenon, consulted the philosophers of his court, who told him that they believed the image to be iron, and the stone of the arch magnetic. The King observed, that he thought the equilibrium of weight and attraction could not be so exactly found. He, however, by way of experiment, ordered a stone to be struck out of the arch, which was no sooner done, than the idol fell to the ground; the stone was therefore pronounced to be a magnet. The Caliph of Bagdad, being informed of the expedition of the King of Ghizny, wrote him a congratulatory letter, in which he styled him "The Guardian of the State, and of the Faith[59];" to his son, the Prince Ameer Musaood, he gave the title of "The Lustre of Empire, and the Ornament of Religion," and to his second son, the Ameer Yoosoof, the appellation of "The Strength of the Arm of Fortune, and Establisher of Empires." He at the same time assured Mahmood, that to whomsoever he should bequeath the throne at his death, he himself would confirm and support the same.

In the end of the year Mahmood marched against the Juts[60], residing in the Jood mountains, who had molested his army on its return from Somnat. Having arrived at Mooltan, and finding that the country of the Juts was intersected by rivers, he ordered 1400 boats to be built, each of which was armed with six iron spikes, projecting from the prows and sides, to prevent their being boarded by the enemy, who were expert in that kind of warfare. In each boat were twenty archers and five naphtha-

59. I have given the titles translated, for which the European reader will probably commend, and Oriental scholars condemn, me.

60. We have no satisfactory account of these Juts; but there seems reason to believe them to be a horde of Tartars of the same stock as the Getæ, so often mentioned in ancient history, and who are so frequently noticed in the wars of Tymoor by Ibn Arab Shah and Shureefood Deen Ally. It is conjectured, even, that the Jats, the gallant defenders of Bhurtpoor, are a branch of the same people. My friend Col. Tod has in his possession a long description of this people, and inscriptions in the nail-headed or Budhish character, of the fourth and fifth centuries, regarding them. They had then a kingdom in northern India, whose capital was Salindrapoor.

men, to attack and set fire to the enemy's flotilla. The Juts, having intelligence of this armament, sent their wives and children, together with their most valuable effects, into the neighbouring islands, and launching, according to some, 4000, and according to others, 8000 boats, ready manned and armed, they prepared to receive the Mahomedans. The fleets met, and a desperate conflict ensued, but the projecting spikes of the Moslem boats did such execution when they ran against the craft of the Juts, that several of them were overset. The archers, at the same time, plied their arrows with such effect, that many of the enemy leaped overboard. Some of the Jut boats being in the mean time set on fire communicated their flames to others; some were sunk, some boarded, and others endeavoured to fly. From this scene of confusion few of the Juts escaped, so that those who were not killed fell into the hands of Mahmood.[61]

The King after this victory returned in triumph to Ghizny, and in the year A.H. 418 (A.D. 1027), removed the governor of Toos (Abool Hurb Arslam[62]) to the government of the district of Badwird, in order to chastise the Suljook Toorkmans,[63] who, having crossed the river Amoo, had invaded that province. The General, however, being defeated in several engagements, wrote to the King, that without his own presence nothing could be done against the enemy. Mahmood put his army in motion, and having come up with the Suljooks, gave them a total defeat. At this time, also his generals having conquered Eerak[64] he himself marched in that direction, and secured all the treasure that had been amassed by the race of Bocia. Having then introduced some new laws[65] respecting the religion of the inhabitants who had adopted false tenets, he conferred the government of Rye and Isfahan on his son, the Prince Musaood, and returned to Ghizny.

61. It is a curious fact that this naval engagement occurred at the same place where Alexander equipped his fleet thirteen centuries before.

62. Probably, the son of his favourite and distinguished general, Arslan Jazib.

63. This appears to have been the first effort of that great horde, which, penetrating through Transoxania and Persia (Eeran and Tooran), subdued both Eeraks, and subverted the whole of Asia Minor.

64. Persian Eerak, including Rye, Cashan, Isfahan, and Humadan.

65. The exact laws are not mentioned, but it is probable he insisted on the adoption of the Soony tenets, as the national religion of Persia, instead of the Sheea. Upon this subject Mahmood was bigotted, as appears by his conduct towards Firdowsy.

Mahmood was soon after affected with the stone, which disorder daily increased. He went in this condition to Bulkh, and in the beginning of the spring returned to Ghizny, where, on Friday the 23d of Rubee-oos-Sany, A.H. 421 (April 29, A.D. 1030), in the sixty-third year of his age, this great conqueror gave up his body to death and his soul to immortality, amid the tears of his people.

Mahmood reigned thirty-five years, and was buried by torchlight with great pomp and solemnity in the Kesr Firozy at Ghizny. Sooltan Mahmood was in person about the middle size, but well made. He was also strongly marked with the small-pox.

It is a well-established fact, that two days before his death, he commanded all the gold and caskets of precious stones in his possession to be placed before him: when he beheld them he wept with regret, ordering them to be carried back to the treasury, without exhibiting his generosity at that time to any body, for which he has been accused of avarice.[66] On the following day he ordered a review of his army, his elephants, camels, horses, and chariots, with which having feasted his eyes for some time from his travelling throne, he again burst into tears, and retired in grief to his palace.

Abool Hussun Ally, the son of Hussun Mymundy, relates, that the King one day asked Aboo Tahir Samany, what quantity of valuable jewels the Samany dynasty had accumulated when it became extinct? He replied, that in the reign of Ameer Nooh Samany the treasury contained seven ruttuls weight of precious stones. Mahmood flung himself prostrate on the floor, and cried out, "Thanks to thee, all-powerfull Being, who hast enabled me to collect more than 100 ruttuls."

It is also said that in the latter end of his reign Mahmood, on hearing that a citizen of Nyshapoor possessed immense wealth, he commanded him to be called into his presence, and reproached him for being an idolater and an apostate from the faith. The citizen replied, "O King I am no idolater nor apostate, but I am possessed of wealth; take it, therefore, but do me not a double injustice, by robbing me of my money and of my good name." The King, having confiscated his whole property, gave

66. The regret he is supposed to have felt at being separated from his treasures is beautifully alluded to by Sady, in his Goolistan.

him a certificate under the royal seal, of the purity of his religious tenets. According to the Tubkat Nasiry it appears that Mahmood was sceptical on certain religious points, and questioned the orthodoxy of the opinions of the learned, especially on the use of penances. He even professed his doubt of a future state, and did not hesitate to say, he questioned whether he was really the son of Subooktugeen.[67] He dreamed, however, one night that he saw the Prophet standing before him, who addressed him thus: "O son of Ameer Nasir Subooktugeen, may God give thee honour in both worlds, as he has conferred it on man by his precepts!" So that the three points of his scepticism were removed by this short sentence. It is related that a violent flood occurred in Ghizny the year after his death, which levelled most of the principal buildings to the ground, and many people lost their lives on the occasion. This same flood carried away the embankment constructed in the reign of Amroo Bin Leith Suffar, so that not a vestige of it remained; and this calamity was considered at the time as a sample of the destruction that was eventually to befall the empire.

The following instance of his justice has been transmitted to posterity. A petitioner one day complained, that owing to his having a handsome wife the King's nephew had conceived a passion for her, and came to his house every night with armed attendants, and beat him and turned him into the street, till he gratified his adulterous passion; that he had frequently complained to those who ought to have done him justice, but that the rank of the adulterer had hitherto protected him.

The King, on hearing this, shed tears of indignation, and reproved the poor man for not making his complaint sooner. The man replied he often attempted, but could not gain admittance. He was then commanded to return to his house, and to give the King notice the first time his nephew was guilty of the like violence, charging those who were present, on pain of death, to let nothing of this subject transpire, at the same time ordering the poor man to be admitted at any hour. Accordingly, the man returned to his house.

On the third night, the King's nephew as usual came, and having whipped the husband severely, turned him into the street.

67. It is difficult to believe this assertion, although Firdowsy alludes pretty plainly, in his satire, to the loose character of Mahmood's mother.

The poor man hastened to the King, but the captain of the guards refused him admittance, saying that his Majesty was in the seraglio. The man immediately vociferated loudly, so that the porter, fearing the court might be disturbed, and the noise reach the King, was under the necessity of conducting him to the officers of the bed-chamber, who immediately acquainted Mahmood.

The King instantly arose, and wrapping himself in a loose cloak, followed the man to his house. He found his nephew and the man's wife sleeping together in one bed, with a candle standing on the carpet near them. Mahmood, extinguishing the candle, drew his sword, and severed his nephew's head from his body. Then commanding the man to bring a light, he called for water, and having taken a deep draught, he told him he might now go and sleep with safety, if he could trust his own wife.

The poor man fell at the King's feet in gratitude, but begged him to say, why he put out the candle, and afterwards called so eagerly for water to drink? The King replied, he put out the candle that pity might not arrest his hand in the execution of his duty, for that he tenderly loved the youth; and, moreover, said, he had made a vow to God, when he first heard the complaint, that he would neither eat nor drink till he had brought the criminal to justice, which was the cause of his intense thirst. Let it not be concealed from my learned readers, that although we have many well authenticated stories of the inflexible justice of some virtuous monarchs, we have no other instance of this nature. God only knows the hearts of his people.

According to the Hubeeb-oos-Seer, the first person who exercised the office of vizier at the court of Mahmood was Abool Abass Fuzeel, the son of Ahmud Isferahy. He was originally the secretary of Faik, one of the nobles of the house of Samany; but after the fall of Faik, Abool Abass entered the service of Subooktugeen, and eventually became his vizier, an office which he continued to hold under his son Mahmood. As Abool Abass Fuzeel was more a man of business than of learning, and was ignorant of the Arabic language, he introduced, for the first time, the practice of writing public papers in Persian; but when Khwaja Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, became minister, he reverted to the Arabic language for all permanent official documents. Abool Abass Fuzeel was remarkable for his address in

the management of public affairs, and for his extra-ordinary faculty for conciliation. Thus eliciting the zeal, and securing the fidelity, of all with whom he had to deal. He was, however, removed from the vizarut about two years after the succession of Mahmood. Some historians affirm, that he displeased his master by contumaciously withholding from him an object in the family of Abool Abass on whom Mahmood had fixed his affection. It is stated that he was imprisoned, and that he eventually died under the rack, to which he was subjected in order to discover his wealth. He was succeeded by Khwaja Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, the foster-brother and school-fellow of his sovereign. His father Hussun, during the reign of Subooktugeen, was the collector of the revenues of Boost; but in consequence of having been convicted of extortion and fraud to a large amount, he was hanged by order of Subooktugeen; so that the general notion which prevails, that Hussun Mymundy was the vizier of Sooltan Mahmood, is erroneous. Khwaja Ahmud, his son, was as celebrated for writing a beautiful hand as for his talents or his learning. He first held the office of chief secretary, and rose by degrees till he attained the office of Moostowfy-ool-Moomalik, "controller of revenues and paymaster-general of the army." He was subsequently sent to occupy Khorassan, and to govern it; and on the removal of Abool Abass Fuzeel succeeded to the office of vizier, and held it uninterruptedly for eighteen years. He was then disgraced, owing to the intrigues of Altoon Tash, the commander-in-chief, and Ameer Ally Cheshawundy, and confined for thirteen years on the frontier of Kashmeer, in a hill-fort called Kalunjur. He was, however, afterwards released, and obtained the vizarut in the reign of Sooltan Musaood, and died a natural death in the year A.H. 424 (A.D. 1033). Khwaja Ahmud Mymundy was succeeded by Ahmud Hoossein, the son of Michael, who had been a confidential officer about his sovereign's person from his youth, and was much distinguished for his talents. He was, however, eventually put to death at Bulkh, by Musaood, on the plea of his having received and worn a dress presented to him by the Caliph of Egypt, on the occasion of his going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.

The learned men who lived at the court of Mahmood were principally these: the poet Oozery Razy, a native of Rye in Persia. On one occasion he received a present of 14,000 dirms

from Mahmood for a short panegyric. Assudy Toosy, a native of province of Khorassan, also a poet of great fame, whom the Sooltan often entreated to undertake the Shah Nama, but he excused himself on account of his age. His best works are supposed to be lost. He was the master of Firdowsy, who afterwards composed the Shah Nama. When Firdowsy left Ghizny and went to Toos, on finding himself too weak to finish his poem, owing to the state of his health, he applied to his old master Assudy; telling him that he was now at the point of death, and that his only regret for leaving this vain world was that his poem was yet incomplete. The old man, weeping, replied, that though he had excused himself to the King from having any hand in that performance, yet for the affection he bore to Firdowsy, he would undertake to go on with it. The dying poet replied, that he was well assured no other man of the age had the genius to accomplish it, but at the same time he was afraid years and infirmities would prevent his performing his promise. The old man, warmed with friendship, made the attempt, and composed that part of the poem between the Arabian conquest of the western Persia to the end, consisting of 4000 couplets.

Munoo-chéhr, a noble of Bulkh, was also famous for his poetry and wit. The philosopher Oonsury was deemed the greatest genius in that age; for besides being one of the best poets, he was at the same time profound in sceince, and skilled in all the learned languages. Four hundred poets and learned men, besides the students of the university of Ghizny, acknowledged him for their master. He was appointed by the King to superintend literature; and no work could be brought before Mahmood without being previously submitted for his approbation.

Among the works of Oonsury is an heroic poem on the actions of Mahmood. The King having one night in a debauch cut off the long tresses of his favourite mistress, was much concerned in the morning for what he had done. He sat, he rose, he walked by turns, and his attendants were alarmed to approach him. The philosopher Oonsury accosted him with some extempore lines, which so pleased the King that he ordered his mouth to be thrice filled with jewels. Calling then for wine, he sat with the poet and washed down his grief. Oonsury died A.H. 431.

Asjuddy of Murv is a powerful poet, and one of the scholars of Oonsury. He evinces in his works much genius; but they are

scarce, and the greatest part of them is lost. Furokhy was also a pupil of Oonsury. He was a descendant of the royal race of Seestan, but reduced by fortune so low, that he was obliged to hire himself to a farmer for the yearly wages of 200 kylies[68] of grain, and 100 dirms. Being desirous of marrying a lady of his own family and a distant relative, he could not afford it, without an increase of his wages, which he requested his master to give him. The farmer told him he certainly deserved a great deal more, but that his means would not admit it. Furokhy in this state of dependence waited on the Sooltan's nephew, Abool Moozuffur, with a poem, for which he was honoured with a handsome reward, besides a horse and a dress. After this he was introduced by the same prince to the King, who settled a pension on him, which enabled him to ride with a retenue of twenty well mounted servants.

Dukeeky flourished also in this reign; he commenced the Shah Nama, but only lived to complete a thousand couplets.

SOOLTAN MAHOMED-GHIZNEVY

At the time of Mahmood's death, his son Mahomed was in the province of Joorjan, and the Prince Musaood in Ispahan. Ameer Ally, son of Kuzil Arslan, the father-in-law of Mahmood, invited the Prince Mahomed to Ghizny, and according to the will of his father, placed the crown upon his head. Mahomed, on his accession, conferred the office of Sipasalar[69] on his uncle Ameer Yoosoof Subooktugeen, and that of Vizier on Aboo Soheil Ahmud, son of Hussun Humadany. He opened the treasury also, and gave largesses to his friends, and on the public servants likewise he bestowed liberal donations. The hearts of the soldier and people, however, were chiefly devoted to his brother Ameer Musaood.

About 50 days after the death of Mahmood, one of the nobles, by name Abool-Nujm Ameer Ayaz, the son of Isaac, having, in conjunction with Ally Dabye, gained over the household troops, entered the royal stables in broad daylight, and mounting the King's best horses rode off towards Boost. Mahomed, informed of this circumstance, despatched Sewund Ray, an Indian chief,

68. A kylie weighs five pounds.
69 Commander of the army.

with a numerous body of Hindoo cavalry, in pursuit of them. Having come up with the nobles in a few days, a skirmish ensued, in which Sewund Ray and the greatest part of his troops were killed, but not without a heavy loss on the side of the insurgents. The rebel chiefs, continued to pursue their journey to the Prince Musaood, whom they met at Nyshapoor. Musaood having heard of his father's decease when at Humadan, left governors in the provinces of Persian Eerak, and hastened towards Khorassan. On his arrival he wrote to his brother, that he had no intention of disputing those countries with him, which his father, in spite of his own preferable right, had been pleased to bequeath on Mahomed; observing, that the provinces of Joorjistan, Tubristan, and Eerak, most of which he had acquired by his own sword, were ample for himself. He only insisted so far on his birthright as to have his name read first in the Khootba[70] over all his dominions. These princes were twins; but Mahomed was the elder by some hours, and, consequently, had an undoubted right to succeed. Enmity had always subsisted between them; and Mahomed, on the present occasion, having returned an answer of defiance to his brother, prepared for war, in spite of his counsellors, who opposed so unnatural a proceeding.

Putting his army in motion, and leaving Ghizny on the 1st Rumzan, A.H. 421 (Sept. 23, A.D. 1030), he proceeded to meet Musaood at Tukeeabad, where he halted during the fast a whole month, and a most unpropitious delay it was for him.[71] While there, his crown falling accidently from his head, it was taken as a bad omen by his army. Accordingly, upon the 3rd night of Shuwal, (October 26), a confederacy having been formed by Ameer Ally Cheshawundy, Ameer Yoosoof Subooktugeen, and Hoossein Michael, they sounded to arms, and putting themselves at the head of the troops, surrounded the King's tents, seized his person, and sent him prisoner to the fort of Wally, which the people of Kandahar at this day call Khullij.[72] They now marched the army to Hirat, and joining the Prince Musaood, swore allegiance to him.

70. Khootba is the public prayer for the King's welfare, read daily at mosques. The reading of the Khootba, and coining money, are amongst the peculiar privileges of royalty.

71. This town is situated 30 miles N. of Ghizny.

72. The position of this place is not determined, unless it be the Kilay Meer Wully of Mr. Elphinstone.

Musaood marched to Bulkh, where he ordered Hoosein Michael to be hanged, on the plea of his having condescended, on his return from a pilgrimage to Mecca, to wear a dress presented to him by the Caliph of Egypt; but it is also said, a private pique existed, which hastened the death of Hoosein; for he was once heard to say in public, that if ever Musaood became king, he would suffer himself to be hanged. Ameer Ally also had his head struck off for his ingratitude to his prince; and Ameer Yoosoof, the other conspirator, although the King's uncle, was imprisoned for life. Shortly after, the Prince Mahomed was deprived of his eye-sight, so that his reign scarcely lasted five months; but after nine years' imprisonment he again ascended the throne for one year, and was eventually put to death by his nephew Modood, the son of Musaood.

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD I. GHIZNEVY

Musaood, full of liberality and valour, acquired the title of Roostoom the Second. His arrow, after piercing the strongest mail, penetrated the hide of an elephant, and his iron mace was so ponderous, that no man of his time could raise it with one hand. By his bold and independent language he frequently offended his father, who for that reason fixed his affections on his brother Mahomed, a prince of a more mild and tractable disposition. It is related in the Tubkat Nasiry, on the authority of Khwaja Aboo Nusr Mukutty, that Sooltan Mahmood privately intimated to the Caliph of Bagdad, that in addressing him he wished the Caliph to insert the name of the Prince Mahomed before that of Musaood. The next letter which came was read aloud in court, and many of the nobles expressed their surprise and indignation at this unusual circumstance. Aboo Nusr states, that on leaving the durbar he himself followed Musaood to the door, and told him that what he had heard gave him the utmost concern, for that his own inclination, as well as the hearts of most of the nobles, were all in his favour. The Prince replied, with a smile, "Give yourselves no concern about it: dominion belongs to the longest sword." One of the King's attendants overhearing this conversation gave information of it to his father Mahmood, who sent for Aboo Nusr, and asked him what had passed between him

and the Prince Musaood, Aboo Nusr, conceiving truth would be his best defence, related the particulars. The King observed, he entertained a high regard for Musaood, who he foresaw would one day be king, but that the Prince Mahomed had gained his affections by filial duty, and more implicit obedience.

Musaood on his accession released Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, who by the orders of the Emperor Mahmood had been imprisoned in the fort of Kalunjur,[73] situated on the Indian frontier, and again made him vizier. The accounts of Ameer Ahmud, the son of Danieltugeen the treasurer, being found deficient, the King obliged him to refund a great sum for mal-practices in his office. He was subsequently appointed governor in Hindoostan, and ordered to proceed to Lahore. At the same time Mujd-ood-Dowla Delimy, who had been imprisoned in one of the forts of Hindoostan, was released and called to court.

The King, in the year A.H. 422 (A.D. 1031), having left Bulkh came to Ghizny, and sent an army to Kech[74] and Mikran, causing the coin of both provinces to be struck in his name. The prince of those countries died about that time and left two sons, Abool Asakir and Eesa: the younger brother taking possession of the government, Abool Asakir had recourse for aid to the Emperor Musaood, to whom the fugitive prince promised an annual tribute, and to hold his dominions, when recovered, of him. Musaood accordingly sent an army with Abool Asakir, giving orders to his general to reconcile, if possible, the difference between the brothers, and to divide the country equally between them, but if this could not be effected, to put Abool Asakir in possession of the whole.

The Ghiznevide army arrived on the frontiers; but so obstinate was Eesa that he would accede to no terms of accommodation; and though deserted by many friends who joined his brother, he determined to decide the contest by the sword. He fought with great bravery, and was slain in the conflict. The provinces thus fell into the hands of Abool Asakir, who paid tribute henceforward to the Emperor of Ghizny.

Musaood, in the same year, bestowed the viceroyship of Rye in Persia, of Humadan, and the whole of Joorjistan, upon Tash

73. Ferishta does not mean the fort in Bundelkund of the same name, but that in the Punjab.

74. This province must not be confounded with Kutch, near Guzerat.

(one of his own domestic sweepers), a man who, though raised from the lowest office in the camp, displayed uncommon abilities in reducing those prov nces to obedience. After the departure of the King, those countries of which he had himself before been governor revolted. Tash not only reduced them to subjection, but also chastised Alla-ood-Dowla, the Ghiznevide governor of Khorassan, who had been tampering with the rebels.

Musaood, having settled affairs at Ghizny, intended to march to Ispahan and Rye; but when he arrived at Hirat, the inhabitants of Suruksh and Badwird complained to him of the ravages of the Suljooky Toorkmans. The King, moved by the complaint of his subjects, ordered Abdool Raees, the son of Abdool Azeez, a brave general, with a large force to attack these invaders. This officer, however, met with great opposition from the Toorkmans, and the King, without having accomplished his object, was constrained to return to Ghizny.

In the year A.H. 423 (A.D. 1032), the King commanded Altoon Tash to proceed from Khwaruzm, with his army, to oppose Allytugeen Suljook, who had invaded and conquered Samarkand and Bokhara. Altoon Tash marched to Mawur-ool-Nehr, having been reinforced in the neighbourhood of Bulkh by 15,000 horse detached for the purpose from Ghizny. With this army he crossed the river Amoo, and continued his route to Bokhara, which having fallen without much opposition, he proceeded to Samarkand. Allytugeen, quitting the city, occupied a small village in the vicinity, having a river and a wood on one side, and a high mountain on the other. In this position he was attacked by Altoon Tash, when a party of Allytugeen's horse, issuing from behind a hill on one flank, attacked the Ghiznevide army in the rear. A great slaughter ensued, and Altoon Tash was severely wounded in a part of the body in which he had formerly received a blow from a catapulta in taking one of the forts of Hindoostan. He, however, concealed the circumstance from his army; and having charged the enemy's troops with great gallantry, they were put to flight after an ostinate and bloody conflict. After the battle Altoon Tash, assembling his principal officers, showed them his wound, and told them his end was approaching; that they must now manage their own affairs; intimating, at the same time, that he thought it would be advisable to conclude a peace with the enemy. This advice being approved, a messenger was despatched to Allytugeen, that

very night, with proposals, which were eagerly accepted. The conditions were, that Allytugeen should keep possession of Samarkand, and that Bokhara should remain in the hands of Musaood. The two armies separated on the following day, the one for Samarkand, and the other for Khorassan. Altoon Tash died the day after; but his death being concealed from the army, the chiefs conducted the troops to Khwaruzm. When these accounts reached the King, he conferred the government on Haroon, the son of Altoon Tash. During this year the excellent Vizier Khwaja Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, died, and was succeeded in his office by Aboo Nusr Ahmud, the son of Mahomed, the son of Abool Sumud, private secretary to Haroo the son of Altoon Tash, who was now invited from Khwaruzm for the purpose of receiving the official seals.

In the year A.H. 424 (A.D. 1033), the King resolved on making an expedition into India. He took the route of Soorsutty, situated among the hills of Kashmeer; the garrison of which fort being intimidated, sent messengers to the King, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute, if he would desist from his enterprise. Musaood felt disposed to listen to the proposals, until he understood that some Mahomedan merchants, having been seized by the garrison, were then captives in the place. He accordingly broke up the conference, and besieged the fort, ordering the ditch to be filled up with sugar-canes,[75] from the adjacent plantations. This being done, he caused scaling-ladders to be applied to the walls; and the fort, after a bloody contest, was taken. The garrison, without distinction, was put to the sword, except the women and children, who were carried off by the soldiers as slaves. The King, moreover, commanded that a part of the spoil should be given to the Mahomedans who had been prisoners in Soorsutty, and who had formerly lost their effects. This year was remarkable for a great drought and famine in many parts of the world. The famine was succeeded by a pestilence which swept many thousands from the face of the earth; for in less than one month 40,000 persons died in Ispahan alone. Nor did it rage with less violence in Hindoostan, where whole countries were entirely depopulated. In the neighbourhood of Moosul and Bagdad also, the joodry (plague) raged to such a degree, that hardly a single house escaped without losing one or two of the family.

75. This plant is indigenous to India.

In the year A.H. 425 (A.D. 1034), Musaood marched his army to the north, in the direction of Amol and Sary. The inhabitants opposed him in his progress, but they were dispersed by the imperial troops with little opposition. Aba Kalunjar,[76] the Prince of Tubristan, sent an ambassador, subjecting himself and his country to the King, at the same time sending his son Bahmun, and his nephew Sherooya, the son of Soorkhab, to meet the King in the province of Koorkan. Musaood from thence marched towards Ghizny, and arrived at Nyshapoor. The inhabitants continued to complain bitterly of the incursions of the Suljooks; and the King sent Boghtudy, and Hoosein the son of Michael, with a force to attack them. When the Ghiznevide army reached the village of Sendooz, a messenger came from the Toorkmans with a letter to the following purpose: that "they were the King's servants, and not at all desirous to disturb any body but his enemies, provided they were enabled, by receiving an annual subsidy, to live at home without plunder, or were led out to war, that they might exercise what they deemed their only profession." The answer of Boghtudy was imperious and haughty. "I hold no communion with you," said he, "but with the sword, unless you give over your depredations, and submit yourselves implicitly to the authority of the King."

The Sujlooks, on hearing this message from their ambassador, advanced, and made a violent assault upon the camp of Boghtudy, but were repulsed, and obliged to fly, while Boghtudy, pursuing them with rapidity, took all their baggage, their wives, and their children. But returning from the pursuit, while yet many of his troops were dispersed and intent on plunder, a body of the Suljooks issued from between two hills, and made a dreadful slaughter among his soldiers, whom he was unable to form with any regularity. The Ghiznevides defended themselves individually with great gallantry, and retreated for two days and nights. Hoossein, the son of Michael, could not be persuaded to quit the field, so that after most of his men were killed, he himself fell into the hands of the enemy. Moghtudy fled, and carried advice of his own defeat to the King at Nyshapoor.

Musaood endeavoured, in vain, to conceal his resentment

76. It is remarkable, if true, that any of the descendants of the ancient Persians should have reigned in Tubristan, without being converted, at so late a period as 424 of the Hijra.

and shame, and marched back to Ghizny, in the year A.H. 426 (A.D. 1035). In this year, also, one Tatiah,[77] an Indian chief, was employed to attack Ahmud, the son of Danieltugeen, who had rebelled in his government. On this occasion, Tatian was slain, and his troops defeated with great slaughter. Musaood, informed of this disaster, sent Tilok, the son of Jye Sein,[78] the commander of all the Indian troops, to reinforce him, who pursued the enemy so closely that many thousands fell into his hands, whom he mutilated by cutting off their ears and noses. Ahmud reached the banks of the Indus, and endeavouring to cross the river, was drowned in the attempt. His corpse was soon after found, and his head being severed from his body, was sent to Ghizny.

In the year A.H. 427 (A.D. 1036), a new palace was finished at Ghizny. In it was a golden throne, studded with jewels, erected in a magnificent hall; over which was suspended, by a golden chain, a crown of gold, weighing 70 muns,[79] emitting lustre from numerous precious stones, forming a canopy for the King when he sat in state to give public audience. In the same year he conferred the ensigns and drums of royalty on his son the Prince Modood, and sent him to the government of Bulkh, whilst he himself marched with an army to India, to reduce the fort of Hansy, which, according to the Tubkat Nasiry, is the ancient capital of Sewalik. The Hindoos reckoned it impregnable, and were taught to believe it would never fall into the hands of the Mahomedans. On this occasion the Indian sooth-sayers, like those of other nations, deceived their followers, for in the space of six days the King escaladed the place, and took it by storm. Herein he found immense treasure; and having put the fort under the charge of a trusty officer, he marched towards the fort of Sonput. Depal Hurry, the governor of Sonput, abandoned the place, and fled into the woods; but having no time to carry off his treasure, it fell into the conqueror's hands. Musaood having ordered all the temples to be raised to the ground, and the idols to be broken, proceeded in pursuit of Depal Hurry, who was surprised by the King, the most of his army were taken prisoners, while he him-

77. The name is written differently in various manuscripts.

78. It is a remarkable fact, that even at so early a period of the history, the King of Ghizny should have a portion of his army composed of unconverted Hindoos, as is apparent from their names. It seems likely they were the local troops of Lahore.

79. 135 lb.

self effected his escape. From thence the King marched against one Ram Ray, who, gaining intelligence of his approach, sent large presents of gold and elephants, excusing himself, on account of his age, from personally attending upon Musaood. The King received his presents and excuse, and refrained from farther molestation; then leaving a trusty chief in Sonput, he took possession of all the countries in his rear, intending to return to Ghizny. When he reached Lahore, he left his son Modood there, conferring on him the government of that province, and the drums and ensigns of state; leaving with him Ayaz Khass, his favourite counsellor and minister.

In the year A.H. 428 (A.D. 1037), Musaood again marched to Bulkh, to check the continued encroachments of the Toorkmans, who, hearing of the King's advance, left the country. The inhabitants of Bulkh addressed Musaood, and acquainted him that Toghrul Beg Suljooky, after his departure, had made frequent incursions into his territories, and crossing the river, had laid violent hands on the lives and property of his subjects, the King determined to attack Toghrul Beg in the ensuing winter, and in the beginning of the spring to make war on the other hordes of Suljooks in Khorassan. The omrahs of his court, with one accord, advised him to march first against the Suljooks under Jakur Beg, who during the last two years had gained several advantages over the troops of Khorassan, and were daily acquiring new strength. Musaood at that time also received a copy of verses from one of the nobles of that province. "The Suljooks," said the poet, "who were once but ants, have now become little adders; and if they are not soon destroyed, they may in a short time become dragons."

But the star of the King's fortune had now reached its zenith, and he would by no means listen to the advice of his officers. In hopes to conquer the country lying before him, he threw a bridge over the Jyhoon, and crossing his army without opposition, took possession of the whole province of Mawur-ool-Nehr. During the winter so much snow fell, that it was with the utmost difficulty he marched his troops back to Ghizny. In the mean time, Jakur Beg Suljooky moved from Suruksh against Bulkh, from whence Khwaja Ahmud, the vizier, wrote to the King begging that, as he had not a sufficient force to oppose the enemy, the King would take steps to reinforce him. Musaood accordingly counter-marched his army towards Bulkh.

Toghrul Beg Suljooky, taking advantage of this circumstance, marched rapidly to Ghizny, plundered the King's stables, and even sacked part of the capital before he was repulsed. When Musaood reached the confines of Bulkh, Jakur Beg Suljooky retreated towards Murv. The King, in conjunction with his son Modood, went in pursuit to Koorkan, when several persons came to camp, complaining of the ravages of Ally Koondoozy. This Ally was little better than a common robber, though a man of considerable talent and cunning. Having refused to account for his conduct, and continuing his depredations, the King ordered a detachment to attack him, and he was driven by the King's forces within the walls of a fort in the neighbourhood, where, with his whole family, he was taken and subsequently hanged.

The Toorkmans,[80] hearing of the advance of the King towards Murv, sent an ambassador professing obedience, provided the King would bestow on them a tract of country wherein they might settle. He consented to the proposal, and having despatched a messenger to their chief, Mungoo Khan, invited him to come and conclude the treaty. The King, on their promise of future good behaviour, alienated a large territory for their maintenance.

Musaood, after this event, marched towards Herat; but so little faith was kept by the Suljooks, that they attacked the rear of his army, carried off part of his own baggage, and slew a number of his guards. Incensed at this conduct, he sent a detachment in pursuit of them, which took a small party prisoners. He immediately ordered their heads to be struck off and sent to Mungoo Khan, who excused himself, saying, that, for his part, he was glad they had met with their deserts, for he had no knowledge of their proceedings.

Musaood continued his march from Herat to Nyshapoor, and from thence to Toos. At Toos, he was attacked by another horde of Suljooks, which he defeated with great slaughter; but having received intelligence that the inhabitants of Badwird had given up their forts to the Suljooks in that quarter, he marched immediately against them, retook the forts, and cleared that country of the enemy. He now returned to Nyshapoor, where he spent the winter. In the spring of the year A.H. 430 (A.D. 1039), he returned to Badwird, which had been again invaded in his absence by Toghrul Beg, who fled upon the Sultan's approach towards Badwird

80. Ferishta calls them indifferently, Suljooks and Toorkmans.

and Tedzen. Musaood returned by the route of Suruksh, whose inhabitants refused to pay the revenue. Some of their chiefs being punished, the rest became more tractable, and after their submission the King continued his march to Dundunaken. At this place the Suljooks, collecting their forces, surrounded the King's army on the 8th Rumzan, A.H. 431 (May 24, A.D. 1040), and secured the passes on all sides. Musaood drew up his army in order of battle, to induce the enemy to come to action, which they by no means declined, advancing on all sides with barbarous shouts, and with great impetuosity. This uncommon method of charging discouraged the Ghiznevide troops; and, whether through fear or perfidy, several generals, in the commencement of the battle, rode off with their whole squadrons, and joined the enemy.

The King, undismayed even by the defection of his officers, gallantly rode his horse to the spot where he perceived the conflict most bloody, performing prodigies of valour, unequalled perhaps by any sovereign; but his efforts were vain; for when he looked round he beheld nearly the whole of his army, excepting the body which he commanded in person, in full flight. The King thus deserted, and seeing no hope from the efforts of his single arm, turned his steed, and trampling down the enemy, opened a road for himself with his own sword. When he reached Murv, he met with a few of the fugitives, who now began to collect from all quarters. He took from thence the way of Ghoor, and proceeded to Ghizny, where having seized the generals who had so shamefully deserted him, he ordered Ally Dabye, Boghtudy, and Ameer Hajib Samany, to be conveyed to Hindoostan, and confined in hill forts for life. Musaood, now finding himself unable to withstand the power of the Suljook Toorkmans, resolved to withdraw to India, till he was able to collect forces sufficient to make another effort to retrieve his affairs. With this determination, he left his son Modood, and his Vizier Khwaja Ahmud Bin Mahomed, the son of Aluptugeen Hajib, to defend Bulkh, and ordered his other son, the Prince Madood, who had come from Lahore with 2000 horse, to secure Moultan. Meanwhile the Prince Yezeedyar, another of his sons, was sent with a detachment to keep in check the mountain Afghans near Ghizny, who were in arms. Having collected all his wealth from the different strongholds of Ghizny, and loading camels with it, he marched to Lahore. At this time he sent for his brother

Mahomed, who had been previously dethroned and blinded, as we have before mentioned.

When Musaood reached the caravansera of Muriala on the Sind, (but according to others on the Jheelum, also called the Bheut), the household troops, who had entered into a conspiracy with the camel-keepers, began to divide the treasure among themselves. The troops fearing the King's resentment, and not choosing to refund the plunder, hastened in a mob to the blind Prince Mahomed, who had been before on the throne and exalting him upon their shoulders, proclaimed him King. Musaood during this time was collecting the only troops on whom he could rely to suppress the mutiny; but no sooner was it known that his brother was proclaimed, than he found himself entirely deserted, and he became prisoner in the caravansera. The mob pressing round him, he was constrained to give himself up into their hands, and was carried before the new King, Mahomed, who told him he had no design to take his life, and desired him to select some fort, whither he might retire with his family into confinement. Musaood, in this extremity, chose the fort of Kurry, but was left without the means of paying his few menial attendants. This obliged him to send a person to his brother to request some money.

Mahomed accordingly ordered the pitiful sum of 500 deenars to be sent him, upon which Musaood, exclaimed: "Oh, wonderful turn of fortune! Ah, cruel reverse of fate! Yesterday, I was a mighty Prince, 3000 camels bending under my wealth;[81] to-day I am forced to beg, and am condemned to receive but the mere mockery of my wants." With that he borrowed 1000 deenars from his servants, and bestowed them as a present upon his brothers' messenger who had brought the 500 deenars, which he desired he might again carry back to his master.

On the accession of Mahomed he advanced his son, the Prince Ahmud, to the government, reserving for himself only the name. The mind of Ahmud was by many supposed to be strongly tainted with insanity. Shortly after his accession, in the year A.H. 433 (A.D. 1042), he, in conjunction with his cousin Sooliman,

81. If this be taken literally, and that 3000 camels carried his wealth, which must include all his camp equipage, as well as his treasure, the amount would not exceed belief. 3000 camels, if all laden with silver, even, would not carry two and a half millions of specie, and we can hardly allow a greater portion than one in ten of his carriage-cattle for the conveyance of gold and silver.

the son of Ameer Yoosoof Soobooktugeen, and the son of Ally Cheshawundy, went to the fort of Kurry and assassinated Musaood with his own hand, while some affirm that he caused him to be buried alive in a well. It has been by others asserted that Musaood was murdered by the orders of Mahomed himself. God only knows the truth. The reign of Musaood, according to the Towareekh-Goozeeda lasted nine years and nine months, and according to other histories, twelve years. He was a prince of uncommon personal strength and courage, affable, and of easy access; generous to prodigality, particularly to learned men, of whose company he was so extremely fond, that many were induced to come from all parts to his court. Among the most celebrated we must recon Anvury Khan Khwaruzmy, a great philosopher and astronomer, who wrote an excellent treatise upon astronomy, called Musaoody; in reward for which he was presented with an elephant's load of silver.[82] Aboo Mahomed Nasahy was a man of eminent learning in this age. He wrote a book entitled also Musaoody, in support of the doctrine of Aboo Huneef, which he presented to the King. The author of the Rozut-oos-suffa tells us, that so extensive was the King's charity, that on one occasion he bestowed a lak of dirms[83] in alms during the month of Rumzam. In the beginning of his reign he built many handsome mosques, and endowed several colleges and schools,which he caused to be erected in the different cities of his dominions.

SOOLTAN MODOOD-GHIZNEVY

WHEN the news of the murder of Musaood reached the ears of Mahomed the Blind, he wept bitterly, and severely reproached the assassins. At the same time he wrote to the Prince Modood, then at Bulkh, that such and such people had killed his father, calling God to witness that his hands were clear of the wicked deed. To this Modood replied, sarcastically, "May God lengthen the days of so good and merciful a king, and grant that his mad son, Ahmud, may gain glory in the practice of regicide, till his

82. An elephant would not carry more than 35,000 rupees (3500*l*.), and such a sum does not seem too large a remuneration for the author of a set of astronomical tables.

83. If we estimate the dirm at 10*d*. the sum would exceed 4144*l*.

reward be obtained from our hands!" Modood proposed marching immediately to revenge the death of his father, but was persuaded by his council to go first to Ghizny, where the citizens, upon his approach, thronged out to meet him, and expressed their joy in acclamations and congratulations.

In the year A.H. 433 (A.D. 1042), he marched from Ghizny; while Mahomed the Blind, appointing his younger son, the Prince Namy, governor of Pishawur and Moultan, marched in person to the banks of the Indus, to oppose Modood. The two armies met at Duntoor[84]; an action ensued between the uncle and nephew: victory declared in favour of Modood, while Mahomed with his sons, and the son of Ameer Ally Cheshawundy Noshtugeen Bulkhy, and Sooliman, the son of Ameer Yoosoof, were taken prisoners. They were all put to death, except the Prince Abdool Ruheem, the son of the late King Mahomed. Modood pardoned him, because on one occasion, during the time his father Musaood was prisoner, when Abdool Ruheem went with his brother Abdool Ruhman to visit him, the latter insultingly threw off Musaood's royal cap: Ruheem instantly took it up, and replaced it on the King's head with much respect, reproving his brother for his ungenerous conduct.

Modood having revenged his father's death, built a town on the spot on which he had obtained the victory, and called it Futtehabad. He carried the remains of the late Musaood and his family to be interred at Ghizny; whither he returned, and appointed Ahmud, the son of Hussun Mymundy, his vizier. But soon after, removing him from the office, he conferred the dignity on Khwaja Tahir, and deputed the late Vizier Ahmud, with a force to Moultan, against the Prince Namy, the son of his uncle Mahomed, who was attacked and slain. The King had now rival of whom he was apprehensive but his own brother Madood, who was then in possession of Lahore and its dependencies. This brother, on the murder of his father, marched from Moultan, and, at the instance of his minister Ayaz Khass, occupied all the country east of the Indus, as far as Hansy and Tahnesur.

Modood, finding that his brother refused to pay him allegiance, ordered an army against him, and Madood, apprised of this circumstance, marched from Hansy, where he then resided, with his whole force, to oppose the troops of Modood,

84. The position is not determined.

whom he met, before they reached Lahore, on the 6th Zilhuj, A.H. 433 (August 4, A.D. 1041). The army of Modood was so numerous, that Madood's forces were on the point of flying, when several of the chiefs deserting their colours, enrolled themselves under the banners of the latter. But fortune or treachery here befriended Modood. On the morning of the festival of Koorban,[85] Madood was found dead in his bed, without any previous complaint or apparent cause; and as, on the following day his vizier, Khwaja Ayaz, was also found dead, it is supposed they were poisoned. Madood's army now marched under the banners of Modood, so that the southern countries also submitted quietly. Nor was Modood less fortunate in the north. The province of Mawur-ool-Nehr, which had for some time asserted its independence, submitted to his authority. But the Suljooks (notwithstanding the King had espoused a daughter of Jakur Beg) began to make fresh incursions into his territories.

In the year A.H. 435 (A.D. 1043), the Raja of Dehly, in conjunction with other rajas, retook Hansy, Tahnesur, and their dependencies, from the governors to whom Modood had entrusted them. The Hindoos from thence marched towards the fort of Nagrakote, which they besieged for four months; and the garrison being distressed for provisions, and no succours coming from Lahore, was under the necessity of capitulating. The Hindoos, according to their practice, erected new idols, and recommended the rites of idolatry. We are told, that on this occasion the Raja of Dehly, (aware, no doubt, of the embarrassed circumstances of the empire of Ghizny,) pretended to have seen a vision, in which the great idol of Nagrakote had appeared, and told him that, having now revenged himself upon Ghizny, he would meet him at Nagrakote in his former temple. This story being propagated by the Brahmins, who, probably, were in the secret, it gained credence among the superstitious, by which means the Raja was joined by zealots from all parts, and soon saw himself at the head of a numerous host. With this army, as we have already mentioned, he besieged Nagrakote, and when the place surrendered, he took care to have an idol of the same shape and size with the former (which he had caused to be made at Dehly) introduced in the night, into a garden in the centre of

85. This festival is kept in commemoration of the intended sacrifice by Abraham of his son Isaac.

the place. This image being discovered in the morning, great rejoicing occurred among its deluded votaries, who exclaimed that their god had returned from Ghizny. The Raja and the Brahmins, taking advantage of the credulity of the populace, carried the idol with great pomp into the temple, where it received the adoration and congratulations of the people. The story raised the fame of the shrine to such a degree, that thousands came daily to worship from all parts of Hindoostan, as also to consult the oracle upon all important occasions; and at this particular time, the offerings of gold, and silver, and jewels, brought and sent by the different princes from far and near, is supposed to have nearly equalled the wealth Mahmood carried away. The method of consultation was this:—The person who came to enquire into futurity slept on the floor of the temple before the idol, after drinking a dose which the Brahmins prescribed to create dreams, from which they predicted the fortune of the enquirers in the morning, according to their own fancy.

The success of the Raja of Dehly gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of Punjab (the province through which the five branches of the Indus flow), and other places, that though before this time, like foxes, they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Mussulman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lions, and openly set their masters at defiance. Three of those Rajas, with 10,000 horse and an innumerable army of foot, advanced and invested Lahore. The Mahomedans, in defence of their laws, their families, and their effects, exerted themselves to the utmost; and, during the period of seven months, defended the town, street, by street, for the walls being bad, were soon laid in ruins. Finding, however, that, in the end, they must be overpowered, unless speedy succours arrived, they bound themselves by oath to devote their lives to victory or martyrdom; and making a sally, presented themselves in order of battle before the enemy's camp. The Hindoos, either struck by their unexpected appearance, or intimidated by their resolution, betook themselves to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter

In the year preceding (A.H. 434), the King sent Aluptugeen Hajib with an army to Tokharistan, against the ever-restless Suljooky. When he reached that place, he heard that Jakur Beg, the son of Daood, had advanced to Armun[86]; but as the two armies

86. This place does not appear in any maps.

drew up in order of battle, the chief of the Suljooks (a young man without experience) marshalled his troops with such want of skill, that they charged before all the horse had properly formed. This circumstance occasioned confusion, so that being firmly received they were broken, and totally routed with heavy loss. Aluptugeen having returned from the pursuit, marched to recover Bulkh, which the Suljooks had taken. Not long after, the Suljooks returning with a powerful force, appeared before the same place. Bulkh not being taken, and Aluptugeen, finding himself too weak to engage the enemy in the field, wrote to Modood for succour. But no reinforcements arriving, and the general's difficulties daily increasing, he determined to abandon his attempt on Bulkh; and fell back by the route of Kabul on Ghizny, with a small portion of his army. The popular outcry, however, was so strong against this unfortunate officer, that Modood, in order to silence the clamour, suffered him to be put to death. About this time, the Toorkman, of Toghrul Beg made an incursion into the Ghiznevide territories by the way of Boost, against whom Modood sent an army, which gave them a signal defeat.

In the year A.H. 436 (A.D. 1044), Khwaja Tahir, the vizier, died, and Khwaja Abool Futteh Abdool Ruzak, the son of Ahmud, and grandson of Hussun Mymundy, was raised to that office. In the same year, Toghrul Beg[87] was sent with a force towards Boost; from whence having proceeded to Seestan, he brought the brother of Abool Fuzl Oozbuky, entitled Aboo Munsoor, who had rebelled against the King, prisoner to Ghizny. The Suljooks, in the following year, having collected their forces, directed their march towards Ghizny, and plundered the palaces of Boost and Rubat Ameer. Toghrul Beg was ordered against them. He defeated them with great slaughter, and pursued them out of the country. After this victory, Toghrul Beg marched immediately against the Toorkmans of Kandahar, called Kuzilbash,[88] owing to their wearing red caps, and defeating them also, took many prisoners, whom he brought to Ghizny.

In the year A.H. 438 (A.D. 1046), Toghrul Beg was again ordered to Boost, with a numerous army; but when he arrived

87. This chief must not be confounded with the famous Toghrul Beg Suljooky.

88. Kuzil-bash, literally red heads: the appellation has to the Toorks of eastern Persia to this day.

at Tukeabad, he began to entertain treasonable designs against his sovereign. News of his revolt reaching Modood, he sent some persons to endeavour to reclaim him, with a promise of pardon. To this overture Toghrul Beg replied, that the reason of this step was to secure himself; that he had information of a plot formed against his life, by those sycophants whose only business was to stand by the throne, and to amuse the ears of the King with lies and flattery, and that being once driven into rebellion, he had now gone too far to retreat. Though the King's messengers produced no effect on Toghrul, they found most of the chiefs with him still loyal, and they induced others to abandon him, who had joined rather from the desire of novelty than from any real cause of disaffection. The messengers now returned, and having told the King how matters stood, he ordered Ally, the son of Rubeea, one of his generals, with 20,000 horse, to join the insurgents, and to promote the dissensions already begun in their camp. Toghrul Beg, accordingly, was, soon after, deserted by his army, and betook himself to flight with a few adherents.

Ameer Bastugeen Hajib, another chief, was, in the same year, sent to Ghoor, to the assistance of the son of Yehya Ghoory, who joined him with his force, and they both marched against Aboo Ally, ruler of Ghoor, and drove him into a fort,[89] wherein he was besieged and taken prisoner. This place was reckoned so strong, that no one had attempted its reduction for 700 years. When Ameer Bastugeen Hajib found himself master of the fort, he treacherously laid hands on the son of Yehya Ghoory, whom he came to support, and carried him in chains, with Aboo Ally, to Ghizny, where the King ordered both to be beheaded. Ameer Bastugeen Hajib was sent soon after against Byram Daniel, a chief of the Suljooks. He met the enemy in the districts of Boost, where he engaged and defeated them. In the year A.H. 439 (A.D. 1047), he was sent against Khoozdar, the ruler of which refused to pay the usual tribute; but he obliged him to comply with the King's demands, and returned with his army to Ghizny.

In the following year, Modood, on one and the same day, conferred the royal dress, drums, and colours, on his two eldest sons. These were Mahmood, whom he sent to Lahore, and Munsoor, whom he sent to the province of Burkistwar. At the

89. The name is not mentioned in any of my MSS.

same time, Aboo Ally Kotwal of Ghizny was deputed to command the army in India, and to maintain the conquests in that quarter. Aboo Ally first marched to Pishawur, and took the fort of Myhtilla, which had rebelled against the King's authority, from thence he sent a letter to Bheejy Ray, a general of the Hindoos, who had done much service in the time of Mahmood, inviting him to come to the court of Ghizny, whence he had fled on account of some political dissensions, and had taken up his abode in the mountains of Kashmeer.

While Aboo Ally was employed in settling the countries on the Indus, some malicious chiefs in his camp forwarded complaints against him to the King, who, having sent for him to Ghizny, imprisoned and made him over in charge to Meeruk, the son of Hoossein. This chief, moved by former enmity, as well as by a design to extort money, put him to the rack, on which he died. Fearing lest the King should enquire for the prisoner, and order him to be produced, he endeavoured to divert Modood's mind till he should be able to frame an excuse for the death of Aboo Ally. He prevailed with the Sooltan, in the first place, to undertake an expedition against Khorassan, by the way of Kabul. Modood proceeded by the route of Shujawund and Logur,[90] and reached the fort of Sealkote,[91] where considerable treasure had been deposited. Here he was seized with a violent bowel complaint, and was obliged to return in a litter to Ghizny, while his vizier, Abdool Ruzak, with the army, having marched into Seestan, opposed the Suljooks, and penetrated into that country.

On the King's arrival at Ghizny, he ordered Meeruk Hoossein to bring his prisoner, Aboo Ally, in order that he might be released; but Meeruk contrived excuses, and before the end of a week, the King died, on the 24th Rujub, in the year A.H. 441 (Dec. 24, A.D. 1049), having reigned upwards of nine years. Previously to his death, he had prevailed on the provinces of Bamyan and Mawur-ool-Nehr to unite all their resources in order to act against the Suljooks; but as the stars of this race were on the rise, they met with no obstacle to their final and entire success.

90. This place appears, in Mr. Elphinstone's map, 40 miles north of Ghizny, and about 20 miles south of Kabul.

91. This is not the Sealkote in India Proper.

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD II. BIN-MODOOD GHIZNEVY

AFTER the death of Modood, Ally Bin Rubeea, Khadim, formed a design to usurp the throne; but concealing his intentions in the first instance, he raised Musaood, the son of Modood (a child of four years old), to be musnud. Aluptugeen Hajib, one of the principal officers of Sooltan Mahmood's court, not having been made acquainted with the measure, deemed himself insulted, and drew off with that half of the army which was in his interest. The troops, thus divided, came to action; in which Ally Bin Rubeea being worsted, the party of Aluptugeen Hajib espoused the cause of Abool Hussun Ally, one of the sons of the Emperor Musaood, who had escaped the resentment of Ally Bin Rubeea, and proclaimed him king, deposing Musaood, after a nominal reign of six days.

SOOLTAN ABOOL HUSSUN ALLY

ON Friday, the 1st of Shaban, in the year A.H. 441 (Dec. 26, A.D. 1049), Sooltan Abool Hussun Ally ascended the throne of Ghizny, and espoused the widow of his brother Modood, daughter of Jakur-Beg Suljooky. In the mean time Ally Bin Rubeea in conjunction with Meeruk Hoossein, broke open the treasury, and plundering from thence as much gold and jewels as they could conveniently carry, fled with a band of the household troops, and some of the chiefs whom they had brought over to their interests, towards Pishawur and Punjab, on the Indian frontier. At Pishawur, being joined by the natives, they raised a great army, and having reduced Mooltan and Sind, subdued, by force of arms, the Afghans who had declared their independence in that country. This nation had taken advantage of the public disturbances, to plunder those provinces which Ally Rubeea held independently of the crown, till the accession of Sooltan Abool Rusheed.

In the year A.H. 443 (A.D. 1051), the King sent for his brother Murdan Shah and Yeyeedyar from the fort of Bulameea,[92] where they had been imprisoned, restored them to liberty,

92. There is a town of this name on the north bank of the Khoorum, about 50 miles due east of Ghizny.

and treated them with affection and kindness. At this time, however, Abool Rusheed, a son of the Emperor Mahmood, formed a party in his own favour. The King opened the treasury, and increased the strength of his army, but his power daily declined. Abool Rusheed advanced to Ghizny, and having gained a complete victory, ascended the throne in the latter end of the same year. Sooltan Abool Hussun Ally reigned little more than two year.

SOOLTAN ABOOL RUSHEED GHIZNEVY

SOOLTAN Abool Rusheed, according to the most authentic accounts, was a son of the Emperor Mahmood, and by the orders of Modood was imprisoned in a castle situated between Boost and Isfira. The events which led to his accession are as follow: Abdool Ruzak, Bin Ahmud, Bin Hussun Mymundy, was the minister of Sooltan Modood, and had actually collected a force to quell an insurrection in Seestan, when hearing of the death of his master, he put off the object of his expedition, and halted at Tuckeeabad with his army. Here, in conjunction with Khwaja Abool Fuzl, Rusheed the son of Altoon Tash, and Noshtugeen Hajib Joorjy, in the latter end of the year 443, Abdool Ruzak released the Prince Abool Rusheed, and placed him on the throne (according to his own statement), by the express command of the late Sooltan Modood.

Abool Hussun Ally, then actually in possession, made no resistance, but fled, and being seized by some of the zemindars of the country, was brought prisoner before Abool Rusheed, and confined in the fort of Didiroo.[93] The King now prevailed on Ally Bin Rubeea, who had usurped the Ghiznevide conquests in India, to return to his allegiance, and to come to Ghizny. Noshtugeen Hajib being appointed ruler over the provinces east of the Indus, and having received the rank of an Ameer, proceeded with an army to Lahore.

Here having heard that Nagrakote had fallen into the hands of the Hindoos, he proceeded, and laid siege to that place, and on the 6th day scaling the walls, took it by assault. Toghrul Hajib, also, who had been raised to the rank of a noble by

93. This place is not in any of the maps I have seen.

Modood, and who married his daughter, was now sent to reduce Seestan, at this time in a state of revolt, and which he soon brought under subjection. Impelled by a spirit of ambition, he conceived hopes of gaining the crown; and raising a great army, marched towards Ghizny. Sooltan Abool Rusheed, almost destitute of troops, was compelled to remain shut up within the town, which shortly fell into the hands of Toghrul, where the King with nine of the blood-royal were inhumanly put to death by the usurper, who forcibly espoused a princess of the house of Ghizny (the daughter of the late Sooltan Musaood), previously to ascending the throne. Toghrul did not long enjoy the fruits of his wickedness. He wrote to Ameer Noshtugeen Hajib, endeavouring to prevail on that chief to acknowledge him, but he was answered with the contempt he deserved. Not content with giving him a refusal, Noshtugeen communicated privately with the daughter of Musaood, whom the tyrant had compelled to marry him, as well as with all the omras, whom he knew retained their attachment to the imperial family, urging them to revenge the death of their sovereign, so that a conspiracy was forthwith formed, and put in execution on new year's day;[94] when, as Toghrul was stepping up to the throne to give public audience, he was assassinated. Thus the usurper at the end of 40 days met his well merited fate.

After this important event, Noshtugeen arrived at Ghizny with his army, and calling a council of state, enquired whether any yet remained of the royal race of Subooktugeen. Being informed that the Princes Furokhzad, Ibrahim, and Shoojaa were still alive, but imprisoned in a fort, he caused them to be brought to Ghizny, and resolved that fortune should decide by lot who should reign. She favoured Furokhzad, who was accordingly raised to the throne.

The author of the Tubkat Nasiry states that Toghrul being one day asked by one of his associates, what induced him to think of aspiring to the empire, replied, that when the Emperor Abool Rusheed despatched him to take the government of Seestan, he perceived that his hand trembled; from which circumstance he concluded that he was destitute of that resolution

94. The nowrooz is the day of the vernal equinox, on which the Persian year commences.

requisite to retain a kingdom. The reign of Sooltan Abool Rusheed lasted one year.

SOOLTAN FUROKHZAD GHIZNEVY

WHEN Furokhzad, the son of Musaood, placed the crown upon his head, he made over the administration of his government to Noshtugeen Hajib. Jakur Beg Daood, chief of the Suljooks, hearing of the late commotions in the empire, seized the opportunity to invade Ghizny, and advanced with a numerous army, while Noshtugeen Hajib, collecting his forces, went forth to oppose him. Both armies having engaged, the battle was obstinate and bloody, and lasted from the rising to the setting of the sun, when the victory still remained undecided; for though thousands fell on both sides, the troops continued to fight regardless of danger. Success at length declared in favour of Noshtugeen Hajib, while his enemies having taken to flight, left their camp-equipage and baggage to the conquerors, who returned victorious to Ghizny. This battle served to establish Furokhzad so firmly on his seat, that he resolved to recover Khorassan from the Suljooks. The latter were commanded by Kulbarik, one of their principal leaders, who with a numerous army was defeated with great slaughter. Kulbarik and several other persons of note, were taken prisoners. Intelligence of this disaster being conveyed to Jakur Beg Suljooky, he directed an army to march under the command of his son Alp Arslan. Alp Arslan advancing, opposed the King of Ghizny with undaunted resolution, and by defeating him retrieved the character of the Suljooks, who took many of the Ghizny officers prisoners in the pursuit. Furokhzad, having reached his capital, called Kulbarik and all the Suljook prisoners into his presence, and bestowing on each a dress, gave them their liberty. The Suljooky, on his return home, represented in so strong a light the humanity of the King, that Jakur Beg, rather than be outdone in generosity, caused the prisoners of Ghizny to be also released.

Sooltan Furokhzad, who, according to the Rozut-oos-Suffa, was the son of Musaood (though Ahmudoolla Moostowfy calls him the son of Abool Rusheed), reigned six years. In the year A. H. 450 (A. D. 1058), he became afflicted with dysentery, and

died. The year before his death, some of his slaves made an attempt on his life while in the bath; but Furokhzad, wresting a sword out of the hand of one of them, killed several, and defended himself against the rest, till his guards, hearing the noise, came to his rescue, and put the slaves to death. His first vizier was Hussun, the son of Mehram, and, in the latter part of his reign, Aboo Bukr Saleh.

SOOLTAN IBRAHEEM BIN MUSAOOD I. GHIZNEVY

FUROKHZAD was succeeded by his brother Ibraheem. He was remarkable for morality and devotion, having in his youth subdued his sensual appetites. He caused the fast of Rumzan to be continued during the months of Rujub and Shaban, and kept the entire three months holy with strict punctuality. This observance of religious forms did not prevent his paying due attention to his government and to the administration of justice, as well as giving large sums in charity to the poor. It is related in the Jama-ool-Hikayat that he was in the habit of hearing lectures on religion and morality from Imam Yoosoof Shujawundy, who on such occasions used to take the liberty of reproving his master, but never received any check from his sovereign on that account. This Prince excelled in the art of fine writing; and in the libraries of Mecca and Medina there are two copies of the Koran, written in his own hand, sent as presents to the Caliph. In the first year of his reign he concluded a treaty of peace with the Suljooks, ceding to them all the countries they had conquered, on condition that they would make no further encroachments on his dominions. At the same time, his son Musaood espoused the daughter of Mullik Shah Suljooky, and a channel of friendship and intercourse was opened between the two nations.

We are told that before this peace was concluded, Mullik Shah Suljooky had evinced an intention to invade Ghizny, which greatly intimidated Ibraheem, who being then in no condition to oppose him, adopted the following scheme. He wrote letters to the principal chiefs of Mullik Shah's army, and despatched them by a messenger who was particularly instructed how to proceed. The purport of these letters was to importune the chiefs to whom thy were directed to hasten the King's march to Ghizny, lest their plans should be prematurely discovered, and that they might

depend upon his fulfilling his engagements to their satisfaction.

The messenger took an opportunity one day, when Mullik Shah was hunting on the road to Ghizny, to come running towards him, but on discovering the King stole slowly away, which creating suspicion, he was pursued by some horsemen, and brought back. On being searched, the packet was found on him, though he had previously suffered himself to be severely bastinadoed, without confessing that he had any papers. The King read the letters, but the power of the supposed conspirators was such, that he felt there was great danger in accusing them. The circumstances, however, had the effect of exciting such suspicion in his mind that he, from that time, was desirous of peace, and abandoned his expedition. Ibraheem, thus freed from apprehensions of the Suljooks, sent an army to India, and conquered many places in that country, which before had not been visited by the Mussulman arms.

In the year A.H. 472 (A.D. 1079), he marched in person to that quarter, extending his conquests to the fort of Ajoodhun, called now Puttun of Sheikh Fureed Shukr Gunj. This place being taken, he returned to another fort, called Roodpal,[95] situated on the summit of a steep hill. A river embraced it on three sides, and a small peninsula connected it with other hills, entirely covered with an impervious wood, and much infested by venomous serpants. These circumstances did not discourage the King from his attempt, who ordered some thousand pioneers to clear the wood, which they effected in spite of opposition. The rock on which the fort stood being soft, the miners carried their galleries in the course of time under the walls, which were brought down in ruins, and the garrison surrendered. The King marched from thence to another town in the neighbourhood, called Dera,[96] the inhabitants of which came originally from Khorassan; and were banished thither with their families by Afrasiab, for frequent rebellions. Here they had formed themselves into a small independent state; and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours, by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites, by not intermarrying with any other people. The King, having with infinite labour cleared a road for his army

95. The situation of this place has not been fixed.

96. Dera seems a common name in the vicinity of Mooltan for a town.

over the mountains, advanced towards Dera, which was well fortified. This place was remarkable for a fine lake of water about one parasang and a half in circumference; the waters of which did not apparently diminish either from the heat of the weather, or from being used by the army. At this place the King was overtaken by the rainy season; and his army, though greatly distressed, was compelled to remain before it for three months. But as soon as the rains abated, he summoned the town to surrender and acknowledge the faith.

Sooltan Ibraheem's proposal being rejected, he renewed the siege, which continued some weeks, with great slaughter on both sides. The town, at length, was taken by assault, and the Mahomedans found in it much wealth, and 100,000 persons, whom they carried in bonds to Ghizny. Some time after, the King accidentally saw one of those unhappy men carrying a heavy stone with great difficulty and labour, to a palace which he was then building. This exciting his pity, he commanded the prisoner to throw it down and leave it there, at the same time giving him his liberty. This stone happened to be on the public road, and proved troublesome to passengers, but as the King's rigid enforcement of his commands was universally known, no one attempted to touch it. A courtier one day having stumbled with his horse over this stone, took occasion to mention it to the King, insinuating, that he thought it would be advisable to have it removed. To which the King replied, "I commanded it to be thrown down and left there; and there it must remain as a monument of the calamities of war, and to commemorate my sense of its evils. It is better for a king to be pertinacious in the support even of an inadvertent command, than that he should depart from his royal word." The stone accordingly remained where it was; and was shown as a curiosity in the reign of Sooltan Beiram several years afterwards.

Ibraheem had 36 sons and 40 daughters by a variety of women: the latter of whom he gave in marriage to learned and religious men. The death of this monarch, according to some authors, took place in the year 481, which would limit his reign to 31 years; others fix it in the year A.H. 492 (A.D. 1098), which extends it to 42 years. In the early part of his reign the vizarut was conferred successively on Aboo Soheil Khoojundy, and Khwaja Musaood Ruzehy; and in the latter part of his reign it was exercised by Abdool Humeed Ahmud, Bin Abdool Sumud,

who became the subject of a poem from the pen of Abool Furreh, who flourished in his time. This famous author was a native of Seestan, according to some, but according to others, of Ghizny.

SOOLTAN MUSAOOD III. BIN IBRAHEEM GHIZNEVY

MUSAOOD, the son of Ibraheem, ascended the throne on the demise of his father. He was endowed with a benevolent and generous disposition, nor was he less celebrated for his justice than for his policy. He revised the ancient laws and regulations of the state, he abrogated such as he thought objectionable, and substituted others founded on better principles. He espoused the Princess Mehd-Irak, sister of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky.

In his reign Hajib Toghantugeen, an officer of his government, proceeded in command of an army towards Hindoostan, and being appointed governor of Lahore, crossed the Ganges, and carried his conquests farther than any Mussulman had hitherto done, except the Emperor Mahmood. Like him he plundered many rich cities and temples of their wealth, and returned in triumph to Lahore, which now became in some measure the capital of the empire, for the Suljooks having deprived the house of Ghizny of most of its territory both in Eeran and Tooran, the royal family went to reside in India.

After Musaood had reigned 16 years without domestic troubles or foreign wars, he died in the latter end of the year A.H. 508 (A.D. 1118). In the Towareekh Goozeeda it is stated that his son, Kumal-ood-Dowla Sheernijad ascended the throne. He only reigned, however, one year, when he was assassinated by his brother Arslan, who succeeded him, while other historians make no mention of Kumal-ood-Dowla at all.

SOOLTAN ARSLAN GHIZNEVY

ARSLAN, the son of Sooltan Musaood Bin Ibraheem, having become King of Ghizney, seized and confined all his brothers excepting one, who avoided the same fate by flight. The Prince Beiram, who was so fortunate as to escape, found protection with

Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky, who on the part of his brother Mahomed, the son of Mullik Shah Suljooky, then ruled the province of Khorassan. Sooltan Sunjur, the maternal uncle of Arslan, having demanded the release of the other brothers (which was not complied with), espoused the cause of the princes, and made the refusal of Arslan to liberate them, a plea for invading the kingdom of Ghizny.

Arslan, hearing of the intended invasion, wrote letters of complaint to Sooltan Mahomed, the elder brother of Sooltan Sunjur, to induce him to counteract the movement, and that monarch pretended to be disposed to mediate a peace; but Sooltan Sunjur continuing his march, Arslan felt convinced that he could depend on nothing but his sword. His mother Mehid Irak, offended with him for his treatment of her other children, with well-dissembled affection, prevailed on him to send her to negotiate a peace, with a sum of 200,000 deenars to Sooltan Sunjur, for the expense of his expedition. Having arrived in the camp, she, according to her design, excited Beiram her son, and her brother Sunjur, to prosecute the war with vigour, so that instead of halting, Sooltan Sunjur continued his march with 30,000 horse, and 50,000 foot, from Boost in Khorassan to within one fursung of Ghizny, where the army of Arslan was drawn up to receive him. Sunjur proceeded at once to the attack: and dividing his horse into squadrons, and placing battalions of spearmen in the intervals, with elephants in the rear, to be ready to advance when required, he moved slowly towards the enemy. Both armies fought desperately, till at length, owing to the great good conduct of Mullik Abool Fuzl Seestany, the Ghiznevide army was defeated, and Arslan, unable to renew the conflict, fled with the remains of his army to Hindoostan.

Sooltan Sunjur, having entered Ghizny in triumph, halted there 40 days, when, giving the kingdom to his nephew the Prince Beiram, he returned to his own country. Arslan no sooner heard of the departure of Sooltan Sunjur, than, collecting all his troops in the Mahomedan provinces of Hindoostan, he returned to recover his capital, while Beiram, unable to oppose him, shut himself up in the fort of Bamian, till he could be reinforced by his uncle. Sooltan Sunjur again took the field, and expelled Arslan a second time from Ghizny. The latter sought protection among the Afghans; but was so slosely pursued that his army

was dispersed, and the few of his officers who remained seized and brought him to Beiram. Arslan, as might be supposed, suffered a violent death, in the 27th year of his age, after a short reign of three years. In the Tubkat Nasiry it is related, that in the reign of Arslan several calamitous phenomena happened; amongst others, mention is made of a thunderbolt, which falling at Ghizny, set fire to, and destroyed most of the buildings of the city.

SOOLTAN BEIRAM BIN MUSAOOD III. GHIZNEVY

SOOLTAN BEIRAM, the son of Musaood, was blessed with a noble and generous disposition. Having an uncommon thirst for knowledge, he was a great promoter of literature, and proved himself a liberal patron of learned men. Many of these resorted to his court, particularly Sheikh Nizamy, the author of the Mukhzun-asrar, dedicated to that monarch, and Syud Hussun Ghiznevy, both of them poets, and philosophers of great fame. Several works were, by his order, translated from various languages into the Persian tongue; among which was an Indian book, called the Kuleel-oo-Dumna. This work was sent formerly, before the dissolution of the Hindoo empire of India, by the king of that country, accompanied with a chess-board, to Nowsherwan, King of Persia, surnamed the Just, when it was rendered into the Pihlvy tongue by Boozoorjmehr, his vizier. Boozoorjmehr, after comprehending the game of chess, is reported to have won several games from the ambassador who brought it, and who was famed for his skill in the game of "Nurd,"[97] which it is said was invented on this occasion by Boozroojmehr, the minister of the Persian King. The present of the chess-board was said to be intended as an experiment of the genius of the minister, and to indicate, that in the great game of state, attention and foresight were of more importance than chance; while the book, in its whole tenour, strongly inculcated that wise maxim, that wisdom is always in the end an overmatch for strength. The nurd table, which was returned, signified, that attention and foresight alone

97. A game not unlike backgammon. It is known in England by its Hindu name, pachees.

cannot always ensure success; but that we must play the game of life, according to the casts of fortune.

The Kuleel-oo-Dumna, translated into Pihlvy from Sanskrit, in the reign of Nowsherwan, was rendered into Arabic, by Ibn-ool-Mukba, in the reign of Haroon-ool-Rusheed, and in the reign of Scoltan Beiram Ghiznevy it was converted into Persian from the Arabic, and subsequently, in the reign of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza Khwaruzmy, Moola Hussun Waiz Kashfy rendered the old Persian work, full of Arabic words, and of Arabic poetry, into plain and elegant Persian, to which he gave the name of Anwar Soheily. Beiram, in the days of his prosperity, went twice into Hindoostan, to chastise his refractory subjects, and the collectors of the revenue. On the first occasion he reduced Mahomed Bhyleem, who had charge of the government of Lahore on the part of his brother Arslan. Having defeated and taken him prisoner on Rumzan 27, A.H. 512 (Dec. 5, A.D. 1118), he pardoned him, upon his swearing allegiance. The King then reinstated him in the government, and returned to Ghizny. In the mean time, Mahomed Bhyleem built the fort of Nagore, in the province of Sewalik, whither he conveyed his wealth, his family, and his effects. He then raised an army, composed of Arabs, Persians, Afghans, and Khiljies, and committed great devastations in the territories of the Indian independent princes with such success, that he aspired at length to the throne. Sooltan Beiram, apprised of his motions, collected an army, and marched a second time towards Hindoostan. Mahomed Bhyleem with his ten sons, who had each the command of a province, advanced to oppose the King as far as Mooltan. A battle ensued; but the curse of ingratitude fell like a storm on the head of the perfidious rebel, who, in his flight, with his ten sons and attendants, sank into a deep quagmire, wherein they all perished. The King after this victory having appointed Salar Hussun, the son of Ibrahim Alvy, to the chief command of the conquered part of India, returned himself to Ghizny. He soon after publicly executed Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory Afghan, to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. Seif-ood-Deen-Soory, Prince of Ghoor, brother of the deceased, raised a great army to revenge his death, with which he marched direct to Ghizny, which was evacuated by Beiram, who fled to Kirman. This is not the Kirman of Persia, so well known, but a town lying between Ghizny and India, which

had been built by the Afghans to guard a pass in the mountains. Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, without further opposition, entered Ghizny, where, having established himself with the consent of the people, he sent his brother, Alla-ood-Deen Soor, to rule his native principality of Ghoor. Notwithstanding his endeavours he failed in rendering himself popular at Ghizny; and the inhabitants conceiving a dislike to his government, secretly wished the re-establishment of their former king. Some of the chiefs, availing themselves of this favourable circumstance, informed Beiram of their disposition towards him. It was now winter, and most of the followers of the Prince of Ghoor had returned to their families, when Sooltan Beiram unexpectedly appeared before Ghizny with a considerable army. Seif-ood-Deen being in no condition to oppose him with his own troops, and placing little reliance on those of Ghizny, was preparing to retreat to Ghoor, when the Ghiznevides entreated him to engage Beiram, promising to exert themselves to the utmost. This was done only to enable them to put their design of seizing him into execution. The Ghoory prince advanced, but was instantly surrounded by the troops of Ghizny, and taken prisoner, while Beiram in person put the forces of Ghoor to flight. The unhappy captive had his forehead blackened, and was seated astride on a bullock, with his face towards the tail. In this manner he was led round the whole city, amid the shouts and insults of the mob; after which, being put to torture, his head was cut off and sent to Sooltan Sunjur Sooljooky, while his vizier, Syud Mujd-ood-Deen, was impaled.

When this news reached the ears of his brother Alla-ood-Deen, he burnt with fury, and having determined to take bitter revenge, invaded Ghizny. Beiram, hearing of his approach, prepared to receive him. He wrote him a letter, at the same time endeavouring to intimidate him, by vaunting of the superiority of his troops, and advising him not to plunge the whole family of Ghoor into the same abyss of misfortune. Alla-ood-Deen replied, "That his threats were as impotent as his arms; that it was no new thing for kings to make war on their neighbours, but that barbarity like his was unknown to the brave, and such as he had never heard of being exercised towards princes; that he might be assured that God had forsaken him, and had ordained that he (Alla-ood-Deen) should be the instrument of that just revenge denounced against him for putting to death the representative of the independent and

very ancient family of Ghoor." All hopes of accommodation being thus at an end, Beiram advanced to give Alla-ood-Deen battle. The offer was not rejected, and the bloody conflict commenced with fury on both sides. At first the troops of Ghizny, by their superior numbers, bore down those of Ghoor; till Alla-ood-Deen, seeing his affairs desperate, called out to two gigantic brothers, denominated the greater and lesser Khurmil,[98] whom he saw in the front standing like two rocks, and bearing the brunt of the action, to support him, and, forcing his elephants towards Beiram, these two heroes cleared all before him. Beiram perceiving Alla-ood-Deen stood aloof, but his son, Dowlut Shah, who held the office of commander-in-chief in his father's army, accepting the challenge, advanced to oppose his rival. The elder of the Khurmils intervening, ripped up the belly of Dowlut Shah's elephant, but was himself killed by the fall of the animal. Alla-ood-Deen, meantime, transfixed the Prince Dowlut Shah with his spear. The other Khurmil attacked the elephant of Beiram, and after many wounds brought the enormous animal to the ground, but while he was rising from under the elephant's side, being much bruised by its fall, Beiram escaped, and instantly mounting a horse, joined in the flight of his troops, which were repulsed on all sides.

Beiram fled with the scattered remains of his army towards Hindoostan, but overwhelmed with his misfortunes, sunk under the hand of death, in the year A.H. 547 (A.D. 1152), after a reign of 35 years.

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW BIN BEIRAM GHIZNEVY

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW, the son of Beiram, leaving the kingdom of Ghizny to his enemies, marched to Lahore, where he was saluted King by the unanimous voice of his people. In the mean time, Alla-ood-Deen Ghoory entered Ghizny with little opposition, and that noble city was given up to flame, slaughter, and devastation. The massacre continued for the space of seven days, in which time pity seemed to have fled from the earth, and the fiery spirits of demons to actuate men. Alla-ood-Deen, who for his conduct on this occasion is justly denominated Jehansooz (the incendiary of

98. I have doubts whether this word is as I have written it, or whether it should not be Firmil. There is a tribe so called.

the world), as if insatiate of revenge, carried a number of the most venerable and learned men in chains to Feroz-Kooh, to adorn his triumph, where he ordered their throats to be cut, tempering earth with their blood, with which he plastered the walls of his native city.

After the return of Alla-ood-Deen to Ghoor, Sooltan Khoosrow, hoping to recover his lost kingdom of Ghizny, and depending on the assistance of Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky, marched from Lahore; but when he arrived on the borders of Ghizny, he received intelligence that Sooltan Sunjur had been defeated and taken prisoner by the Toorkmans of Ghiza, who were then marching with a great army to Ghizny, to subdue that kingdom. This news obliged him to retreat again to Lahore, being in no condition to oppose them, and he governed the Indian provinces in peace, with the justice common to virtuous kings. The Ghiza Toorkmans, in the mean time, expelled the troops of Ghoor, and kept possession of Ghizny for two years, but were expelled in their turn by the Ghoories. The latter did not long enjoy their conquest; for they were again expelled by Assumud, a general of Sooltan Khoosrow, who for a short space recovered and held possession of Ghizny.

Sooltan Khoosran died at Lahore in the year A.H. 555 (A.D. 1160), after a reign of seven years.

SOOLTAN KHOOSROW MULLIK BIN KHOOSROW GHIZNEVY

When Sooltan Khoosrow departed this life, his son Khoosrow Mullik ascended the throne, which he adorned with benevolence and justice, extending his rule over all the provinces of India, formerly possessed by the Emperors Sooltan Ibraheem and Sooltan Beiram. In his time, Sooltan Shahab-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory, the brother of Alla-ood-Deen, invaded the kingdom of Ghizny, which he reduced, and not satisfied with that achievement, marched an army into India, overrunning the provinces of Pishawur, Afghanistan, Mooltan, and the Indus. He advanced at length to Lahore, and in the year A.H. 576 (A.D. 1180), invested Khoosrow Mullik in his capital; but being unable to take the place, peace was concluded. Mahomed Ghoory evacuated the country, carrying with him Mullik Shah, the son of Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, a

child of four years of age, as hostage for the performance of the treaty.

The terms not being fulfilled by Khoosrow Mullik, Mahomed Ghoory, in the year A.H. 580 (A.D. 1184), returned to Lahore; but being foiled in his attempt on the town, he subjected the open country to devastation by fire and sword. He then repaired and strengthened the fort of Sealkote, where he left a strong garrison, and returned to Ghizny. In his absence Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, in alliance with the Gukkurs, besieged the fort of Sealkote; but their enterprize proving unsuccessful, they were obliged to desist.

Some time after these events, Mahomed Ghoory, collecting his forces, attempted a third time to reduce the city of Lahore, which he effected by treachery in the following manner. While he was preparing for this expedition, he gave out, that it was intended against the Suljooks, writing at the same time to Khoosrow Mullik, that he was desirous of accommodating their differences by a treaty of peace. To convince him of the sincerity of his intention, he released his son Mullik Shah, and sent him back to Lahore with a splendid retinue. The escort had orders to make short marches, while his father Khoosrow Mullik, impatient to see him, advanced a part of the way to meet him. In the mean time Mahomed Ghoory, with 20,000 doaspa[99] cavalry, marching with incredible expedition, by a circuitous route, turned the mountains, and cutting off Khoosrow Mullik from Lahore, surrounded his small camp in the night. The Emperor awoke in the morning as if from a dream, and seeing no means of escape, threw himself on the mercy of his enemy. Mahomed Ghoory demanded the instant possession of Lahore. The gates of the city were accordingly thrown open to receive him; and the empire passed from the house of Ghizny to that of Ghoor, as we shall see more fully in the history of that race.

The reign of Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik lasted 28 years (A.H. 582, A.D. 1186).

99. Doaspa signifies double-horsed cavalry. For a description of this mode of attack, vide Malcolm's Hist. Pers. vol. ii. pp. 240, 241.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY

MAHOMED GHOORY

HISTORIANS relate that about the time when Fureedoon subdued Zohak Marry,[1] two brothers descended from the latter (Soory and Sam) were in the service of the former prince. Having incurred his displeasure, they fled with a party of their friends to Nehawund, where they took up their abode, and possessed themselves of a small territory. Soory became the chief of a tribe, and Sam was his general. Soory gave his daughter in marriage to his nephew Soojaa,[2] the son of Sam. Soojaa, after his father's decease, succeeded him as general. But his enemies traduced him to his uncle, who, inflamed with jealousy and hatred, wished to take away his daughter from him. Soojaa discovering this, fled in the night with ten horsemen and a few camels laden with his effects, accompanied by his wife and children, to the mountains of Goor, where he built a castle, and called it Zoomyandesh. Here he was gradually joined by many of his friends, and long maintained his post against Fureedoon, but was eventually obliged to submit, and to pay him tribute.

Thus the race of Zohak succeeded to this government, which gained strength by degrees, till the time of the Prophet, when it was ruled by Shist, who, as some assert, was converted to the faith of Ally, and obtained a grant of his kingdom. The genealogy of this race is thus derived:[3] Shist, the son of Hureek, the son of

1. One of the earliest of the fabulous monarchs of Persia. The origin of his receiving the appellation of Marry, or the Snaky, will be found in the Shah Nama, but does not seem to require any further observation in this place.

2. My MSS. all have Shoojaa. It is most probably an error, as it seems very unlikely that such a purely Arabic word should have been adopted as a family name among the people of Tooran, so long before the Mahomedan conquest.

3. Little reliance can be placed on these ancient genealogies, which are either imperfectly handed down to posterity by tradition, or more frequently composed on the occasion of any member of the family rising to distinction, as kings; to please whom, poets and bards have indulged their imaginations in all ages.

Enoch, the son of Bhishty, the son of Zowzun, the son of Heyn, the son of Bharam, the son of Heejush, the son of Ibraheem, the son of Saad, the son of Assud, the son of Shudad, the son of Zohak, the son of Bostam, the son of Kitmaz, the son of Nureeman, the son of Afreedoon, the son of Sumud, the son of Sufeed Asp, the son of Zohak, the son of Shimram, the son of Hindasp, the son of Syamook, the son of Jam, the son of Kurstasp, the son of Zohak. They are, therefore, properly denoted Shisty. During the power of the caliphs of Oomya it was usual among the people to ascend the pulpits, and to caluminate the family of Ally. The Ghoories, however, never lent themselves to this practice; but in the time of Aboo Mooslim, Folad Shisty assisted in putting down the enemies of the descendants of the Prophet. Ameer Yehya, the son of Nathan, the son of Wurmish, the son of Wurmunish, the son of Purveez, the son of Shist, was contemporary with Haroon-ool-Rusheed.[4] Soory, the son of Mahomed, the nephew of the Ameer Yehya, was contemporary with the Sufary dynasty, and Mahomed, the son of Soory, was contemporary with Mahmood Ghiznevy. He refused to pay tribute, but being attacked by Mahmood, was defeated and taken prisoner: his son Aboo Ally was placed in his stead; and shortly afterwards, Abass, the son of ceeded to his government. During his reign there were seven years Shist, son of Mahomed. Soory, and brother of Aboo Ally, succeeded to his government. During his reign there were seven years of drought in Ghoor, so that the earth was burnt up; and thousands of men and dumb animals perished from heat and famine. Abool Abass made war with Sooltan Ibraheem, by whom he was defeated and taken prisoner; the kingdom being conferred upon his son Mahomed, who swore allegiance to the empire of Ghizny. He was succeeded by his son Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, who was killed while attacking a fort by an arrow, which entered his eye.

On the death of Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, his son Sam was obliged to fly to India, and follow the occupation of a merchant; by which he acquired much wealth, and returned by sea towards his native country. But unfortunately he was wrecked and drowned. His son Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein secured a plank, to which a tiger which they were bringing in the ship also clung, till

4. The famous Caliph, so well known in Europe since the translation of the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. He was contemporary with Charlemagne.

at length both man and tiger were cast ashore, after driving with the tide for three days. When he got footing on land, he proceeded to the nearest town, but it being late before he arrived, he could obtain no lodging, and was obliged to creep under the first shed he could find. The watch going the rounds discovered him, and concluding him to be a thief, conveyed him to prison. He was condemned without examination to slavery for seven years, and only obtained his release casually in a general discharge of prisoners from the gaols, on the occasion of the recovery of the governor from a severe sickness. Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein now proceeded toward Ghizny, on the way to which place he encountered a gang of robbers, that had for a long time infested the roads. On perceiving him to be a man of great bodily strength, and apparently bold and daring, they insisted on his joining them. Unfortunately, on that very night, a party of troops of the Sooltan Ibraheem surrounded and carried them all in chains to the capital, where they were condemned to death.

When the executioner was binding up the eyes of Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein, he raised a piteous complaint, protesting, and calling God to witness, that he was innocent, which softened even the heart of the executioner, and on being required to state what he had to say in his defence, he did it in so simple and circumstantial a manner, that the magistrate in attendance, believing him to be innocent, petitioned the King in his favour. On being brought before the King, he acquitted himself with such modesty and eloquence, that he was pardoned, and even taken into his service. Sooltan Ibraheem, some time after, created Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein Ameer Hajib, in which station he conducted himself so well, that the King gave him a princess of the house of Ghizny in marriage. He rose daily in favour and estimation, till Sooltan Musaood, the son of Ibraheem, put him in possession of the principality of Ghoor.

Some historians affirm, that Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein was the son and not the grandson of Kootb-ood-Deen Hoossein. By the Princes of Ghizny he had seven sons; viz.

1st. Fukhr-ood-Deen Musaood, King of Bamyan.

2d. Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed, who married his cousin, a princess of Ghizny, the daughter of Sooltan Beiram.

3d. Shajaa-ood-Deen Ally, who died in infancy.

4th. Nasir-ood-Dean Mahomed, who held the government of Zumeen Dawer, situated near Ghoor, and a dependency of Kundahar.

5th. Seif-ood-Deen Soory.

6th. Baha-ood-Deen Sam.

7th. Alla-ood-Deen Hoossein.

During his lifetime, Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein paid tribute to the Suljooks, as well as to the Ghiznevides. When Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein died, his sons (entitled the Seven Stars) separated into two divisions: the one gave origin to the dynasty of kings at Bamyan, called also Tokharistan and Mohatila; and the other, to the Ghoory dynasty at Ghizny. Of the latter race was Kootb-ood-Deen Mahomed (entitled the King of the Mountains). He married the daughter of Sooltan Beiram, King of Ghizny, and having founded the city of Feroozkooh, made it his capital. In the vicinity of this place, having inclosed with a wall a spot of ground about two parasangs in circumference, as a hunting park, he assumed all the dignities of a sovereign. At length he was induced to attack Ghizny. Sooltan Beiram obtaining intimation of his intentions, contrived to get him in his power, and eventually poisoned him. This is the origin of the feuds between the houses of Ghoor and Ghizny.

Seif-ood-Deen Soory, the fifth son, who had accompanied his brother, escaped the snare, and fled to Firooz-kooh, where, putting himself at the head of his brother's army, he marched towards Ghizny to revenge his death, as we have seen in the history of that kingdom. Ghizny fell, and Sooltan Beiram fled to India. He returned again in the winter, when the troops of Seif-ood-Deen were mostly gone to Feroozkooh and Ghoor, from whence they could not easily return, on account of the roads and deep snow. Seif-ood-Deen Soory, as before related, was betrayed into the hands of Sooltan Beiram by the inhabitants, and with his vizier suffered an ignominious death.

This act of cruelty induced Baha-ood-Deen Sam, the sixth brother, to invade Ghizny, with an army from Feroozkooh and Ghoor; but he died suddenly, of the small-pox. The seventh brother, Alla-ood-Deen Hoossein (entitled the Incendiary), however, took ample vengeance, and destroyed Ghizny. He carried his animosity so far as to destroy every monument of the Ghizny emperors, with the exception of those of Mahmood, Musaood, and Ibraheem; but he defaced all the inscriptions, even of their

times, from every public edifice. On returning to Ghoor, he appointed his nephews, Gheias-ood-Deen and Moyiz-ood-Deen Sam, (the sons of Baha-ood-Deen Sam, who had shortly before died of the small-pox), to the government of a province of Ghoor, called Sunja;[5] but finding the revenues of that province did not support them in the style they wished, they made encroachments on their neighbours. This circumstance having reached the ears of Allo-ood-Deen, he sent a force against them, and seizing them both, confined them in a fort of Joorjistan.

Alla-ood-Deen Hoossein, elate with his new acquisition, refused to pay to Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky the tribute annually given by his father. He over-ran the provinces of Bulkh and Herat; but was eventually defeated, and taken prisoner; notwithstanding which, Sooltan Sunjur Suljooky restored him to his kingdom, and he died a natural death in the year A. H. 551 (A. D. 1156).

Alla-ood-Deen was succeeded by his son Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, who on his accession released his two cousins from their confinement in Joorjistan, and again conferred on them the government of Sunja. In little more than a year, he commenced a war with the Ghiza Toorkmans, and on the day of battle fell by the hand of one of his own soldiers.

He was succeeded by his eldest cousin, Gheias-ood-Deen, who appointed his brother, Boyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory,[6] his general. This illustrious captain, in the name of his brother, subdued Khorassan, and a great part of India; and Gheias-ood-Deen annexed those countries to his own dominions. His death happened, as will afterwards appear, in the year 599.

On the accession of Gheias-ood-Deen to the throne of Ghizny and Ghoor, he appointed his brother, Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed, governor of Tukeeabad: the latter continued from that period to make incursions upon Ghizny, which had reverted into the hands of some of the descendants of the house of Subooktugeen. In the year A.H. 567 (A.D. 1171), Gheias-ood-Deen marched in person against the officers of Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, the last of the Ghiznevides, and recovered Ghizny from them. He gave the government to his brother Mahomed, who in the year

5. This place is not shown in any of the maps I have consulted.

6. He is generally called in history Mahomed Ghoory, by which name he will henceforward be recognised.

A.H. 572 (A.D. 1176), led an army towards Mooltan, and having subdued that province, marched to Oocha.[7] The Raja was besieged in his fort; but Mahomed Ghoory, finding it would be difficult to reduce the place, sent a private message to the Raja's wife, promising to marry her if she would deliver up her husband.

The base woman returned for answer, that she was rather too old herself to think of matrimony; but that she had a beautiful and young daughter, whom if he would promise to espouse, and leave her in free possession of her wealth, she would in a few days remove the Raja. Mahomed Ghoory accepted the proposal; and this Princess, in a few days, found means to assassinate her husband, and to open the gates to the enemy.

Mahomed only partly performed his promise, by marrying the daughter, upon her embracing the true faith; but he made no scruple to depart from his engagements with the mother; for instead of trusting her with the country, he sent her to Ghizny, where she afterwards died of sorrow and disappointment. Nor did the daughter long survive, for in the space of two years she also fell a victim to grief.

Mahomed Ghoory, having conferred the govenrment of Mooltan and Oocha upon one Ally Kirmany, returned to Ghizny. In the year A.H. 574 (A.D. 1178), he again marched to Oocha and Moultan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The Prince Bhim-dew (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevy,) advanced with an army to resist Mahomeadns, and defeated them with great slaughter. They suffered many hardships in their retreat, before they reached Ghizny.

In the year following, A.H. 575 (A.D. 1179), Mahomed Ghoory having recruited his forces, marched towards Pishawur, which in a short time was brought under subjection. He proceeded, in the course of the next year A.H. 576 (A.D. 1180), towards Lahore, where he made war with Sooltan Khoosrow Mullik, the last of the Ghiznevides, who being reduced at that time, by wars both with the Indian princes and the Afghans, was unable to opopse him in the field. Mahomed Ghoory,

7. It was at this place that Alexander was so severely wounded after scaling the walls, and where he so narrowly escaped with his life. Quint. Curt. lib. ix. cap. iv. v.

finding he could not take Lahore by force, offered to treat with Khoosrow Mullik, who having gladly availed himself of the circumstance, gave his son Mullik Shah into his hands as an hostage for the performance of part of the treaty. Mahomed Ghoory now returned to Ghizny; but in the next year marched towards Deebul, in the province of Sind, and overran the whole country as far as the sea-coast, returning laden with rich spoil.

In the year A.H. 580 (A.D. 1184), he again invaded Lahore, where Khoosrow Mullik, shutting himself up in the fort, as before, sustained a long siege, from which Mahomed was at length compelled to desist. In this expedition he repaired the fort of Sealkote, wherein he left a garrison to command the countries between the rivers Ravy and Chunab, placed by him under the government of Hoossein Firmully, while he himself retired to Ghizny. This fort, as we have before related, being successfully besieged, and taken by Khoosrow Mullik, occasioned the third expedition of Mahomed Ghoory to Lahore, of which he made himself master in the year A.H. 582 (A.D. 1186), by the stratagem mentioned in the conclusion of the history of Ghizny. He sent Khoosrow Mullik and his family prisoners to his brother Sooltan Gheias-ood-Deen at Feroozkooh, who confined them in a fort in Joorjistan, where they were some time after put to death, during the subsequent war with Khwaruzm Shah, and the dynasty of Ghizny then became wholly extinct.

Mahomed Ghoory, having settled the province of Lahore, confided the government to Ally Kirmany, governor of Mooltan, and retired to Ghizny. In the year A.H. 587 (A.D. 1191), he marched again to Hindoostan, and proceeding towards Ajmere, he took the town of Bituhnda, where he left Mullik Zeea-ood Deen Toozuky with above a thousand chosen horse, and some foot to form its garrison. While on his return, he heard that Pithow Ray, Raja of Ajmeer, with his brother Chawund Ray, the Raja of Dehly, in alliance with other Indian princes, were marching towards Bituhnda with two hundred thousand horse, and three thousand elephants. Mahomed Ghoory marched to the relief of his garrison; but passing beyond Bituhnda, he encountered the enemy at the village of Narain, now called Tirowry,[8] on the banks of the Soorsutty,

8. I do not perceive this place in any of our modern maps.

fourteen miles from Tahnesur, and eighty from Dehly, where he gave them battle. At the first onset his right and left wings, being out-flanked, fell back, till joining in the rear, his army formed a circle. Mahomed Ghoory was in person in the centre of his army, and being informed that both wings were defeated, was advised to provide for his own safety. Enraged at this counsel, he cut down the messenger, and rushing on towards the enemy, with a few followers, committed terrible slaughter. The eyes of Chawund Ray falling on him, he drove his elephant directly against Mahomed Ghoory, who perceiving his intention charged and delivered his lance full into the Raja's mouth, by which many of his teeth were knocked out. In the mean time the Raja of Dehly pierced the King through the right arm, with an arrow. He had almost fallen, when some of his chiefs advanced to his rescue. This effort to save him gave an opportunity to one of his faithful servants to leap up behind Mahomed Ghoory, who, faint from loss of blood, had nearly fallen from his horse, but was carried triumphantly off the field though almost wholly deserted by his army, which was pursued by the enemy nearly forty miles. After this defeat, when he had recovered of his wound at Lahore, he appointed governors to the different provinces he possessed in India, and returned in person to Ghoor. At Ghoor, he disgraced all those officers who had deserted him in the battle, and compelled them to walk round the city with their horse's mouth-bags, filled with barley, hung about their necks; at the same time forcing them to eat the grain like brutes. The author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer relates, contrary to all my other authorities, that when Mahomed was wounded, he fell from his horse, and lay upon the field among the slain till night. And that in the dark, a party of his own body-guard returned to search for his body, and carried him off, thus to his camp.

After the retreat of Mahomed Ghoory, the allied rajas continued their march to Bituhnda, which they besieged for one year and one month, and at last were obliged to grant favourable terms to the garrison. Mahomed remained a few months with his brother at Ghoor, who still retained the title of king, and then returning to Ghizny, spent the ensuing year in pleasure and festivity. At length, having recruited an army, consisting of 120,000 chosen horse, composed of Toorks, Tajeeks, and Afghans, many of whom had their helmets ornamented with

jewels, and their armour inlaid with silver and gold, he marched from Ghizny towards India, without disclosing his intentions.

When he had advanced as far as Pishawur, an old sage of Ghoor, prostrating himself before him, said,—"O King, we trust in thy conduct and wisdom, but as yet thy design has been a subject of much speculation among us." Mahomed Ghoory replied,—"Know, old man, that since the time of my defeat in Hindoostan, notwithstanding external appearances, I have never slumbered in ease, or waked, but in sorrow and anxiety. I have, therefore, determined, with this army, to recover my lost honour from those idolaters, or die in the attempt." The sage, kissing the ground, said,—"Victory and triumph be thy attendants, and fortune be the guide of thy paths. But, O King, let the petition of thy slave find favour in thy ears, and let those chiefs you have so justly disgraced be permitted to take the same opportunity of wiping away the stain on their character." The prince listened to his request, and sent an order to Ghizny to release the disgraced officers from confinement, commanding such of them as were desirous of recovering their character to attend him. They all accordingly joined the camp, and each received a robe of honour, according to his rank. The next day, the royal standard was put in motion, and the army advanced to Mooltan, where Mahomed conferred titles and offices on all who had been firm to his interest. He then proceeded to Lahore, from whence he despatched Kowam-ool-Moolk Humzvy, one of his principal chiefs, ambassador to Ajmeer, with a declaration of war, should the Indians refuse to embrace the true faith.

Pithow Ray sent a haughty answer, and immediately wrote for succours to all the neighbouring princes. Nor did his allies refuse their aid, so that he was soon enabled to meet Mahomed Ghoory with an army, consisting (according to the most authentic accounts) of 300,000 horse, besides above 3000 elephants, and a body of infantry. The Hindoos waited to receive the Mahomedans on the former field of battle. The two armies encamped in sight of each other, with the river Soorsutty between them.

The Rajpoot princes,[9] to the number of 150, had assembled in this vast camp, having sworn by the water of the Ganges, that

9. This title was applied to all the members of a family which enjoyed feudatory estates, and may be compared to the title of baron in Germany.

they would conquer their enemies, or die martyrs to their faith. They then wrote a letter to Mahomed in these terms:— "To the bravery of our soldiers we know you are no stranger; and to our great superiority in number, which daily increases, your eyes bear testimony. If you are wearied of your own existence, yet have pity upon your troops, who may still think it a happiness to live. It were better, then, you should repent in time of the rash resolution you have taken, and we shall permit you to retreat in safety; but if you have determined to brave your evil destiny, we have sworn by our gods to advance upon you with our rank-breaking elephants, our plain-trampling horses, and blood-thirsting soldiers, early in the morning, to crush the army which your ambition has led to ruin."

Mahomed returned them this politic answer:—"I have marched into India at the command of my brother, whose general only I am. Both honour and duty bind me to exert myself to the utmost in his service; I cannot retreat, therefore, without orders; but I shall be glad to obtain a truce till he is informed of the situation of affairs, and till I have received his answer." This letter produced the intended effect; for the enemy conceiving that Mahomed was intimidated, spent the night in riot and revelry, while he was preparing to surprise them. He accordingly forded the river a little before the dawn of the morning, drew up his army on the sands, and had entered part of the Indian camp before the alarm was spread. Notwithstanding the confusion which naturally ensued on this occasion, the Hindoo line was of such extent that they had sufficient time to draw out their cavalry, which served to check the approach of the Mahomedans, until they themselves were able to advance, which they did with great resolution and some order, in four lines.

Mahomed Ghoory, on seeing this, ordered his troops to halt, and commanded his army, composed of four divisions, to charge in succession on the centre, and to renew the attack by turns, wheeling to the rear after they had discharged their arrows. If hard pressed, they had orders to give ground gradually as the enemy advanced with their elephants. In this manner he fought, retreating in good order till sun-set, when, thinking he had sufficiently worn out the enemy and deluded them with a hope of victory, he put himself at the head of 12,000 of his best horse, whose riders were covered with steel armour, and making one

desperate charge, carried death and destruction throughout the Hindoo ranks. The disorder increased every where, till at length the panic became general. The Moslems, as if they now only began to be in earnest, committed such havoc, that this prodigious army once shaken, like a great building tottered to its fall, and was lost in its own ruins.

Chawund Ray, King of Dehly, and many other princes, were slain on the field, while Pithow Ray,[10] King of Ajmeer, being taken in the neighbourhood of the Soorsutty, was afterwards put to death. The whole of the camp-equipage, and wealth of the several princes, fell into the hands of the conquerors, and the forts of Soorsutty, Samana, Kohram, and Hansy, surrendered after the victory. Mahomed Ghoory in person went to Ajmer, of which he also took possession, after having put some thousands of the inhabitants, who opposed him, to the sword, reserving the rest for slavery. Afterwards, on a promise of a punctual payment of a large tribute, he delivered over the country of Ajmeer to the Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Ray. He now turned his arms towards Dehly; but was prevailed on by the new king, with great presents, not to prosecute the war further. On this occasion he left his faithful slave and friend, Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, in the town of Kohram, with a considerable detachment, and marched himself with the body of his army towards the mountains of Sewaliks, which lie to the north of India, destroying and plundering the countries on his retreat towards Ghizny. After the return of Mahomed Ghoory, his general, Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, took the fort of Merut and the city of Dehly from the family of Chawund Ray; and it is owing to this circumstance that foreign nations say, "The empire of Dehly was founded by a slave." In the year A.H. 589 (A.D. 1193), he also took the fort of Kole; and making Dehly the seat of his government established himself there, and compelled all the districts around to acknowledge the faith of Islam.

Mahomed Ghoory, in the mean time returning from Ghizny, marched towards Kunowj, and engaged Jye-chund Ray, the Prince of Kunowj and Benares, who was at the head of a

10. Pithow Ray, or properly, Prithi Raj, was ruler of Rajesthan, according to Colonel Tod. Ajmeer was his patrimony. Chaond, or Chawund, was his lieutenant at Dehly, whose sister was espoused by Prithi Raj: by her he had a son, Ramsi, who fell in defending Dehly.

numerous army of horse, besides upwards of 300 elephants. This prince led his forces into the field, between Chundwar and Etawa, where he sustained a signal defeat from the vanguard of the Ghiznevide army, led by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and lost the whole of his baggage and elephants. Mahomed Ghoory then marched to the fort of Asny, where Jye-chund Ray had laid up his treasure, which in a few days he also took, and found there gold, silver, and precious stones, to a large amount. He marched from thence to Benares, where, having broken the idols in above 1000 temples, he purified and consecrated the latter to the worship of the true God. From thence he returned to the fort of Kole, where he confirmed Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk in the vice-regency of India. After this, the King's army, laden with treasure, took the route of Ghizny.

Meanwhile, one of the relations of Pithow Ray, whose name was Hemraj, expelled the Gola, or natural son, of Pithow Ray, from Ajmeer. The latter had immediate recourse for assistance to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, who accordingly marched in the year A.H. 591 (A.D. 1194), from Dehly, against Hemraj. This prince gave the Mahomedans battle, in which he lost both the victory and his life. Kootb-ood-Deen, after this event, appointed a governor of his own faith to control the Raja, and led his army to Nehrwala, the capital of the province of Guzerat, where, having defeated Bheem Dew, he took ample revenge for the overthrow formerly sustained by his master. He remained some time plundering that rich country, but was recalled by orders from Ghizny, and commanded to repair instantly to Dehly.

In the following year A.H. 592 (A.D. 1195), Mahomed Ghoory returned to Hindoostan, and proceeding to Byana took it; and having conferred the government on Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, commanded him to besiege Gualiar, himself returning to settle some affairs at Ghizny. In the mean time, the strong fort of Gualiar fell after a long siege. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, ambitious of extending his conquests, led his army into Rajpootana, where, having experienced a severe defeat, he was compelled to seek protection in the fort of Ajmeer.

In the year A.H. 593 (A.D. 1196), Kootb-ood-Deen marched again from Dehly, and reduced Nehrwala, in Guzerat, with all its dependencies. After his return, he took the forts of Kalunjur, Kalpy, and Boodaun.

Mahomed Ghoory, meanwhile, being engaged in an expedition on the west towards Toos and Suruksh, heard of the death of his brother Gheias-ood-Deen, who had long lost all power in the empire, preserving only the name of King, so that Mahomed Ghoory succeeded without opposition. He now returned towards Ghizny, by the route of Badghees, and subduing part of the country of Khwaruzm, recovered it out of the hands of the Suljooks. He divided this new conquest among several members of his own family, giving the government of Feroozkooh and Ghoor to his nephew Mullik Zeea-ood-Deen, son-in-law of his late brother Gheias-ood-Deen. He also gave Boost, Furreh, and Isfurar, to the Prince Mahomed, his brother's son, and the government of Hirat and its dependencies to Nasir-ood-Deen, his nephew by a sister.

On his arrival at Ghizny, according to the will of his deceased brother, he was crowned in form; and ascended the throne. In the same year he heard of the death of Mahomed Zeeruk, Prince of Murv, and in the beginning of the next year marched to complete the conquest of Khwaruzm. The King of Khwaruzm, unable to oppose him in the field, shut himself up in the capital of that name. Mahomed Ghoory having encamped on the banks of the great canal, which had been formerly dug to the westward of the city, forthwith attacked the place, but lost many brave officers and men in an attempt to escalade it.

Meanwhile news arrived that Kurra Beg, the general of Ghoorkhan, King of Khutta, and Oothman Khan Samarkandy, were advancing with armies to the relief of Khwaruzm Shah. Mahomed Ghoory, unwilling to abandon his hopes of taking the city, delayed his retreat till the allied armies advanced so near, that he was compelled to burn his baggage, and to retire with the utmost precipitation towards Khorassan. His army was pressed so closely by troops from that province, that he was compelled to give battle, and was wholly defeated, losing all his elephants and treasure; while the confederate kings, who had taken a circuit to cut off his retreat towards Ghizny, intercepted him.

Surrounded thus by the enemy, he fought, as usual, desperately, though overpowered by numbers. Of his late noble army, there now remained scarce a hundred men, who still defended their King: in spite of which, with this small band he

cut his way through his enemies, and arrived in safety at the fort of Andkhoo, situated a short distance from the field of battle. Herein he was besieged; but on paying a large ransom to Oothman Khan Samarkandy, and abandoning the place, he was suffered to return to his own dominions.

When Mahomed Ghoory was defeated, one of his officers named Zeeruk escaped from the field, and imagining his master was slain, made his way to Mooltan. Having waited on Ameer Daood Hussun, governor of the province, he told him that he had a private message from the king. Ameer Daood Hussun retired with him into his closet, where the assassin pretending to whisper into his ear, drew a dagger and stabbed him to the heart. He then ran instantly to the court-yard, where he proclaimed aloud, that he had killed the traitor, Ameer Daood, in obedience to the King's command, and producing a false order, and commission, to assume the government, he was acknowledged by the army and the people.

The chief of the tribe of mountaineers, called Gukkurs, at this time, hearing that the King was certainly slain, aspired to independence; and collecting in great numbers, advanced towards Lahore, laying waste the country between the rivers Jheelum and Sodra.[11] Mahomed Ghoory had now obtained permission of the allies to retire unmolested from the fort of Andkhoo, and arrived at Ghizny, where his own slave Yeldooz, having seized on the city, opposed his entrance, which obliged the King to continue his route to Mooltan. Here Zeeruk, who had rebelled against him, also resisted him; but Mahomed Ghoory being by this time joined by many of his friends, gave him battle, and obtaining a complete victory, took the traitor prisoner. The troops of the borders of India having rallied around him, he marched to Ghizny, and at the entreaties of the citizens forgave his rebel slave, and quietly obtained possession of the place. Mahomed Ghoory now concluded a treaty of peace with the King of Khwaruzm; after which, in order to chastise the Gukkurs, he marched towards India. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, from Dehly, attacked the Gukkurs on the east, while the King engaged them from the west. They were defeated and dispersed;

11. Sodra is a town in the Chunab, where that river is called after it, as if we should say, the London river instead of the Thames.

and Lahore being recoverd out of their hands, Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk returned to his government of Dehly.

During the residence of Mahomed Ghoory at Lahore, on this occasion, the Gukkurs, who inhabited the country along the banks of the Nilab, up to the foot of the mountains of Sewalik, exercised unheard of cruelties on the Mahomedans, and cut off the communication between the provinces of Pishawur and Mooltan. These Gukkurs were a race of wild barbarians, without either religion or morality. It was a custom among them as soon as a female child was born to carry her to the door of the house, and there proclaim aloud, holding the child in one hand, and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women, which occasioned the custom of several husbands to one wife.[12] When this wife was visited by one of her husbands, she left a mark at the door,[13] which being observed by any of the other husbands, he withdrew till the signal was taken away. This barbarous people continued to make incursions on the Mahomedans till, in the latter end of this King's reign, their chieftain was converted to the true faith when a captive. After becoming a proselyte he procured his release from the King, who endeavoured to persuade him to convert his followers, and at the same time honoured him with a title and dress, and confirmed him in the title of chief of the mountains. A great part of these mountaineers, having very little notion of any religion, were easily induced to adopt the tenets of the true faith, at the same time most of the infidels who inhabited the mountains between Ghizny and the Indus were also converted, some by force and others by persuasion; and at the present day, being 1018 of the Hijra (A.D. 1609), they continue to profess the faith of Islam.

Mahomed Ghoory, having settled the affairs of India, marched in the year A.H. 603 (A.D. 1205), from Lahore, in the

12. Infanticide appears, therefore, to be an ancient custom among this people. It was, probably, introduced by the Scythian hordes in their emigrations into India. The plurality of husbands is, I believe, now confined to the Indians of the western coast.

13. In all Asiatic countries, the shoes being left at the door indicate the presence of visitors.

direction of Ghizny, conferring the government of Bamyan on one of his relations (Buha-ood-Deen), with orders, that when he himself should move towards Toorkistan (which he shortly proposed doing), Buha-ood-Deen should march also with all the forces of Bamyan, and encamp on the banks of the Jyhoon (or Oxus), there to await further orders. He was directed, in the mean time, to throw a bridge over that river. But Mahomed Ghoory was destined never to undertake this project; for on the second of Shaban A.H. 602 (March 14, A.D. 1206), having reached the village of Rohtuk, on the banks of the Indus, 20 Gukkurs, who had lost some of their relations in the late wars, entered into a conspiracy against the King's life, and sought an opportunity to carry their horrid purpose into effect. The weather being sultry, Mahomed had ordered the screens, which surround the royal tents in the form of a large square, to be struck, in order to give free admission to the air. This afforded the assassins an opportunity of seeing into the sleeping apartments. They found their way up to the tents in the night, and hid themselves, while one of them advanced to the tent-door, but being stopped by a sentry who was about to seize him, he plunged his dagger into his breast. The cries of the dying man roused the guard, who running out to see what was the matter, the other assassins took that opportunity of cutting their way into the King's tent.

He was asleep, with two slaves fanning him. These stood petrified with terror, when they beheld the Gukkurs enter, who, without hesitation, sheathed their daggers in the King's body, which was afterwards found to have been pierced by no fewer than 22 wounds.

Thus fell Sooltan Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory, in the year 602, after a reign of 32 years from the commencement of his government over Ghizny, and three from his accession to the throne [of Dehly]. The Vizier, Khwaja-ool-Moolk, secured some of the assassins, and put them to a cruel death. Then calling the chiefs together, and having obtained their promise of fidelity in protecting the King's property, which loaded 4000 camels, he prevented the army and the slaves, who had proposed to plunder it, from carrying their scheme into execution. The body was conveyed in mournful pomp towards Ghizny; but when

the army reached Pishawar, a contest arose about the succession to the throne.

The chiefs of Ghoor claimed it for Baha-ood-Deen, the King's cousin, governor of Bamyan, and one of the seven sons of Eiz-ood-Deen Hoossein; while the Vizier and the officers of the Toorky mercenaries espoused the cause of Mahmood, son of the late King, Gheias-ood-Deen, the elder brother of Mahomed Ghoory. The Vizier wished to march by the route of Kirman, where he knew the governor, Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, was in the interest of Mahmood, hoping, through his assistance, to secure, at least, the treasure for his own party. The chiefs of Ghoor, on the other hand, insisted on proceeding by the route which lay nearest to Bamyan, that they might the sooner be supported by Baha-ood-Deen. Both parties being thus on the eve of open hostility, the point was given up to the Vizier.

On reaching Kirman, after having suffered greatly by the attacks of the mountaineers, Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz came to meet the Vizier and the King's hearse, at sight of which he unbuckled his armour, threw dust on his head, and evinced every demonstration of sincere grief. He attended the funeral to Ghizny, where the King was buried, on the 22nd Shaban, A.H. 602 (April 3, A.D. 1206), in a new vault which had been built for his daughter.

The treasure this prince left behind him is almost incredible. We shall only mention, as an instance of his wealth, that he had in diamonds alone, of various sizes, 500 muns[14]; the result of nine expeditions into Hindoostan, from each of which he returned laden with wealth, excepting on two occasions.

Mahomed Ghoory bore the character of a just monarch, fearing God, and ever having the good of his subjects at heart. He paid great attention to learned and devout men, and was never deficient in serving them to the utmost of his power.

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN EIBUK

KOOTB-OOD-DEEN was of a brave and virtuous disposition; open. and liberal to his friends, courteous and affable to strangers. In the art of war and good government he was inferior to none, nor was he a mean proficient in literature. In his childhood he was brought from Toorkistan to Nyshapoor, and there sold by a

14. 400 lbs. weight.

merchant to Kazy Fukhr-ood-Deen, Bin Abdool Azeez Koofy, who finding that heaven had endowed him with genius, sent him to school, where he made considerable progress in the Persian and Arabic languages, as well as in science. His patron and master dying suddenly, he was sold as part of his estate by his executors; and having been bought by a rich merchant for a considerable sum, was presented for sale to Moyiz-ood-Deen Mahomed Ghoory.

That prince purchased him, and called him by the familiar name of Eibuk,[15] from having his little finger broken. Eibuk conducted himself so much to the satisfaction of his new master, that he attracted his particular notice, and daily gained his confidence and favour. One night his master, having given a grand entertainment at court, ordered a liberal distribution of presents to be made among his servants. Eibuk partook of this munificence, but had no sooner retired, than he divided his share among his companions. The King hearing of this circumstance, asked him the cause; and Eibuk kissing the earth, replied that all his wants were amply supplied by his Majesty's bounty, that he had no desire of burdening himself with superfluities, provided he retained his sovereign's favour. This answer so pleased the King, that he immediately gave him an office near his person, and shortly after appointed him master of the horse.

In one of the expeditions against the King of Khwaruzm, to expel that prince from Khorassan, Eibuk commanded a foraging party on the banks of the Moorghab. Here he was surrounded by a body of the enemy, and though he did the utmost to save his detachment, he was, after the loss of most of his men, taken prisoner, and carried to the King of Khwaruzm, who put him in irons. That monarch being defeated a few days after, Eibuk was discovered sitting on a camel on the field, and being carried to his old master, he was received with great kindness.

In the year A.H. 588, when Mahomed Ghoory took revenge of his enemies the Hindoos, he appointed Eibuk, now dignified with the title of Kootb-ood-Deen,[16] to the chief command of the army left to protect his conquests. In discharge of this duty he took possession of many districts around, and reduced the fort

15. There is a town, also, of the same name, on the high road from Bulkh to Ghoor, equi-distant from those two places.
16. Pole star of the faithful.

of Merut; he also laid siege to Dehly; but the enemy, finding their own numbers far exceeded the besiegers, marched out of the place, and gave battle. The conflict was sanguinary on both sides; the river Jumna was discoloured with blood; the Rajpoots were at length defeated, and retired within their walls, and the garrison after a long siege, was at last reduced to surrender. In the year A.H. 589, Jeewun Ray, a general of the Raja of Nehrwala, in Guzerat, advanced with an army to besiege Hansy. Kootb-ood-Deen marched with his forces to relieve it, compelled him to raise the siege, and pursued the Guzeraties to their own frontier. In the year following he crossed the Jumna, and took the fort of Kole by assault, wherein he found a thousand fine horses, and much spoil; and being informed of Mahomed Ghoory's approach towards Kunowj, he proceeded as far as Pishawur to meet him, and presented him with a hundred fine horses, besides two elephants, the one loaded with gold and the other with silver. At Pishawur, he mustered before the King 50,000 horse, and being honoured with a dress, was preferred to the command of the advance of the royal army.

He commanded that division when it defeated the Raja of Benares, who, on seeing his army retreat, urged on his elephant in despair. Kootb-ood-Deen, who excelled in archery, came in contact with Raja Jye-chund, and with his own hand shot the arrow which, piercing his eye, cost the Raja his life.

The number of slain on this day was so great, that it was long ere the body of the Raja could be found by his friends, who were permitted to search for it; till at length his corpse was recognised by his artificial teeth,[17] which were fixed in by golden wires. Mahomed Ghoory, following with the body of the army into the city of Benares, took possession of the country as far as the boundaries of Bengal, without opposition, and having destroyed all the idols, loaded four thousand camels with spoils. Kootb-ood-Deen on this occasion presented the King with above three hundred elephants taken from the Raja of Benares.

The drivers, on a signal given, made the elephants bow down when brought before the King, excepting one white elephant which refused. This animal was reckoned a great curiosity, and though extremely tractable at other times, had on

17. This is a great proof of the progress luxury had made in India at that period.

this occasion almost killed his rider, when he endeavoured to force him to make his obeisance.

The King, when leaving India, sent the white elephant back, as a present to Kootb-ood-Deen, styling him son in his letter. Kootb-ood-Deen ever afterwards rode this animal; and at his death the elephant is said to have pined away with visible sorrow, and to have expired on the third day. This was the only white elephant of which I have heard in Hindoostan, though it is said, that the King of Pegu[18] has always two white elephants, and that when one dies, orders are issued to search the woods for another to supply his place. Kootb-ood-Deen, after the departure of the King, remained some days at Asny, where the Raja's treasure was found; thence returning to Dehly, he received advices that Hemraj, the cousin of the discomfited Prince of Ajmeer, issuing from the mountains of Alwur, had driven Gola Ray, the reigning Prince, towards Runtunbhore, and that Hemraj's General, Chutr-Ray, was moving with another army towards Dehly. Kootb-ood-Deen marched to oppose him; and separating twenty thousand horse from the rest of his army, engaged the enemy, and put them to flight. Some days after, however, having collected their scattered troops, they retreated in good order towards Ajmeer, pursued during the whole way by the Mahomedans. Hemraj being joined by his General gained confidence and gave battle; but in spite of his own exertions on this occasion he was slain and his army routed. Thus Ajmeer was restored to the Mahomedan government, and was afterwards ruled by its laws.

In the year A.H. 591 (A.D. 1194), Kootb-ood-Deen marched towards Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat. Jeewun Ray, the General of Bheem Dew, who was encamped under the walls, fled at his approach; but on being closely pursued, he drew up his army, and fought till he lost his life, when his army resumed its flight. Bheem Dew, hearing of this defeat, fled from his dominions; and Kootb-ood-Deen having ravaged the country at leisure obtained much booty. He marched from thence to the fort of Hansy, which he repaired, and having visited Kohram returned to Dehly.

Meanwhile advices reached him from the governor of the

18. See a description of white elephants in Siam, in Finlayson's Mission to Siam and Hue, p. 151.

districts near Runtunbhore, that the brother of Gola Ray of Ajmeer, who lived in the hills, threatened to invade his territories. This news induced Kootb-ood-Deen to move to his relief, on which the enemy retired; and Kootb-ood-Deen paid a visit to Gola Ray, who entertained him magnificently, and at his departure, presented him with some fine jewels, and two tents of gold tissue. He soon after returned to Dehly; and it is related in the Taj-ool-Maasir, a work dedicated to Kootb-ood-Deen, that he wrote to the King a particular account of his conquests, which so pleased his sovereign, Mahomed Ghoory, that he ordered his attendance at Ghizny, for which place he set out, and was received with every demonstration of joy and respect. Kootb-ood-Deen, some time after, having obtained permission to return to his Government, espoused the daughter of Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, governor of Kirman in Pishawur, and celebrated the marriage-festival with great splendour after his arrival at Dehly. He soon after engaged in the siege of the fort of Byana; but hearing that the King, his master, had taken the route of Hindoostan, Kootb-ood-Deen went as far as Hansy to meet him. Both now returned to Byana; which place was taken. Mahomed Ghoory gave charge of it to Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, one of his trusty slaves, and then proceeded to Gualiar, where the Raja, having agreed to pay tribute, purchased the forbearance of the King for the time with a considerable sum of money and jewels.

Immediately after these transactions Mahomed Ghoory returned to Ghizny, leaving Kootb-ood-Deen as before, viceroy of all the conquered provinces of India.

At this time news arrived that the Raja of Nagoor and many other Hindoo rajas had entered into an alliance with the Meres, a race of people in that country, and, together with the Raja of Nehrwala, had formed a design to wrest Ajmeer from the Mahomedans. The army of Koot-ood-Deen being dispersed over his provinces, he was forced to march in person against these confederates with the few troops present in Dehly, in order to prevent, if possible, the junction of the forces of Nehrwala; but he was defeated. After having been frequently dismounted in the action, and having received six wounds, he still fought with his wonted courage, till being forced at length by his attendants off the field, he was carried in a litter to Ajmeer.

The Meres, rejoicing at this victory, now formed a junction with the forces of Guzerat, and sat down before Ajmeer. Intelligence of this event coming to the ears of the King, he sent a strong reinforcement from Ghizny to the relief of Kootb-ood-Deen. Ajmeer held out till the arrival of the succours, and the enemy raised the siege. In the year A.H. 593 (A.D. 1196), Kootb-ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nehrwala, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole. He there received advices that Wallin[19] and Darabarz, in alliance with the Raja of Nehrwala, were encamped near the fort of Aboogbur, in the province of Sirohy; to defend the passes into Guzerat. Kootb-ood-Deen, notwithstanding the difficulties of the road, and the disadvantages of ground, attacked them; and on this occasion above fifty thousand of the enemy are said to have fallen on the field, besides twenty thousand who were taken prisoners. Vast spoils also fell into the hands of the victors. Having given his army some rest, Kootb-ood-Deen pursued his route into Guzerat, ravaged that country without further opposition, and took the city of Nehrwala, where he left an officer with a strong garrison. He now returned to Dehly by the way of Ajmeer, and sent a large quantity of jewels and gold, and also many slaves, to the King at Ghizny, and divided the remainder of the spoils among his fellow-soldiers.

In the year A.H. 599 (A.D. 1202), he mustered his forces, and marched against Kalunjur, where he was opposed by the Raja of that country, whom he defeated; then, dismounting his cavalry, he laid siege to the fort. The Raja, seeing himself hard pressed, offered Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk the same tribute and presents which his ancestors had formerly paid to Sooltan Mahmood. The proposal was accepted; but the Raja's minister, who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated, while the presents were preparing. The Hindoo flag being again hoisted on the fort, the siege recommenced, but the place was eventually reduced, owing to the drying up of a spring upon the hill which supplied the gar-

19. I have been unable to determine the first of these names; the latter, according to Colonel Tod, was the last of the Powar dynasty of Aboogbur.

rison with water. The plunder of Kalunjur was great in gold and jewels.

Kootb-ood-Deen now marched to Mahoba, the capital of the principality of Kalpy, which place he also subdued together with Budaoon, lying between the rivers Jumna and Ganges. Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy, who had been appointed governor of Behar by the King, but had for some time back paid little attention to the royal commands, came at this time to pay a visit to Kootb-ood-Deen, conciliating him with rich presents.

At the time when Mahomed Ghoory, after his defeat in Toorkistan, returned to India, he was joined by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and Shums-ood-Altmish, another of his slaves, by whose valour and fidelity he defeated the Gukkurs in several actions, and recovered Lahore from them. Matters being thus peaceably settled, Kootb-ood-Deen returned to his government, and the King was retiring towards Ghizny, when he was assassinated by the Gukkurs. Mahmood, his nephew, assumed the royal titles at Ghoor, and, on his accession, sent all the insignia of royalty, a throne, a canopy, standards, drums, and the title of King, to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, desirous of securing his interest, and being by no means able to oppose his power, if he refused to acknowledge him. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk received these marks of favour with becoming respect at Lahore, where he ascended the throne on the 18th of Zeekad, A.H. 602 (July 24, A.D. 1205). He returned from thence in a few days to Dehly.

Meanwhile Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz marched an army from Ghizny, with an intention to take Lahore, which he effected by the treachery of the governor, whom he afterwards expelled. Kootb-ood-Deen hearing of this event, disputed his right, and in the year A.H. 603 (A.D. 1205), a war ensued between these chiefs. At length Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz was expelled from the city and obliged to fly towards Kirman and Shivuran; Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk pursued him as far as Ghizny, in which city he was again crowned, taking that kingdom also into his own hands.

Kootb-ood-Deen, after this, unaccountably gave himself up to wine and pleasure, till the citizens of Ghizny, disgusted with his conduct, sent privately to Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, acquainting him with the King's negligence, and entreating his return. Taj-ood-Deen raised troops with great secrecy and ex-

pedition, advanced towards Ghizny, and surprised Kootb-ood-Deen, who had no intelligence of his design till the day before his arrival. It was now too late to attempt a defence, so that he was compelled to abandon Ghizny and to retire to Lahore. Kootb-ood-Deen now became sensible of his folly, and repented: after which he continued to exercise justice, temperance, and morality; and his kingdom was governed by the best laws till his death, which happened in the year A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210), by a fall from his horse, in a match at chowgan.[20]

His reign, properly speaking, lasted only four years, though he enjoyed all the state and dignities of a king for upwards of twenty, if we reckon from the period of the capture of Dehly, when he may be said to have become King of India, though he assumed only the title of Commander-in-Chief of his patron Mahomed Ghoory. He was certainly a great captain, and might be classed among the greatest men in history, had not his licentious conduct at Ghizny tarnished the glory of his life. He was famous throughout the East for his generosity, for which he obtained the surname of Lakbukhsh, "Bestower of Laks." When a man is praised for generosity in India, they say to this day, "He is as liberal as Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk."

LIFE OF TAJ-OOD-DEEN YELDOOZ

MAHOMED GHOORY having no children excepting one daughter, took pleasure in educating Toorky slaves, whom he afterwards adopted. Four of those slaves, besides Kootb-ood-Deen, became great princes, of whom Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz was one. The King having observed him to be a youth of merit, advanced him gradually, till he conferred on him the government of the provinces of Kirman and Shivuran, which lie between Ghizny and India. His situation gave him an opportunity of frequently entertaining his prince during his expedition to and from the latter country, which he always did with great magnificence, making presents to all the King's attendants.

20. The game of chowgan, like our foot-ball, consists in two opposite parties endeavouring to propel a ball beyond certain bounds. The parties in this game, however, are on horseback, and the players use bats, like our rackets, to strike the ball. The game was, it is supposed, introduced into Southern Asia by the Tartars; but it is lost in India, and is I believe, now never played even in Persia.

Mahomed Ghoory, in his last expedition to India, conferred on Taj-ood-Deen the privilege of carrying the black standard of Ghizny, an honour which was usually confined to the heir apparent. On the death of that monarch, the Toorky officers espoused the cause of the Prince Mahmood, the son of Gheias-ood-Deen; but Mahmood being unambitious, and naturally indolent, declined the additional cares of the Ghizny government, and remained satisfied with the throne of his ancestors at Ghoor; he, however, assumed the imperial title, and proclaimed Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz King of Ghizny, content to receive homage from that chief.

The first act of Taj-ood-Deen, after his accession, was the invasion of the Punjab, and the seizure of Lahore, as we have seen in the former reign, on which occasion, being defeated by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, he lost his kingdom, which he, however, soon after regained. At length, in conjunction with the King Mahmood of Ghoor, he sent an army to Herat, which he reduced, as also great part of Seestan. Mahmood also engaged in war with Mahomed Shah, King of Khwaruzm. Mahomed Shah, following up his successes, took Ghizny, and compelled Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz to retire to Kirman. Yeldooz, finding the northern hordes an overmatch for him, recruited his army, and marched, some time after the death of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, with a view to conquer India. After reducing a few of the northern districts, he was defeated near Dehly by Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, and being taken prisoner, died in confinement. The whole length of his reign was nine years. As we have already given the history of two of Mahomed Ghoory's adopted slaves, who assumed the title of King, it may not be improper here to say something of Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, who raised himself from the same low situation. Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul was a chief of some repute in the service of Mahomed Ghoory. When the fort of Byana was taken, the command of it was given to Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul, and the King proceeded himself to Gualiar, as we have seen before. But after he left Hindoostan, Toghrul continued to infest the country about Gualiar, having been assured by the King at his departure, that if he conquered the place, he would confirm him in its government.

Seeing that all his efforts were unavailing, owing to the garrison finding means of obtaining supplies, he ordered small

forts to be built all round, in which he placed garrisons, and by this means effectually blockaded the hills. It held out, however, nearly a whole year; when, being distressed for provisions, the Raja sent a deputation privately to Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk to come and take possession of the place, rather than deliver it into the hands of Baha-ood-Deen Toghrul. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk accordingly sent his troops to occupy Gualiar, a circumstance which had nearly produced a war between the two chiefs. Death, however, terminated the feud, for at this moment, Toghrul suddenly expired. The actions of the other two princes, formerly slaves of Mahomed Ghoory, will be found in the histories of Sind and Bengal, to which they more properly belong.

ARAM

After the death of Kootb-ood-Deen, his son Aram ascended the throne of Dehly, though he was ill adapted to govern such an empire. Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, one of the adopted slaves of Mahomed Ghoory, marched with an army towards Sind, which he conquered, as also Mooltan, Oocha, Shivuran, and other places. Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy, another of the slaves of Mahomed Ghoory, having possessed himself of Bengal, asserted his independence; and at the same time other dependent chiefs threw off their allegiance in many parts of the empire.

In this state of affairs, Ameer Ally Ismael, and Ameer Daood Delimy, together with other nobles at Dehly, becoming discontented, sent a deputation to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, the son-in-law and adopted son of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk (then governor of Budaoon), inviting him to ascend the throne. Shums-ood-Deen, without hesitation, marched his army to Dehly, and by the assistance of his party met with a cordial reception.

Aram, fearful of trusting himself in his capital, had previously withdawn into the country, and having recruited a fine army, advanced and gave battle to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish within sight of the city, in which Aram lost the victory, and with it his kingdom, which he enjoyed scarcely one year.

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ALTMISH

It is related in the Tubkat Nasiry, that Shums-ood-Deen Altmish was a descendant, on his mother's side, from a noble family of Khutta, and that his father was of the tribe of Albery, and was called Eelum Khan. In his youth he was the favourite of his father, and being envied by the rest of his brothers, they determined to get rid of him. One day while hunting, they stripped him, and sold him to a company of travelling merchants. The merchants carried him to Bokhara, and sold him to one of the relations of Sudr-i-Jehan, prince of that country, under whom he received a liberal education. On the death of his master he was again exposed to sale, and purchased by a merchant, who sold him again to another, who carried him to Ghizny.

Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory heard at Ghizny of Altmish's beauty and talents, but could not agree with the merchant about the price. He was therefore carried back to Bokhara, as none durst buy him on account of the King's displeasure, till Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, obtaining the King's permission purchased him at Dehly, whither he had invited the merchants, for 50,000 pieces of silver. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, also, at the same time, bought another slave, whom he called Toghan. He was afterwards appointed governor of Surhind. Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk had three daughters, the eldest of whom was married to Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, the second to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, and upon the death of the eldest, Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha was allowed to marry her sister, the youngest daughter.

Altmish, as the son-in-law of his master, rose in rank till he was created general-in-chief; and, upon the death of Eibuk, as we have before related, he advanced against the capital, expelled Aram from the throne in the year 607, and declared himself King with the title of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish. On his accession he was acknowledged by many chiefs and princes; but some of his generals taking offence, went off with the greater part of his Toorky horse, the flower of his army. These, connecting themselves with other malecontents in the districts, advanced with a great force towards Dehly, where they were opposed by Altmish, and defeated. Their chief, Furokh, was slain in the field, and the rest were so closely pursued, that in

a short time they were all either killed or taken, which established Altmish on the throne.

Soon after this event, Oodye-Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwur, having refused to make the usual payments, the King was induced to march and reduce him to obedience. Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz, at this time king of Ghizny, sent to Altmish the ensigns of royalty, pretending to confirm him in the government of India; but soon after, when Yeldooz was himself defeated by the troops of Khwaruzm Shah, and retired to Kirman and Shivuran, he turned his views towards the conquest of the East. In the first instance he seized the country of Punjab, and occupied the city of Tahneswur in the year A.H. 612 (A.D. 1215), where he endeavoured by his emissaries at the court of Dehly to raise a faction in his favour. Shums-ood-Deen Altmish meanwhile collected his troops, and advanced towards him. An action took place on the plains of Narain; Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz was defeated, and with many of his officers taken prisoner and imprisoned in Budaoon, where, according to some accounts, he died a natural death, but according to others, he was poisoned.

In the year A.H. 614 (A.D. 1217), Altmish attacked Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, his brother-in-law, at Munsooreea, on the banks of the Chunab, and gained a complete victory. During the following year several chiefs of the tribe of Khilluj inhabiting the country near Ghizny, being defeated by Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, fled for protection to Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, who espousing their cause, marched against Nasir-ood-Deen, and a second time overthrew him, and recovered the countries lost by the chiefs of Khilluj, after which he returned to Dehly. In the year A.H 618 (A.D. 1221), the famous but unfortunate Julal-ood-Deen Khwaruzm Shah, being defeated in the north by Chungiz Khan, retreated towards Lahore, where Altmish opposed and compelled him to retreat towards Sind and Sewustan. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud and some other historians have placed the arrival of Julal-ood-Deen in Hindoostan subsequently to the death of Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha; but their testimony in this particular does not seem to me to merit attention.

In the year A.H. 622 (A.D. 1225), Shums-ood-Deen led his army towards Behar, and Luknowty,[21] where he exacted tribute

21. This is another name for the city of Goor, the site of which is laid down in all the maps near Raj Mahal, on the Ganges.

from Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Khiljy, then Prince of Bengal, whose history we shall give in its proper place. He caused the Bengal currency to be struck in his own name, and, appointing his son Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood to the government of Behar, returned to Dehly. But soon after war having broken out between Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, Prince of Behar, and Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar, Khiljy of Bengal, the latter was defeated and slain; and Nasir-ood-Deen took possession of his principality and his treasure, out of which he sent ample presents to his friends at Dehly.

According to the most authentic historians it was in this year A.H. 622 that Shums-ood-Deen Altmish marched against Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, who possessed the provinces on the Indus, and who, unable to oppose him in the field, left a strong garrison in Oocha, and retired to Bukkur. Altmish detached Nizam-ool-Moolk[22] Jooneidy, his vizier, with half of the army, in pursuit of Nazir-ood-Deen Koobacha, while with the other half he himself laid siege to Oocha, which he reduced in two months and twenty days. When the news of the fall of Oocha reached Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, he sent his son Alla-ood-Deen Beiram to sue for peace. The terms were not settled, when information arrived, that Nasir-ood-Deen had been compelled by Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy to attempt to cross the river, in which he was drowned; after which, the whole country submitted to Altmish.

In the year A.H. 623 (A.D. 1226), Altmish reduced the fort of Runtunbhore, and in the year A.H. 624 (A.D. 1227), that of Mando, and the country of Malwa. At this time Ameer Roohany, the most learned poet and philosopher of his age, fled from Bokhara, after that city was taken by Chungiz Khan, and sought protection at Dehly, where he wrote many excellent poems.

In the year A.H. 626 (A.D. 1229), an embassy from Arabia, bringing with it royal robes from the Caliph, arrived at Dehly. The King assumed them with joy, and made a great festival, distributing rich presents. In the same year he received intelli-

22. It is worthy of remark, that this is the first vizier in Hindoostan who received the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk. It appears to have been very generally adopted afterwards; and we find the descendant of the last Nizam-ool-Moolk now on the musnud of Hyderabad.

gence of the death of his eldest son Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, Prince of Bengal. Altmish conferred the same title on his younger son, whom he carried with him to that province in the year A.H. 627 (A.D. 1230), and invested him with the government, which had fallen into confusion subsequently to the death of the former prince. Having entirely settled this country, he left Eiz-ool-Moolk Alla-ood-Deen Khany to superintend its management, and returned with his son to Dehly.

Shums-ood-Deen Altmish formed a design, in the year A.H. 629 (A.D. 1231), to reduce the fort of Gualiar, which had, during the short reign of his predecessor Aram, again fallen into the hands of the Hindoos. Having accordingly besieged it for a whole year, and the garrison being greatly straitened, the Raja Dewbul made his escape in the night, and the garrison capitulated; above three hundred of whom were put to death. Mullik Taj-ood-Deen Zoobery, who was present at the capture, has commemorated the date of the transaction by four lines carved on a stone over one of the gateways.[23]

After the reduction of Gualiar, the King marched his army towards Malwa, reduced the fort of Bhilsa, and took the city of Oojein, where he destroyed a magnificent temple dedicated to Mahakaly, formed upon the same plan with that of Somnat. This temple is said to have occupied three hundred years in building, and was surrounded by a wall one hundred cubits in height. The image of Vikramaditya, who had been formerly prince of this country, and so renowned, that the Hindoos have taken an æra from his death, as also the image of Mahakaly, both of stone, with many other figures of brass, were found in the temple. These images the King caused to be conveyed to Dehly, and broken at the door of the great mosque.

After his return from this expedition, Altmish marched his army towards Mooltan; but falling sick on the road, he was obliged to return to Dehly, where he died on the 20th of Shaban, in the year A.H. 633 (April 30, A.D. 1236). His vizier, towards the latter end of his reign, was Fukhr-ool-Moolk Assamy, who had been formerly vizier of the Caliph of Baghdad for thirty years, where he was much esteemed on account of his wisdom and learning. He left that court on account of some offence, and came to Dehly, where he was appointed prime minister. Noor-

23. The stone and the lines are still to be seen.

ood-Deen Mahomed Oofy, the author of the Jama-ool-Hikayat (a collection of *historical anecdotes*,[24]) lived during this time at the court of Dehly. The reign of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish lasted twenty-six years. He was an enterprising, able, and good prince.

ROOKN-OOD-DEEN FEROZE

IT appears from the histories of the times, that in the year A.H. 625 Shums-ood-Deen Altmish appointed his son, Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, governor of Budaoon, and, after the reduction of Gualiar, created him his lieutenant in the Punjab. When his father died, this prince happened to be at Dehly, and ascended the throne, without opposition, on Tuesday the 21st Shaban, in the year A.H. 633 (May 1, A.D. 1236), on which occasion the nobles made their offerings, and swore allegiance, while the poets of the age vied with each other in his praise. But no sooner was the ceremony over than he abandoned himself to licentious excesses, and neglected the affairs of his government.

He lavished his father's treasures on dancing women, comedians, and musicians, leaving the conduct of all public business to his mother, Shah Toorkan. This woman, originally a Toorky slave, was a monster of cruelty. She murdered not only all the women of Shums-ood-Deen's harem, to gratify her hatred, but also put to death Kootb-ood-Deen the youngest of that king's sons. The minds of the people revolted at these scenes. Gheias-ood-Deen, Mahomed, the King's younger brother, governor of Oude, intercepted the revenues from Bengal on their way to the capital, and declared himself independent. At the same time, also, Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Salar, the governor of Budaoon, Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Khany, governor of Lahore, Mullik Kubeer Khan, viceroy of Mooltan, and Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Koochy, governor of Hansy, entered into a confederacy, which broke out into open rebellion. Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, collecting his troops, marched to Kelookery, but was there deserted by his vizier, Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, and by part of his army. The vizier went towards Kole, where he joined Mullik

24. This work is a collection of stories illustrative of the virtues, vices, and calamities of mankind, but possessing no real value in point of authenticity.

Eiz-ood-Deen Salar, governor of Budaoon, and they proceeded together to Lahore, at which place they formed a junction with the nobles of the northern and western provinces. The King, mean time, marched towards the confederates; but on reaching Munsoorpoor, seven of his principal chiefs, viz. Taj-ood-Deen Zobeidy, Mullik Mahomed Dubeer, Baha-ood-Deen Hussun, Mullik Kureem-ood-Deen Zeea-ool-Moolk, Sheer Khan, Khwaja Rusheed, and Ameer Fukhr-ood-Deen deserted him, and retired with their followers to Dehly. There they raised Sooltana Ruzeea Begum, the eldest daughter of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, to the throne, and imprisoned the King's mother. When this news reached the King, he returned hastily with his army towards Dehly, and having arrived at Kelookery, Sooltan Ruzeea Begum on the 18th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 634 (Nov. 19, A.D. 1236), advanced with a force against him. Rookn-ood-Deen was delivered up into her hands, and died in confinement some time after; so that he reigned only six months and twenty-eight days.

SOOLTANA RUZEEA BEGUM

RUZEEA BEGUM was possessed of every good quality which usually adorns the ablest princes; and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman. She read the Koran with correct pronunciation, and in her father's lifetime employed herself frequently in the affairs of the government; a disposition which he rather encouraged in her than otherwise, so that during the campaign in which he was engaged in the siege of Gualiar, he appointed her regent during his absence. When asked by his officers, why he appointed his daughter in preference to any of his sons, he replied, that he saw his sons gave themselves up to wine and every other excess, so that the thought the government too weighty for their shoulders; but that Ruzeea Begum, though a woman, had a man's head and heart, and was better than twenty such sons. Ruzeea Begum, on her accession, changed her apparel, assumed the imperial robes, and every day gave public audience from the throne, revising and confirming the laws of her father, which had been abrogated in the last short reign, and dispensing justice with impartiality.

The confederates, consisting of the Vizier Nizam-ood-Moolk Jooneidy, Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Khany, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen

Koochy, Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Salar, and Mullik Kubeer Khan, who had united their forces at Lahore, now advanced to Dehly, and, encamping without the city, commenced hostilities. They at the same time sent letters to all the officers of the empire, inviting them to join their party. This news reaching Mullik-Nuseer, Jageerdar of Oudh, he raised troops, and hastened to the support of the Queen; but on crossing the Ganges, being attacked by the confederates, he was defeated and taken prisoner, in which condition he soon after died, from old age and infirmity. The Queen, meanwhile, was busily engaged in sowing dissension among the rebel chiefs, and with such success, that, distrusting each other, they shortly after broke up their camp, each retreating to his own government. The Queen's troops, availing themselves of this event, pursued them. Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Koochy and his brother were taken and put to death. Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Khany was slain near Babool, and his head brought to Dehly, but the Vizier Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy contrived to escape to the Surmore hills, where he died.

The Queen now conferred the vizarut on Khwaja Mehdy Ghiznevy, deputy to the former vizier, with the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and gave the chief command of her forces to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Eibuk, with the title of Kootloogh Khan. Kubeer Khan, having submitted to her authority, was allowed to resume the government of Lahore, while the countries of Lucknowty on the south-east, and of Debul and Sind on the south-west, were also confirmed to their respective lieutenants, on promise of future obedience.

Kootloogh Khan, General of the Queen's armies, soon after died; and Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, being appointed to succeed him, was sent with a forec to relieve the fort of Runtunbhore then invested by some independent Indian princes, who, at the approach of the royal forces, raised the siege, and retreated. After Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun's departure from Runtunbhore, Mullik Yekh-tyar-ood-Deen Aluptugeen was created Ameer Hajib, and Jumal-ood-Deen Yakoot, an Abyssinian, who was in great favour, was raised from the office of master of the horse, to that of Ameer-ool-Omra.[25] The nobles, highly offended at this proceeding, were disposed to examine narrowly the cause of so much favour. A

25. Chief of the nobles. This was the highest station next to princes of the blood.

very great degree of familiarity was observed to exist between the Abyssinian and the Queen; so much so, that when she rode he always lifted her on her horse by raising her up under the arms. This intimacy, the great favour which he had suddenly attained, and his rapid elevation to the first rank in the realm, might naturally have excited envy had it happened to any individual; but it became the more mortifying when the favourite was merely an Abyssinian slave.

The first person who began openly to evince these feelings was Mullik Kubeer Khan, viceroy of Lahore, who in the year A.H. 637 (A.D. 1239), cast off his allegiance, and increased his army. The Queen, collecting her forces, marched against him; and the viceroy being deserted by some of his colleagues, was obliged to make concessions, by which he obtained pardon. He conducted himself with so much art on this occasion, that the Queen, on her departure, either believing him sincere, or desirous of binding him to her interest by gratitude, not only permitted him to retain his office as governor of Lahore, but added to it that of Mooltan, which had been lately vacated by the removal of Mullik Kurragooz.

In the same year, Mullik Altoonia (of the Toorky tribe of Chelgany), governor of Bituhnda, revolted, on the plea of the Queen's partiality to the Abyssinian. On hearing this intelligence, she marched towards Bituhnda; but about half way, all the Toorky chiefs in her army mutinied. A tumultuous conflict ensued, in which the Abyssinian favourite was killed; and the Queen being taken, was sent to the fort of Bituhnda, to Mullik Altoonia.

The army now returned to Dehly, where the Toorky officers elevated her brother, the Prince Beiram, a son of the late Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, to the throne. Meanwhile Mullik Altoonia having espoused the empress, was enabled, in a short time, through her influence, to raise an army, composed of Gukkurs, Juts, and others of the neighbouring tribes, which was also joined by many officers of distinction, with whom they marched towards Dehly. Beiram, the new king, sent Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun (afterwards called Aluf-Khan), son-in-law of the late Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, with his forces to oppose the Queen. The two armies met near Dehly: an obstinate conflict ensued, in which the Queen was defeated, and fled to Bituhnda. She some time after re-assembled her scattered forces, and was in a condition to make

another bold effort for the crown, and advanced towards Dehly. Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, who was again sent to oppose her, gave the Queen's army a second defeat at Keituhl, on the 4th of Rubee-ool-Awul, in the same year A.H. 637 (October 24, A.D. 1239). She and her husband were seized by the Zemeendars in their flight, and were both put to death on the 25th of the same month (Rubbee-ool-Awul 25, November 14). One author relates, that they were carried bound to Beiram, who ordered them to be assassinated in prison. The reign of Sooltana Ruzeea Begum lasted three years, six months, and six days.

Those who reflect on the fate of this unfortunate princess will readily discover from whence arose the foul blast that blighted all her prospects:—What connection exists between the office of Ameer-ool-Omra of Dehly and an Abyssinian slave; or how are we to reconcile the inconsistency of the queen of a vast territory fixing her affections on so unworthy an object?

MOIZ-OOD-DEEN BEIRAM

WHEN Sooltana Ruzeea Begum was confined in the fort of Bituhnda, her brother Beiram, one of the sons of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, ascended the throne on Monday the 27th of Rumzan, in the year A.H. 637 (April 21, A.D. 1240). Yekhtyar-ood-Deen Aluptugeen, with the assistance of Khwaja Mehdy Ghiznevy, having espoused the King's sister, widow of the late Kazy Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, by degrees got the entire government into his own hands. He also maintained an elephant[26] at his gate, a piece of state reserved solely for royalty. This circumstance having excited much jealousy in the King's mind, he employed two Toorky slaves to feign drunkenness, and in that state to endeavour to assassinate both Aluptugeen and the Vizier. Accordingly, on a certain day, these Toorks, while the King was giving public audience, having pressed into the crowd, became very troublesome. Aluptugeen, who stood first in the rank of nobles, went to

26. At this period, I conclude, elephants were considered exclusively royal animals. Lieutenants of provinces were allowed them in their government, but in the royal camp they used all to be sent to the monarch. This practice of reserving elephants for the use of rulers still prevails in Siam.

turn them out, but they drew their daggers, and first plunging them into his breast, ran to the Vizier, on whom, also, they inflicted two severe stabs; but he escaped through the crowd, without being mortally wounded. The slaves were immediately seized and cast into chains, but shortly after were pardoned and released.

The Vizier kept his bed for some days, on account of his wounds; but as soon as he recovered, he appeared again at court, as if nothing had happened. Budr-ood-Deen Sufeer Roomy, master of requests, formed a scheme to depose the King, and for this purpose, connected himself with a powerful faction at court. The conspirators met together at the house of Taj-ood-Deen Kotwal, on Monday, 17th Suffer, A.H. 638 (Sept. 8, A.D. 1240). Taj-ood-Deen, however, relenting, informed both the King and the Vizier of the whole affair. A faithful servant of the King, assuming the character of a madman, was allowed to overhear the conversation that took place at the meeting. The Vizier, although he secretly favoured the conspiracy, excused himself from attending the consultations.

The story of the kotwal being confirmed by the person whom the King sent to overhear the conspirators, a body of cavalry was despatched to surround the house and seize them; but they, having obtained previous intelligence, dispersed before the horse arrived. The next day, Budr-ood-Deen Sufeer, one of the principals, was made governor of Budaoon, while another, Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany, was removed from office. In a few months after, Budr-ood-Deen and Taj-ood-Deen were both assassinated by the King's emissaries, and Kazy Shums-ood-Deen, who was also engaged in the plot, was trodden under foot by elephants. These proceedings, without trial or public accusation, justly alarmed every one; and advantage being taken by the faction of this feeling, a mutiny was promoted among the troops, and secretly fomented by the Vizier Khwaja Mehdy, who had not forgotten the attempt lately made by the King on his life.

Meanwhile news arrived that the Moguls of Chungiz Khan had invested Lahore, on Monday the 16th of Jumad-ool-Akhir,[27] in the year A.H. 639 (Nov. 22, A.D. 1241); that Mullik Kurragooz, the Viceroy, finding his troops mutinous, had been obliged to fly in the night, and was actually on his way to Dehly, and that Lahore

27. This invasion took place under a famous Toorkey leader named Toormooshreen Khan.

was plundered by the enemy, and many of the inhabitants carried away prisoners.

The King, on this urgent occasion, called a general council of state in the white palace, when it was determined to send the Vizier, and Mullik Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun Ghoory (Vakeel-oos-Sultanut), with other officers, towards Lahore, to oppose the Moguls. The army arrived as far as the river Beea, where the town of Sooltanpoor now stands, when the Vizier, who had every reason to be hostile to the King, began to sow the seeds of sedition in the minds of his officers; and the better to effect his purpose, wrote privately to the King, accusing certain nobles of disaffection, begging he would either join the army in person, or send written orders to him and his colleague Kootb-ood-Deen Hussun, authorizing them to make away with those officers who were discontented and disposed to revolt. Though previously aware of the treachery of his Vizier in the late conspiracy, the King had permitted this crafty courtier so to gain his confidence, that he gave full credence to this representation. Beiram Padshah replied, that the officers deserved death; at the same time, he recommended the Vizier to keep them quiet till he should be able fully to convict and bring them to punishment without danger. This was precisely what the minister required: for by producing the King's letter, he inflamed the minds of the officers, while he misled them with respect to the accuser. He even pretended to be apprehensive for himself; and having consulted with them regarding their general safety, they resolved to unite and support the Vizier against the King.

The news of this confederacy opened the King's eyes when too late. He now proceeded in great perturbation to the house of Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Bukhtyar, Ooshy (the Sheikh-ool-Islam), a venerable and learned man, requesting him to go to the camp, and endeavour to reclaim the disaffected chiefs. The Sheikh-ool-Islam accordingly went forth privately; but being unable to accommodate matters, returned to Dehly. The Vizier, in the mean time, threw off the mask, and, advancing with the army to the capital, besieged it for three months and an half, till, at length, disaffection having communicated itself to the citizens, Dehly was taken on Monday the 8th of Zeekada, in the year A.H. 639 (May 10, A.D. 1241), and Beiram thrown into prison, where in a few days he suffered death, after a reign of two years, one month, and fifteen days.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN MUSAOOD

WHEN Beiram had sipped of the cup of fate, Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, the elder, raised a faction, forced his way into the palace, ascended the throne, and caused himself to be proclaimed King throughout the city. But the greater part of the nobility, dissatisfied with his elevation, released the Princes Nasir-ood-Deen and Julal-ood-Deen, sons of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, as also the Prince Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, the son of Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze, and at length raised the latter to the musnud, on the same day on which Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun had occupied it. Kootb-ood-Deen-Hussun Ghoory was appointed the deputy of Khwaja Mehdy, who maintained the office of vizier with the official designation of Nizam-ool-Moolk, and the late governor of Lahore, Mullik Kurra-gooz, became Ameer Hajib.

The Vizier still retained his ascendancy; but his haughty and overbearing temper gave much offence to the nobles, who very shortly began to conspire against him; and on Wednesday, 2nd Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 640 (Oct. 30, A.D. 1242), they found means to assassinate him in the plain of Houz-i-Rany, while hunting. The vizarut was conferred upon Nujm-ood-Deen Aboo Bukr; Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, junior, became Ameer Hajib, and Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, senior, was appointed viceroy of Nagore, Sind, and Ajmeer. The Purguna of Budaoon was given at the same time to Mullik Taj-ood-Deen Toork; and other provinces were allotted to various chiefs, according to their rank and interest, so that peace and satisfaction seemed now to diffuse themselves over the court. At this period, Eiz-ood-Deen Toghan Khan, who had marched from Kurra to Luknowty, deputed Shureef-ool-Moolk Shunkry to court, where he was honourably received, and on his return he was charged with the scarlet *chutr*,[28] and a splendid dress for his master, to be delivered by Kazy Julal-ood-Deen, governor of Oude.

The King, about this time, having released his two uncles, the

28. The chutr, or umbrella, was used only by crowned heads, or by viceroys in the King's absence. It is so far a mark of distinction at present, even, that no one can assume it without it is conferred by the prince.

Princes Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, and Julal-ood-Deen, who had been imprisoned by their brother Beiram, conferred upon the former the government of Byraich, and to the latter he gave that of Kunowj. In the year A.H. 642 (A.D. 1244), an army of Mogul Tartars made an incursion into Bengal, by the way of Khutta and Thibet.[29] It is generally supposed they entered by the same route which Mahomed Bukhtyar Khiljy took when he invaded Khutta and Thibet from Bengal.[30] Musaood sent Mullik Kurra Beg Teimoor to the aid of Toghan Khan, governor of Bengal. The Mogul sustained a total defeat; but jealousy soon after breaking out between Mullik Kurra Beg and Toghan Khan, they proceeded to open hostilities; and the King directed Toghan Khan to resign the government to Mullik Kurra Beg, and to return to Dehly. In the following year, intelligence arrived that another army of Moguls, from Kandahar and Talikhan, under the command of Mungoo Khan, had advanced as far as the Indus, and invested Oocha. The King immediately ordered his army into the field, and putting himself at its head, marched against the enemy. When he reached the banks of the river Beea, the Moguls raised the siege of Oocha, and began to retreat; and the King, hearing they had totally evacuated the country, returned to Dehly.

Shortly after this, abandoning himself to wine and women, he exercised various acts of cruelty, injustice, and oppression, in spite of the admonition of his ministers and friends. The princes and nobles, unwilling to submit to his caprice and wickedness, privately sent for Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood, the King's uncle, from Byraich, who advanced with all the troops at his command to the capital. He found the imbecile Musaood already deposed, on the 23d Mohurrum, A.H. 644 (June 10, A.D. 1246). He had been cast into prison by the nobles, and was allowed to remain there the rest of his life. He reigned four years, one month and one day.

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD

WE have already related that when the eldest son of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish died in Bengal, he conferred the government of that

29. If this statement can be relied on, it is extremely curious.

30. Mullik Mahomed Bukhtyar made an invasion into Chinese Tartary, either through Nepal or Assam, it does not appear certain which, but, probably, Assam.

principality on his youngest son Mahmood, to whom he also gave the title of Nasir-ood-Deen. These were nominal honours, as Mahmood was at that time too young to assume the charge. At his father's death, he was confined by the cruel Queen, Shah Toorkan, and remained in prison till released by the late King Musaood, who gave him the government of Byraich. During the period of his administration, he waged successful wars with the infidels, and rendered his province happy and flourishing. The fame of his justice and good management became notorious, and the nobles, in the late revolution, naturally looked towards him as successor to the crown. He was accordingly seated on the throne of his father Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, of which, independently of his birth, on account of his bravery, wisdom, and learning, together with his many other good qualities, he seemed peculiarly fitted to become the ornament. During his imprisonment he preferred maintaining himself by his writings to accepting any public allowance; and he used often to say, that he who would not work for his bread did not deserve it. When he ascended the throne he became the patron of learning, the protector of the people, and the friend of the poor. The poets of the age vied with each other for the prize at his coronation, which was gained by Minhaj-oos-Siraj Joorjany, who afterwards compiled the Tubkat Nasiry, which he dedicated to Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood. The office of minister was conferred on Mullik Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, junior, who was originally the slave of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, and afterwards received the hand of his sovereign's daughter. Bulbun now received the title of Alugh Khan, and the whole executive power of government was vested in him. Gheias-ood-Deen's nephew, Sheer Khan, received the title of Maazim Khan, and was appointed to the government of the Punjab, Mooltan, Bhutnere, and Surhind, and was directed to maintain a standing army to watch the motions of the Moguls, who now occupied the provinces of Ghizny, Kabul, Kandahar, Bulkh, and Hirat. The forts of Bhutnere and Surhind were rebuilt at this time by Sheer Khan. It is related when Nasir-ood-Deen appointed Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, junior, to the office of vizier, he told him, that he confided his own honour to his loyalty and good conduct, enjoining him to do nothing for which he could not answer to God. The Vizier faithfully promised to fulfil the King's wishes, and, by exerting himself with unwearied diligence in his office, regulated public busi-

ness so well, that nothing escaped his eye, or passed without his particular inspection.

In the month of Rujab, A.H. 644 (July, A.D. 1247), the King took the field, and marched towards Mooltan. The army encamped for sometime upon the banks of the Sodra, from whence the Vizier proceeded towards the mountains of Jood, and the provinces on the Indus. These countries were reduced, and the King took revenge on the Gukkurs for their continual incursions, and for having led the Moguls through their country into Hindoostan. Deeming these offences too great to be pardoned, he carried several thousand Gukkurs of all ages, and of each sex, into captivity.

It is related that some old officers who held Jageers in the provinces near the Indus, during the reigns of Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, and Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, had, for some time past, refused to supply their quotas of troops to the army, for the performance of which duty they held these estates. By the advice of the Vizier their titles were taken from them, and they were carried prisoners to Dehly; but the King conferred their estates on their sons or relations, on the former military tenure. The countries of Punjab and Mooltan were by these means effectually reduced to subjection, and the King's authority was firmly restored. The conduct of Nasir-ood-Deen, on this occasion, reminds me of a story I have somewhere read, that when Alexander the Great was on his way to India, some of his old generals, unwilling to proceed farther, began to mutiny. Alexander was thrown into great perplexity, not knowing how to manage them. In this dilemma he sent a messenger to Greece, to consult his old master Aristotle, who, by reason of his age and infirmities, had not accompanied him. When the sage read the letter, he carried the messenger into his garden, where he gave orders to the gardener to root up all the old plants, and set young shoots in their places. Without saying more or writing any answer, he told the messenger to return in haste to his master. When the messenger arrived, he fell upon his face before the King, and told him he could obtain no reply. Alexander being somewhat surprised, enquired into the particulars of the interview; and on hearing the above relation, he smiled, and told the messenger he had brought him an excellent answer. He accordingly removed some of the old mutinous officers, and disgraced others, supplying their places with young men, who became more obedient, and thus re-established his authority in the army.

In the month of Shaban, A.H. 645 (Dec., A.D. 1247), Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood proceeded with his troops through the country which lies between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, and, after an obstinate siege, the fort of Bitunda[31] yielded to his arms. He then continued his march towards Kurra, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun commanding the vanguard. He was met at Kurra by the Rajas Dulky and Mulky,[32] whom he defeated and plundered, taking many of their families prisoners. These two Rajas had seized all the country to the south of the Jumna, and had destroyed the King's garrisons from Malwa to Kurra. They resided at Kalunjur. After these exploits Nasir-ood-Deen returned to Dehly.

On the 6th of Shaban, A.H. 646 (Nov. 25, A.D. 1247), the Vizier marched with an army towards Runtunbhore and the mountains of Mewat, and, after chastising the refractory inhabitants of those countries, returned to Dehly. The Vizier's brother, Eibuk Kishly Khan, was now promoted to the office of Ameer Hajib, and Ayaz Ryhany was nominated Vakeel-oos-Sultanut. In the same year, the King's brother, Julal-ood-Deen, was recalled from his government of Kunowj to Dehly, but, apprehensive of a design against his life, he fled to the hills of Chittoor with all his adherents. The King pursued him; but finding, after eight months, that he could not secure him, returned to Dehly. Nasir-ood-Deen, in the year A.H. 647 (A.D. 1248), married the daughter of the Vizier, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun. On the year following A.H. 648 (A.D. 1249), he marched an army towards Mooltan. On the banks of the Beea he was joined by the minister's nephew, Sheer Khan, governor of the northern provinces, with twenty thousand chosen horse, and continued his march to Mooltan, where he remained for some days, when, having placed Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, senior, in the government of Nagore and Oocha, and settled some other affairs, he returned to his capital.

Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, in the year A.H. 649 (A.D. 1250), throwing off his allegiance, raised a rebellion. This obliged Nasir-ood-Deen to march an army towards Nagore, where the rebel was put to flight; but, on his throwing himself on the King's mercy, he not only obtained his pardon, but was reinstated in his government. After returning from this expedition the King remained only

31. This place is now called Bulundshehr.

32. The Mahomedan author from whom Ferishta copies, has, probably, made some mistake in the names.

a few days at Dehly, before he proceeded to the siege of Nurwur, (Shaban 5, A.H. 649, A.D. 1250). The Raja, Jahir Dew, having lately constructed the fort on the summit of a rock, prepared to defend it to the last. He accordingly marched out to oppose the Mahomedans with five thousand horse, and two hundred thousand foot. This immense host being defeated with great slaughter, the place was invested, and reduced to surrender, after a few months' siege. Thence the King marched to Chundery and Malwa, having subdued which countries, and having appointed an officer to govern them, he returned to Dehly. The Vizier gained, in this expedition, great reputation for his conduct and personal valour.

In the mean time, Sheer Khan, viceroy of Lahore and Mooltan, the most celebrated man of his age, for his wisdom, valour, and every princely quality, had raised and disciplined a body of horse, with which he drove the Moguls out of Ghizny, and annexed it once more to the kingdom of Dehly. He also caused coin to be struck in the name of Nasir-ood-Deen, and proclaimed him King through all the provinces in that quarter. In consideration of these services, the province of Oocha was added to his government, which, contrary to expectation, was quietly delivered up by Eiz-ood-Deen Bulbun, senior, who returned to Dehly, and received the Jageer of Budaoon. In the year A.H. 650 (A.D. 1252), Nasir-ood-Deen marched by the route of Lahore to Mooltan, when he was joined by the governor of Budaoon, and by Kootloogh Khan, with an army from Sehwan. In the beginning of the year A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany, who owed his situation entirely to the interest of the Vizier, envying the fame and influence of that great man, took every private opportunity to traduce his benefactor to the King. The monarch's esteem for the Vizier began visibly to decline; and he was even prevailed on, at last, to dismiss him from office, conferring on him, in lieu of it, the small estate of Hansy, for his subsistence, where his enemy sought an opportunity to take his life.

Imad-ood-Deen, the minister's successful rival, now became absolute in the King's favour, and exercised his authority in ejecting from their offices and government all those who owed their situations to the former Vizier. Eibuk Kishly Khan was sent to Kurra Maunukpoor, and Ein-ool-Moolk Mahomed, the son of the late Nizam-ool-Moolk Jooneidy, was appointed Vizier-kool, or Regent, at Dehly, till the King's arrival. When Imad-ood-Deen returned he disturbed the public peace and overthrew the ancient

laws of the state. Meanwhile the King was compelled to take the field, in the direction of the Beea, for Sheer Khan had, unfortunately, been lately defeated by a body of insurgents from Sind, and had lost several forts in Mooltan. This furnished the favourite with an opportunity of disgracing him in the eyes of the King, who removed him from his government, which he conferred on Arslan Khan. The governor of Keituhl and Kohram having been assassinated by the zemindars, the King was induced to march his army to that quarter.

The administration of Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany now became so unpopular, that the governors of the following provinces, viz. Kurra, Manukpoor, Oude, Budaoon, Surhind, Sumana, Kohram, Lahore, Sewalik, and Nagore, entered into a confederacy, and deputed persons to wait on Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, the former vizier, declaring that the welfare of the country was at stake, and that the oppression and arrogance of Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany was intolerable. They entreated him, therefore, to proceed to Dehly, and assume the reins of government, as formerly. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun having consented, the nobles united their forces, and met on the same day, at Kohram.

Nasir-ood-Deen and his minister Imad-ood-Deen, on gaining this intelligence, marched to disperse the insurgents; but as the royal army advanced to Hansy, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, and the nobles, sent an address to the King, to the following purpose: "That they were loyal subjects, and were satisfied to kiss the foot of his throne, provided he consented to banish Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany from his presence." The King found himself under the necessity of either acceding to this request, or of losing his kingdom, so that having dismissed the obnoxious favourite, and sent him to Budaoon, the chiefs presented their offerings, and were gratified by honorary dresses. Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Khàny, of the Toorky tribe of Khwaja-Tash was appointed to command at Lahore, and Sheer Khan was reinstated in his former government, Nasir-ood-Deen then returned peaceably to Dehly, and evinced great joy at seeing his old vizier, who, by his mild administration, had gained the hearts of his subjects.

In the year A.H. 653 (A.D. 1256), the King had some personal quarrel with his mother, Mulika Jehan, who, after the death of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, had married Seif-ood-Deen Kootloogh Khan, a noble of the court. Nasir-ood-Deen, in order to remove his mother from Dehly, conferred on her husband the government

of Oude, and shortly after removed him to Beiraich. Kootloogh Khan, dissatisfied with this arrangement, prepared for rebellion, and being joined by the ex-Minister, Imad-ood-Deen Zunjany and Eibuk Kishly Khan, revolted. The Vizier marched against them, and having defeated the insurgents, the late minister, Imad-ood-Deen Zanjany, was taken prisoner, and put to death; but Seif-ood-Deen Kootloogh Khan effected his escape, and fled to Chittoor. The Vizier destroyed the fort in which Kootloogh Khan held out, but, being unable to secure his person, returned to Dehly.

Depal, the Raja of Sutnoor,[33] in the year A.H. 655 (A.D. 1257), raised an army in support of Kootloogh Khan, who was joined by troops from Sind, whose governor also engaged in the confederacy. The united forces, encamping near Kohram, assumed a very formidable appearance. The Vizier again took the field, but discovered a treasonable correspondence in his camp, wherein some of his officers had concerted a plan with a faction in the city to deliver up Dehly to the insurgents in his absence. Letters to this effect being intercepted by the minister, instant notice of the circumstance was given to the King, in Dehly, who caused the conspirators in the city to be secured.

Meanwhile, the confederates, according to the projected plan, marched with a body of chosen cavalry 200 miles in two days, and advanced to the city gates, where they expected to meet their friends; but finding themselves disappointed, and the King's troops marching against them, they entirely dispersed. The chief of Sind retired to his government, but Koot-loogh Khan was never again heard of. Towards the latter end of this year, a Mogul army having crossed the Indus, Nasir-ood-Deen marched to oppose them; but the Moguls retired at his approach, and he returned to his capital, confiding the province of Punjab to the minister's nephew, Sheer Khan, while Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Khany was sent to Bengal.

In the year A.H. 656 (A.D. 1258), Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood marched towards Kurra Manukpoor, to chastise Arslan Khan and Kullich Khan, who had neglected to bring their forces into the field in obedience to his orders, when he marched the year before to Punjab. These officers, however, found means not only

33. I have been unable to fix the position of this place. The word may be Suntpoor, a town near Aboo, and its proximity to Sind would account for the Sindian auxiliaries.

to appease the King's resentment, but Arslan Khan had even influence sufficient to procure the government of Bengal, so lately conferred on Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Khany; while the latter obtained, in lieu, some districts at the foot of the mountains.

Eibuk Kishly Khan, the Vizier's brother, in the year A.H. 657 (A.D. 1259), was appointed to the government of Kole Jalesur, Gualiar, and Byana. Nothing else remarkable happened during this year but the death of the rebellious governor of Sind. The Vizier, by the King's command, led next year an army into the mountainous country of Sewalik, and also towards Runtunbhore, where the rajas and rajpoots of Mewat had begun to create disturbances; and having collected a numerous body of horse and foot, plundered and burnt the country. At the Vizier's approach, they retired into strong posts among the mountains, where, being attacked and routed, the Vizier continued to ravage their country four months with fire and sword. The rajpoots, thus rendered desperate, collected all their forces, and rushed down from the mountains on the Mahomedans. The Vizier, who saw the storm descending, had scarcely time to make his arrangements for receiving them. The attack was violent and terrible, and it was not without much difficulty that the Vizier kept his men together; but as the assaults of the enemy became more feeble towards mid-day (till which time the Mahomedans had acted only on the defensive), the Vizier caused his troops to attack in their turn, and before evening he succeeded in driving the enemy, with great slaughter, back to the hills. The loss of the Mahomedans in this action was considerable, and many brave officers were killed. Of the Hindoos, above 10,000 fell, and 200 of their chiefs were made prisoners, besides a great number of common soldiers. The Vizier having by this action relieved the fort of Runtunbhore, which had been besieged for some months, returned victorious to Dehly. The captive chiefs were ordered to be put to death, and their followers condemned to perpetual slavery. In the month of Rubee-ool-Awul of this year A.H. 657 (March, A.D. 1258) an ambassador arrived at Dehly, on the part of Hoolakoo, the grandson of Chungiz Khan, King of Persia. The Vizier went out to meet him in state, with a train of 50,000 foreign horse, then in the service of the Dehly government, 2,000 elephants, and 3,000 carriages of fire-works.[34] Having exhibited some feats of horse-

34. I am at a loss to think what is the nature of the fire-works

manship in sham fights, and having made a very splendid display before the ambassador, the latter was conducted in state through the city direct to the palace. There the court was arranged in the most gorgeous and magnificent style. All the nobles, and public officers of state, the Judges, the Moollas, and the great men of the city were present, besides twenty-five princes of Irak-Ajum, Khorassan, and Mawur-ool-Nehr, with their retinues, who had sought protection at Dehly from the armies of Chungiz Khan, which some time before had overrun most part of Asia. Many tributary Indian princes, also, were there, and stood next to the throne.

Nasir-ood-Deen, contrary to the custom of other princes, kept no concubines. He had but one wife, whom he obliged to do every homely part of housewifery. When she complained, one day, that she had burnt her fingers in baking his bread, and desired he would allow her a maid to assist her, he rejected her request, saying, that he was only a trustee for the state, and was determined not to burden it with needless expenses. He therefore exhorted her to persevere in her duty with patience, and God would reward her on the day of judgment.

As the Emperor of India never eats in public, the table of Nasir-ood-Deen was rather that of a hermit than suitable to a great king; and after his accession to the throne he continued the whimsical habit of purchasing his food from the efforts of his penmanship.

One day as a nobleman was inspecting a Koran of the King's writing before him, he pointed out the word *Fee*, which was written twice over: the King looking at it, smiled, and drew a circle round it. But when the critic was gone, he began to erase the circle, and restore the word. This being observed by one of his old attendants, he begged to know his Majesty's reason for so doing; to which he replied, that he knew the word was originally right, but he thought it better to erase it from a paper, than touch the heart of a poor man by bringing him to shame.

In the year A.H. 663 (A.D. 1264), the King fell sick, and having lingered some months of the disease, he expired on the 11th Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 664. (February 18, A.D. 1266) after a reign of twenty years and upwards.

alluded to, unless they consisted of the Greek fire used by Mahomed Kassim, in Sind, and by Mahmood of Ghizny.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN[35]

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN was a prince of just principles, and endowed with many great and amiable qualities. He was a Toork of Kurra Khutta, and of the tribe of Albery. In his youth he was taken by the Moguls, that conquered his country, and sold him to a merchant, who conveyed him to Bagdad. His father was a chief of great power, and commanded 10,000 horse in the war in which our young hero was carried off. He was bought at Bagdad, in the year 630, by Khwaja Jumal-ood-Deen, of Bussora, a person famed for his piety and learning. His patron, having ascertained that he was of the same tribe as Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, conveyed him to Dehly, and, presenting him to that monarch, was rewarded so handsomely, that he returned with an independent fortune to Bagdad.

Shums-ood-Deen Altmish employed him first in the superintendence of his falconry, in which he was very skilful. He rose by degrees from that station, by the influence of his brother Eibuk Kishly Khan, (who happened to be then in great favour at the court of Dehly), till he became a noble. In the reign of Rookn-ood-Deen Feroze he commanded in Punjab, when, on hearing that his enemies at court had exasperated the King against him, he refused to obey the royal mandate to return, and long maintained independent possession of the province. Having subsequently joined the confederate chiefs who marched to Dehly to depose Sooltana Ruzeea Begum, he was taken prisoner, and remained some time in confinement; but, effecting his escape, he joined the party of Beiram against the Queen. During the reign of Beiram he was particularly befriended by Budr-ood-Deen, the Ameer Hajib, through whose influence he procured the government of Hansy and Rewary, in which office he distinguished himself in several actions against the inhabitants of Mewat.

35. This prince has been usually called Balin by most European writers. Erskine, in his edition of Baber's Commentaries, I find, styles him Bulbun; and I perceive the Hindoo authors give him the same name. Bulbun is also the reading I have universally found adopted by the best informed natives of India.

During the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Musaood, in the year 642, he was promoted to the office of Ameer Hajib, and in the late reign of Nasir-ood-Deen Mahmood he was raised to the vizarut, which high office he filled in such a manner as to relieve the King from all anxiety and embarrassment, and on the death of his sovereign, who was also his brother-in-law, he ascended the throne not only without opposition, but even with the general consent of the nobility and people.

In the reign of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish, forty of his Toorky slaves, who were in great favour, entered into a solemn covenant to support each other, and on the King's death to divide the empire among themselves. Jealousies and dissensions afterwards arose among them, and prevented this project from being carried into execution. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun was of this number, and as several of them had succeeded to great power in the kingdom, the first act of his reign was to rid himself of all who remained. Among these was his own nephew, the celebrated Sheer Khan.

The death of these chiefs removed all apprehension from his mind, and he afterwards became so renowned for his justice and the wisdom of his administration, that his alliance was courted by the king's of Persia and Tartary. He took particular care that none but men of merit and family should be admitted to any public office, and for this purpose he endeavoured to make himself acquainted with the talents and connections of every person about his court. While, on the one hand, he was liberal in rewarding merit, on the other, he was no less rigid in punishing vice; for whoever misbehaved in his station was certain of being immediately disgraced. He made it a rule never to place any Hindoo in a situation of trust or power, lest that race should employ its delegated authority to the destruction of the Mahomedans.

During a reign of 22 years he scrupulously excluded men of low origin from his court; and being one day told that one Fukhroo, an old servant of the state, who had acquired a vast fortune by usury and by monopolies in the bazaar, would present him with some laks of rupees if he would honour him with one word[36] from the throne, he rejected the proposal with disdain, and

36. "Parish," or word.

said,—"What must his subjects think of a king who should condescend to hold discourse with such a creature?"

In the history of these times, compiled from the Tubkat Nasiry and other works, besides that of Ein-ood-Deen Beejapoory, it is stated, that Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun used to affirm, that one of the greatest sources of the pride of his reign was, that "upwards of fifteen of the unfortunate sovereigns from Toorkistan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Khorassan, Irak, Ajum, Azoorbaizam, Iran, and Room, who had been driven from their countries by the arms of Chungiz Khan, were enabled to find an honourable asylum at his court at Dehly." Princely allowances and palaces were assigned to each, and, on public occasions, they ranged themselves before the throne according to their rank; all standing on the right and left, except two princes of the race of the Caliphs, who were permitted to sit on either side of the musnud. The parts of the town in which the royal emigrants resided took their names from the princes who occupied them, and were denominated Mohullas; such as

The Mohulla Abassy.
— Sunjurry.
— Khwaruzm Shahy.
— Deylimy.
— Alny.
— Atabuky.
— Ghoory.
— Chungizy.

The Mohulla Roomy.
— Sunkury.
— Yemny.
— Moosury.
— Samar-Kundy.
— Kashghury.
— Kauttay.

In the retinue of those princes were some of the most illustrious men of learning whom Asia at that time produced. The court of India, therefore, in the days of Gheias-odd-Deen Bulbun, was esteemed the most polite and magnificent in the world. A society of learned men assembled frequently at the house of the prince, commonly known by the name of Khan Shaheed, at which the Ameer Khoosrow of Dehly, the poet, presided. Another society of musicians, dancers, actors, and *story-tellers*,[37] frequently

37. The kissa go's, or story-tellers, of the East, are so famed, that any particular notice of them seems unnecessary. A lively description of Persian story-tellers will be found in a deservedly popular work, lately published, entitled Sketches of Persia, vol. i. chap. xi. p. 175, etc.

met at the house of the King's second son, Kurra Khan Bagera, who delighted in such amusements. The omras followed the example of their superiors, so that various societies were formed in every quarter of the city, and the King's taste for splendour in his palaces, equipages, and liveries, was imitated by the courtiers.

So imposing were the ceremonies of introduction to the royal presence, that none could approach the throne without a mixture of awe and admiration. Nor was Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun less splendid in his processions. His state elephants were covered with purple and gold trappings. His horseguards, consisting of a thousand Tartars, appeared in glittering armour, mounted on the finest steeds of Persia and Arabia, with silver bits, and housings of rich embroidery. Five hundred chosen foot, in rich liveries, with drawn swords, preceded him, proclaiming his approach, and clearing the way. His nobles followed according to their rank, with their various equipages and attendants. The Nowroze[38] and other festivals, and the anniversary of his own birth, were held with much pomp.

As an instance of his inflexible justice, it is related the Mullik Feiz Shirwany, the son of the keeper of that royal wardrobe, an officer of rank, who maintained a guard of 1000 horsemen, and was governor of the province of Budaoon, put to death one of his personal dependents, with his own hand, while in a state of drunkenness. After some time, Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun happened to go in person to Budaoon, when the widow of the deceased came to complain of the injury. The governor, Mullik Feiz, was sent for, and tried, and was beaten to death in the presence of the whole court, after which his body was hung over the gate of the town. Another instance is also mentioned of one Hybut Khan, an officer of the household troops, who held the government of Oude, who also put a person to death while in a state of intoxication. On the complaint coming before the King, and the fact being proved, the governor received a publie whipping of 500 lashes, and was given over as a slave to the widow of the deceased; nor did he procure his release till he had paid 20,000 silver tunkas for his ransom, after which he kept his house and soon died. Gheias-ood-Deen used to tell his children,

38. Nowroze is the festival of the vernal equinox.

that Shums-ood-Deen Altmish said, in his presence, that he heard Syed Moobaruk Ghizny twice repeat to Mahomed Ghoory, that "kings were too apt to conduct themselves as if they were gods upon earth, contrary to the ordinances of prophets and of religion; but, said this holy man, a king can only be saved from perdition by the exercise of four duties, and if there be a deficiency in any one of these, no mortal will be subject to more rigid scrutiny, or meet with less mercy on the day of Judgment." These duties are, 1st, "To assume dignity, and exercise power at proper seasons, and allow nothing to induce him to forget the majesty of God, or the happiness of his subjects. 2dly, Not to permit immorality and indecency to be openly practised within his realm, without imposing heavy fines, or some other punishment. 3dly, to make selections from men of character for the offices of government, and not to permit men of notoriously vicious habits to find an asylum within his realm. 4thly, To be patient and just in the administration of justice."

"These are the rules," said this Prince, "which I have adopted for my own conduct; they are those on which I hope my successor will also act; and I warn you, that, although you are my own children, you will meet with no consideration on that account, if you infringe the laws of the empire."

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, in his youth, was addicted to the use of wine; but, on his accession to the throne, he became a great enemy to this luxury, prohibiting the use and manufacture of fermented liquors throughout his dominions, under the severest penalties. So rigid was he in enforcing his authority, that, for the disobedience of one man, he would order a force to the remotest parts of the empire, if necessary, to bring him to punishment. In cases of insurrection or rebellion, he was not satisfied; as had formerly been the custom, to chastise the leaders, but he extended the capital punishment of high treason to the meanest of their vassals and adherents. This severity rendered it necessary for the Soobas to have the King's mandate for every military expedition or act of hostility which they undertook.

That his army might be kept in constant exercise, he led them out twice every week to hunt for forty or fifty miles round the city, and established laws for the preservation of the game.

In the year A.H. 664 (A.D. 1265), he was advised by his council to undertake an expedition to reduce the kingdoms of

Guzerat and Malwa, which had been annexed to the empire by Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk, but had since shaken off the Mahomedan yoke. To this measure he by no means assented, saying, that the Mogul Tartars were become so powerful in the north, having conquered all the Mussulman Princes, that he thought it wiser to secure what he possessed, than leave his country unprotected from foreign invasion. In this same year, Mahomed Tartar Khan, the son of Arslan Khan, who during the late reign had neglected to remit the annual revenue, sent 63 elephant, and other presents, as a peace-offering from his government of Lucknowty, which were graciously received; and from that day the supremacy of Dehly was re-established. In the course of this year, an army was ordered to extirpate a plundering banditti of Mewatties, who had occupied an extensive tract about eighty miles south-east of the capital, towards the hills, from whence they used, in former reigns, to make incursions even to the gates of Dehly. It is said, that in this expedition above 100,000 Mewatties were put to the sword; and the army, being supplied with hatchets and other implements, cleared away the woods for the circumference of 100 miles. The tract thus cleared afterwards proved excellent arable land, and became well cultivated.

In the year A.H. 665 (A.D. 1266), Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun sent an army into the Doab (the tract lying between the Ganges and Jumna), to suppress some insurrections. The King himself soon after marched in person towards Cumpila, Puttialy, and Bhojpoor, whose inhabitants interrupted the intercourse between Dehly and Bengal, by the route of Joonpoor and Benares. He put some thousands of them to death, and caused forts to be built, in which he placed Moslem garrisons to quell any future disturbance. It was at this time, also, he repaired the fort of Julaly, and then returned to Dehly. Soon after his arrival he received intelligence of an insurrection in Budaoon and Kuttehr, whither he marched with 500 select cavalry, and put to death the insurgents, with the exception of women and children. On this occasion he so completely eradicated that band of plunderers, that neither in Amroha, Budaoon, or Sumbul, were any murders or robberies committed till the period of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze.

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, after these transactions, marched his army towards the mountains of Jood, where he employed them for the space of two years in taking forts, and reducing the

inhabitants to obedience. This country was famous for its breed of horses, many thousands of which were brought back to Dehly. Wherever the King marched, the Soobas,[39] Zemindars, Fojdars, and magistrates of the provinces, met him on their own frontiers, with their offerings, which were afterwards distributed among the poor. Some time after this, the King made a journey to Lahore, which city, having greatly suffered from the Moguls, he ordered to be put in a proper state of defence; and, after erecting some public buildings, returned to Dehly.

About this period Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun was told by one of his omras, that a number of veterans who had served in the preceding reigns, were now worn out, and incapable of further duty. The King ordered a list of them to be made, and settled half-pay upon them for life, exonerating them from active employ. The old men, however, being dissatisfied with this provision, deputed some of their number to go to Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal of Dehly with presents, to induce him to represent their case to the King. This venerable magistrate, being in great favour, rejected the presents, but told them he would use his endeavour to get their full pay continued to them. He accordingly went next day to court, and, while standing in the presence, put on a face of dejection, which being observed, the King enquired the cause. The old man replied, "I was just thinking, that if, in the presence of God, all the old men were rejected, what would become of me." The King was struck with the reproof, and after a short and pensive silence, ordered the usual full pay to be continued to the veterans.

In the fourth year of this reign, the King's nephew, Sheer Khan, who had ruled the districts of Lahore, Mooltan, Bhukkur, Surhind, Depalpoor, Bituhnda, and all the districts open to the Mogul incursions, died, and was buried at Bhutnere. Some say he was poisoned by the King's order. He was entombed at Bhutnere in an extensive mausoleum which he had there constructed for the purpose. On the demise of Sheer Khan, Soonam and Samana were granted to Ameer Teimoor Khan, and the other countries under his administration were divided among other officers of the court. The Moguls, encouraged by the death of Sheer Khan, recommenced their depredations in those provinces.

39. Soobas, governors of provinces; Zemindars, hereditary managers of the lands; Fojdars, commanders of troops.

The mutual jealousies and dissensions among the new and numerous governors were favourable to their incursions; and the King was obliged to appoint his eldest son, the Prince Mahomed, (at that time bearing the title of Taj-ool-Moolk, and afterwards known by the name of "the Martyr,") viceroy of the frontier provinces. At this time also he was publicly proclaimed the King's successor.

The Prince, accordingly, marched with a fine army, attended by some of the best generals in the service. He was a youth of promising talents, and evinced great taste in literature. With his own hand he made a choice collection of poetry, extracted from the most celebrated authors. This work contained twenty thousand couplets, which were esteemed the most select specimens of good taste then extant. Among the learned men at the Prince's court were Ameer Khoosrow[40] and Khwaja Hussun. These, with many more of his literary companions, accompanied him on this expedition to Lahore.

He was visited at Lahore by Sheikh Oothman Toormoozy, the most learned man of that age, but no presents or entreaties could prevail on him to remain out of his own country; so that, after a short stay, he returned to Tooran. We are told, that as he was one day reading one of his poems in Arabic before the Prince, all the poets who were present were transported with it, and the Prince himself shed tears. The fame of the celebrated Sheikh Sady, of Shiraz, reached the ears of the Prince Mahomed, who invited him twice to his court at Mooltan; but he excused himself on account of his age, and it was not without much importunity he was induced even to accept some presents. Sady, in return, sent to the Prince a copy of his works, and commended in high terms the abilities of Ameer Khoosrow, the Prince's favourite, and the president of his learned society. The Prince, every year, made a journey to see his father at Dehly, to whom he always behaved with the utmost filial affection and duty.

To his younger son, Kurra Khan, entitled Nasir-ood-Deen, the King made over Sumana and Soonam, as an estate. On his departure, the King advised him to recruit and discipline an army, to watch the movements of the Moguls; and warned him that, if ever he heard of his giving way to wine and his former debau-

40. Ameer Khoosrow of Dehly was the tutor of this accomplished prince.

cheries, he would certainly take away his estates, and never put confidence in him again. The Prince, adopting the advice of his father, entirely reformed his manners, and gave proofs that, though his mind had taken a wrong bias in his youth, he possessed great abilities. A place of rendezvous on the river Beea, near Lahore, was appointed, in case of invasion from the north-west, where the two princes were to join the imperial army from Dehly. Every thing seemed now in perfect security throughout the empire, when Toghrul Khan, who was entrusted with the government of Bengal, revolted.

In the year A.H. 678 (A.D. 1279), this bold and enterprizing chief led an army against the raja of Jajnuggur,[41] and others in that neighbourhood, whom he defeated, carrying off some hundreds of elephants, and much wealth. Of this spoil he made no report to the King, who at the time laboured under a fit of severe sickness, so that the news of his death was spread abroad. This intelligence having reached the ears of Toghrul, he assumed the scarlet canopy, with other royal insignia, and declared himself King of Bengal. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, hearing of this, wrote him an order to return immediately to his allegiance; which producing no effect, he appointed Aluptugeen, entitled Ameer Khan (and surnamed the Hairy), then governor of Oude, to the government of Bengal. He also sent Teimoor Khan Shumsy, Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, and Jumal-ood-Deen Kandahary, and other generals to his assistance. Aluptugeen, joined by this force, crossed the Sirjoo, now called the Gagra, and proceeded towards Bengal, whence Toghrul Khan advanced to oppose him. Toghrul Khan employed his money so well among the troops of Aluptugeen, that he gained over many of the Toorky chiefs, and attacking the royalists, gave them a total overthrow. The King, hearing this news, bit his own flesh with vexation. He ordered Aluptugeen to be hanged at the gate of Oude, and despatched Mullik Tirmuny Toork with another army against the rebel: Nor was the fate of Mullik Tirmuny more fortunate than that of his predecessor: he was also defeated, and lost all his baggage and the public treasure.

The King now prepared to take the field in person, and gave orders to collect a fleet of boats, with all expedition, to carry

41. This place is on the banks of the Mahanudda, and was the capital of Orissa, or Orixa.

his baggage down the river. In the mean time, under pretence of going on a hunting party, he went to Soonam and Samana, the province of his younger son, whom he brought with his army to Dehly, leaving Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal in charge of the government during his own absence. The King now crossed the Ganges without waiting for the dry season, and proceeded to Bengal by forced marches; but having met with much delay on account of the roads and the numerous rivers, Toghrul Khan had time to collect a large army. With all his elephants, treasure, and effects, he evacuated Bengal, and took the route of Jajnuggur, with intention to remain there till the King should return to his capital.

Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun having reached Luknowty, remained there only a few days. He appointed Hissam-ood-Deen Vakeel (grandfather of the author of the history of Feroze Shah), governor of the province, and proceded himself with his army towards Jajnuggur. At Soonargam, the zemindar of that place joined him, and promised to guard the river against Toghrul Khan, if he should endeavour to escape that way. Greias-ood-Deen Bulbun continued his march with great expedition, but could gain no intelligence of the enemy. He therefore ordered Mullik Yar Beg Birlass, with 1000 chosen horse, to advance twenty miles in front of the army, to gain information; but in spite of all enquiry, no satisfactory accounts could for several days be obtained. One day, however, the brother of Mullik Yar Beg, Mullik Mookudur, afterwards known by the name of Toghrul Koosh (the slayer of Toghrul), governor of Kole, being out with 40 horse on a reconnoitring party, saw some bullocks with pack-saddles, and having seized the drivers, made enquiries about the enemy. They obstinately pretended ignorance; but the head of one of them being struck off, the rest fell on their faces, and confessed that they had just left his camp, which was about four miles farther on. Mullik Mookudur sent the drivers to Mullik Yar Beg's camp, that he might examine them in person, and proceeded himself to reconnoitre the enemy. He saw, from a rising ground, the whole encampment extending over a plain, with the elephants and cavalry picketed, and every thing in apparent security. Having fixed his eye upon Toghrul's tents, which were pitched in the centre of the army, he determined to execute one of the boldest enterprizes perhaps ever attempted.

He advanced at full speed, with only forty men into the camp, which he was permitted to enter, being taken for one of their own parties. He continued his course direct to the head-quarters, and then ordering his men to draw their swords, rushed into the great tent of audience, which was crowded with men of distinction, and cut down all those who attempted to oppose them, crying "Victory to Sooltan Bulbun."

Toghrul Khan, who imagined he was surprized by the royal army, started from his throne in confusion, and cut his way through the tent to the rear. He mounted a horse without a saddle, and the cry having now spread through the camp, he was confirmed in his fears, and fled towards the river, with an intention of crossing and making his escape to Jajnuggur. Mullik Mookudur, having got sight of him as he fled, pusued him, and shot him with an arrow while in the act of swimming the stream. Toghrul fell from his horse, and Mullik Mookudur, plunging into the water, dragged him out by the hair, and cut off his head. At that very instant, seeing some of the enemy coming towards him, he hid the head in the sand, and sending the body into the stream, began to bathe himself in the river. The party questioned him about their king and then went off without suspicion.

Mullik Mookudur's party, in the mean time, having cut off every body they found in the royal tents, dispersed themselves in such a manner among the enemy, who were now in the utmost confusion, that most of them escaped in the crowd. Toghrul Khan being no where to be found, and the panic having run through the whole army, the flight became general, and each thought only of his personal safety. Those of the forty heroes who survived remained in the rear, till the enemy were quite gone off the field. They then came back, and chanced to meet Mullik Mookudur, with whom they returned to Mullik Yar Beg's camp, who instantly sent the head of Toghrul Khan to the King.

The King arrived the next day with the main army. He called to him the two gallant brothers, and commanded the youngest to relate the particulars of the exploit. He heard it with surprize, but instead of praising him, as he expected, he told him that his rashness was inconsistent with a due regard to prudence, and lectured much more to the same purpose. In a few days, however, he conferred high titles and honours on both brothers. Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, finding the enemy had dis-

persed, returned to Bengal, and put to death every member of the rebel's family. He did not even spare his innocent women and children; and he carried his rigour so far as to order the execution of a hundred holy mendicants, together with their chief Kullunder.[42] This man was in high favour with the rebel Toghrul, who had shortly before presented him with three maunds of gold to support his sacred fraternity. Gheias-ood-Deen having appointed his son, Kurra Khan, King of Bengal, bestowed on him the ensigns of royalty, and the spoils of Toghrul Khan, except the elephants and treasure, with which he himself returned to Dehly. The King was absent on this expedition altogether three years. After his return, he conferred dignities upon Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, who had ruled Dehly with great wisdom during his absence. He then visited the learned men at their own houses, made them rich presents, and, at their instigation, published an act of grace to all insolvent public debtors who were in confinement, striking off, at the same time, all old balances of revenues due to the crown. Notwithstanding this appearance of humanity, either the policy or natural cruelty of his disposition rendered him unmerciful to all rebels. He ordered posts to be erected in the market-place for the execution of the prisoners taken in the late expedition; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the kazies, mufties, and learned men, proceeding in a body to petition, obtained their pardon. The Prince Mahomed, having heard of his father's arrival came from Mooltan to Dehly to visit him, and was received with the greatest affection. He had scarcely been at the capital three months, during which time his father and he were inseparable, when news arrived that the Moguls had invaded Mooltan. The Prince hastened his departure to oppose them; but before he took leave, his father called him into a private apartment, and addressed him in the following manner. He told him, "that he himself had spent a long life in the administration and government of kingdoms; that by study and experience he had acquired some knowledge which might be of service to his son after his death, which in the course of nature, must now soon happen."

"When you shall ascend the throne," said he, "consider yourself as the deputy of God. Have a just sense of the import-

42. The English reader will recognise in this word the Calendar of the Arabian Nights.

ance of your charge. Permit not any meanness of behaviour in yourself to sully the lustre of your station, nor let avaricious and low-minded men share your esteem, or bear any part in your administration.

"Let your passions be governed by reason, and beware of giving way to anger. Anger is dangerous in all men, but in kings it is the instrument of death.

"Let the public treasure be expended in the service of the state with that prudent economy, yet benevolent liberality, which reason will dictate to a mind like yours, even intent on doing good.

"Let the worship of God be inculcated by your example, and never permit vice and infidelity to go unpunished.

"Be ever attentive to the business of the state, that you may avoid being imposed on by designing ministers. Make it your duty to see that they execute your commands without the least deviation or neglect, for it is through them you must govern your people.

"Let your judges and magistrates be men of capacity, religion, and virtue, that the light of justice may illuminate your realms.

"Let no levity on your part, either in public or private, detract from that important majesty which exalts the character of a king; and let every thing around you be so regulated as to inspire that reverence and awe which will render your person sacred, and contribute to enforce respect to your commands.

"Spare no pains to discover men of genius, learning, and courage. You must cherish them by kindness and munificence, that they may prove the soul of your councils, and the instruments of your authority.

"Throw not down a great man to the ground for a small crime, nor yet entirely overlook his offence. Raise not a low man too hastily to a high station, lest he forget himself, and be an eye-sore to men of superior merit.

"Never attempt any thing, unless through necessity, but what you are sure to accomplish; and having once determined upon a measure, let your perseverance be never shaken, nor your mind be ever averted from the object. For it is better for a king to be obstinate, than pusillanimous and vacillating; as in the first case he may chance to be right, in the latter he is

sure to be wrong. Nothing more certainly indicates the weakness of a prince than a wavering mind."

Having ended his instructions he embraced his son tenderly, and parted with him in tears. The Prince immediately marched against the enemy, and having expelled, with great slaughter, the Moguls who had invaded his province, recovered all the territories of which they had possessed themselves in his absence. The throne of Persia was at this time filled by Arghoon Khan, the son of Eibuk Khan, and grandson of Hoolakoo Khan, who had conquered that empire about the year 656. Teimoor Khan[43] of the family of Chungiz Khan, a prince of great renown, ruled the eastern provinces of Persia from Khorassan to the Indus, and at this time invaded Hindoostan with twenty thousand chosen horse, to revenge the death of the Moguls who had been slain during the former year. Having ravaged the country about Depalpoor and Lahore, he directed his march towards Mooltan. The Prince Mahomed, then in Mooltan, hearing of his designs, hastened to the banks of the river of Lahore, which runs through part of the Mooltan province, and prepared to oppose him. When Teimoor Khan advanced to the river, he saw the Hindoostan army on the opposite bank; but the Prince, desirous of engaging so great a chief on equal terms, permitted Teimoor Khan to pass it unmolested.

Both armies drew up in order of battle, and attacked each other with great spirit for the space of three hours, during which time both commanders were eminently distinguished. The Moguls being at last put to flight, the Indians followed them with too much eagerness. The Prince Mahomed, fatigued by the pursuit, halted on the banks of a stream, with 500 attendants, to drink, and having sated his thirst, fell prostrate upon the ground, to return God thanks for his victory.

At this time a Mogul chief, who had concealed himself with two thousand horse in a neighbouring wood, rushed upon his party. The Prince had only just time to mount, and collecting his small band, encouraged them by his example. They defended themselves desperately; but at length the Prince, over-

43. This person was governor of Ghizny, and must not be confounded with Ameer Teimoor Koorkan, known to us by the name of Tamerlane.

powered by numbers, and having received several wounds (after having thrice obliged the Moguls to give ground), fell, and in a few minutes expired. A detachment of the Indian army appearing that instant, the Moguls took to flight. Few of the Prince's party survived this unfortunate conflict. Among those who fell into the hands of the Moguls was the Prince's favourite and tutor, Ameer Khoosrow, who procured his liberty in the way mentioned in his poem entitled Khizr Khany.

When the army returned from the pursuit of Teimoor Khan, and beheld their Prince weltering in his blood, the shouts of victory were changed to wailings of woe. Not a dry eye was to be seen from the meanest soldier to the general. The fatal news reached the old King, now in his eightieth year, who was so much distressed, that life became irksome to him; but bearing up against his misfortune, he sent Kei Khoosrow, his grandson (the son of the deceased), to supply the place of his father. On his arrival at Mooltan, this Prince took the command of the army, and began to provide for the defence of the frontier.

The King, perceiving himself fast sinking from the weight of his affliction, sent for his son Kurra Khan from Bengal, and appointed him his successor; at the same time insisting, that he should continue with him at Dehly till his death, and appoint a deputy for his government of Bengal. To this Kurra Khan consented; but conceiving his father's illness was not likely to come so soon to a crisis as he expected, he returned to Bengal without acquainting him of his intention. This undutiful behaviour threw the old man into the deepest grief, and induced him to send for his grandson, Kei Khoosrow, from Mooltan. The Prince hastening to his presence, a council of the nobles was called, and the succession was changed in his favour, all of the officers promising to enforce Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun's last will, in favour of this young Prince. The King, in a few days, expired, in the year A.H. 685 (A.D. 1286), after a reign of 21 years. Immediately upon the death of the Emperor, Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, chief magistrate of Dehly, having assembled the chiefs, and having been always at variance with the father of Kei Khoosrow, addressed them upon the present state of affairs. He stated that Kei Khoosrow was a young man of a violent and untractable disposition, and therefore unfit to reign; he also observed, that the power of the Prince Kurra Khan was

so great, that a civil war was to be apprehended if the succession should not be continued in his family, and that, consequently, as the father was absent, it would be most prudent for the nobles to place the reins of government in the hands of his son Keikobad, a prince of mild disposition, and then present in Dehly. So great was the influence of this minister at the time, that he procured the throne for Keikobad; and Kei Khoosrow, glad to escape with life, returned to his former government of Lahore.

In the glorious reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun there flourished at Dehly, besides the great men we have already mentioned, the learned and celebrated Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Musaood entitled Shukurgunj; Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia, and his son; also Sheikh Budr-ood-Deen Aarif of Ghizny, the philosopher; the learned and holy Kootb-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Kaky; Siddy Mowla, and many more, eminent in various branches of science and literature.

KEIKOBAD

As soon as the late King was numbered with the dead, his grandson, Keikobad, the son of Nasir-ood-Deen, Kurra Khan, then in his eighteenth year, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Moiz-ood-Deen. This prince was remarkably handsome in his person, and of an affable and mild disposition. He had a taste for literature, and his knowledge of books was considerable. His mother was a beautiful princess, daughter of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish; and if purity of blood is of any real worth, Keikobad had that to boast of for a series of generations.

As he had been bred up with great rigour under his father, when he became master of his own actions, he began to give a loose to pleasure without restraint. His own pursuits soon became the fashion at court, and in a short time licentiousness and vice prevailed to such an extent, that every shady grove was filled with women and parties of pleasure, and every street rung with riot and tumult, so that even the magistrates were seen drunk in public, and music was heard in every house.

The King, having fitted up a palace at Kelookery, on the banks of the Jumna, retired thither to enjoy himself undisturbed, admitting no company but singers, players, musicians, and

buffoons. Mullik Nizam-ood-Deen, nephew and son-in-law of the Ameer-ool-Omra (Mullik Fakhr-ood-Deen Kotwal), was raised to the office of chief secretary, and got the reins of government into his hands, while Mullik Kowam-ood-Deen, more celebrated for his learning than for his qualities as a statesman, was appointed his deputy. Nizam-ood-Deen, perceiving the King wholly engrossed by his pleasures, formed a design to usurp the throne. The first object of his attention was Kei Khoosrow. That Prince had gone to Ghizny, and endeavoured to induce Teimoor Khan, the viceroy of the province, to aid him with troops, in deposing his cousin, Keikobad; but he failed in the attempt; and, moreover, found that he had few friends in that quarter. He therefore petitioned the King to be allowed to retain Mooltan, and the western provinces.

In the mean time Nizam-ood-Deen contrived to render this Prince as obnoxious as possible to the King. He prevailed on Kei Khoosrow to visit Dehly, and hired assassins for the purpose, who murdered him on his way to the capital, at the village of Rohtuk. Nizam-ood-Deen also forged a correspondence between Khwaja Khutteer the Vizier and Kei Khoosrow, and effected that minsiter's disgrace and banishment. Besides which, he caused all the old servants of the late King to be secretly cut off one after another, so that although general dismay prevailed throughout the city, none as yet suspected Mullik Nizam-ood-Deen as the cause.

In this state of affairs, advices arrived of another invasion of the districts of Lahore, by the Moguls. Mullik Yar Beg Birlass and Khan Jehan were sent with an army against them; the Moguls were defeated near Lahore, and numbers of prisoners were brought to Dehly. It was at this period that the minister inspired the King with jealousy of his Mogul troops, who, as soldiers of fortune, had been enlisted in vast numbers into the service. He pretended that, in case of a Mogul invasion, they would certainly join their countrymen; and he insinuated, at the same time, that he believed there already existed some secret understanding between them.

Keikobad listened to these insinuations, and one day, having assembled the Mogul chiefs, he caused them to be treacherously cut off by his guards, and seized all their private property. He also imprisoned all the omras who had any connection with the Moguls, and sent them to garrisons in remote parts of the king-

dom. So blind was Keikobad to his own situation, and so infatuated by his minister, that when any of his father's friends hinted at the motives of the minister's conduct, he immediately called for Nizam-ood-Deen himself, and told him all that had been said against him.

While Mullik Nizam-ood-Deen was thus busily engaged in public and in the presence, his wife was no less active in the seraglio. She had all the ladies at her devotion; and gained such influence, that she was called familiarly the Queen-mother. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, the father-in-law of Nizam-ood-Deen, now in his ninetieth year, having penetrated the designs of his son-in-law, the minister, sent for him to his house, and used every argument to restrain him in the exercise of his power. The minister did not deny the truth of his reasoning, but affirmed that he had no intentions beyond that of securing the King's favour; that having unfortunately disobliged so many people, he found it dangerous to allow his influence to decline.

Kurra Khan, the Emperor's father, who had hitherto contented himself with the kingdom of Bengal, having heard of the state of affairs at Dehly, wrote to his son, warning him of his danger, and advising him how to act. But his admonition was of no avail; and Kurra Khan, seeing not only that his advice was neglected, but conceiving that matters must soon be brought to a crisis, collected his army, and marched towards Dehly, about two years after the death of his father, the late King. Keikobad, hearing that his father had advanced as far as Behar, marched to oppose him, and encamped his army upon the banks of Gagra. Kurra Khan lay upon the Surjoo; and both armies remained some days in hourly expectation of an action. The old man, finding himself much inferior in power to his son, began to despair of reducing him by force, and accordingly opened a negotiation.

The young Prince assumed a haughty tone; and, by the advice of his minister, prepared for battle. At this moment, a letter was brought to the King from his father, written in his own hand, couched in the most tender and affectionate terms; begging he might be blessed with one sight of his son before matters were carried to extremities. This letter awakened the dormant feelings of his nature, and he gave orders to prepare his retinue, that he might visit his father. The favourite attempted in vain to prevent

the interview; but finding the Prince resolute, he prevailed on him to insist, as King of Dehly, on the first visit; hoping, by this means, to break off the conference. His design, however, did not succeed; for Kurra Khan, determining not to be over-reached by this device, consented to pay his son the first visit, and ordering the astrologers to determine on a lucky hour, he crossed the river, and proceeded towards his son's camp.

Keikobad, having prepared every thing for his father's reception in the most pompous and ceremonious manner, ascended his throne, and gave directions that his father, on his approach, should kiss the ground three times. The old man, accordingly, on reaching the outer tents, was ordered to dismount; and when he came in sight of the throne, was commanded to pay his obeisance in three different places as he advanced, the officer of the gold stick crying out, according to custom, "Kurra Khan comes to humble himself before the King of the universe."

Kurra Khan was so vexed at this indignity, that he burst into tears; which being observed by his son, he could no longer support the scene, but leaping from his throne, fell on his face at his father's feet, imploring his forgiveness and blessing. Kurra Khan raised him in his arms, embraced him, and for some time clung to his neck, weeping aloud. The whole scene was so affecting, that almost all the court began to wipe the tears from their eyes.

The first transports of joy being over, the young King caused his father to ascend the throne, and paying him his respects, took his seat on his right hand. He then ordered a salver full of gold coin to be waved three times over his father's head, and distributed it among his retainers; after which the nobles of the court were also required to make presents. This meeting being over, and Kurra Khan having returned to his camp, a friendly intercourse was maintained between the two princes for twenty days; during which the father and son alternately visited each other, and the time was given up to festivity and joy. The only terms which were settled between the two kings were, that each should retain his former dominions, to which they both prepared to return. Before they separated, however, Kurra Khan called his son, the minister, and his deputy, into a private apartment, and gave them advice as to their future conduct in the government. Having then embraced Keikobad, he whispered in his ear,

to rid himself of Nizam-ood-Deen as soon as possible; after which they parted in tears, and returned to their respective capitals. Kurra Khan was much affected, and told his friends, on his return to his own camp, that he had parted with his son for ever, for he was still apprehensive of the minister, and of the wayward disposition of the young King.

When Keikobad arrived in Dehly, the advice of his father for a few days seemed to have had some influence on him, but it was not the interest of Nizam-ood-Deen that he should reform his habits. The minister, therefore, soon led him back to his pleasures; and for this purpose collected a number of beautiful women, graceful dancers, and good singers, from all parts of the kingdom, whom he occasionally introduced as if by accident. One day, while the King was riding out, he was accosted by a beautiful female mounted on a fine Arabian horse, with a tiara of jewels upon her head. A thin white robe, spangled with golden flowers, flowed loosely over her rounded shoulders, and a sparkling girdle of gems encircled her slender waist. This fair creature, throwing herself, as if by accident, in the King's way, displayed a thousand charms, while, at the same time she sang a love song. Then, suddenly, stopping short, she begged pardon for her intrusion, and, would not, without much entreaty, proceed. The King was struck with her beauty, and immediately dismounting, ordered his tents to be pitched, and devoted that evening to her society. This female was as remarkable for her talent as for her beauty. While she was dancing, the King broke into rapture, and frequently repeated some verses alluding to her charms. She answered every time extempore, in the same measure, and with so much wit and elegance, that the whole court was astonished.

The King, abandoning himself to his former course of dissipation, wine, and excess, completely undermined his constitution, and he began to reflect on his father's advice. He now believed Nizam-ood-Deen to be the real cause of his present situation, and he formed the resolution to rid himself of that minister. In the first instance, he directed him to take charge of the government of Mooltan; but Nizam-ood-Deen, penetrating the King's motives, contrived many delays, in order to obtain a favourable opportunity to accomplish his own views towards the throne. His schemes, however, were frustrated by the King's vigilance, who, finding he could not remove him from his presence, employed

some of the nobles of the court, known to be inimical to him, to poison him. At this conjuncture, Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, the son of Mullik Yooghrish Khiljy, who was deputy governor of Samana, came, by the King's orders, to court, and there received the title of Shaista Khan, and became Aariz-ool-Moomalik,[44] with the district of Birm for his maintenance. Mullik Atmeer Kuchun was promoted to the office of Barbik,[45] and Mullik Ahmeer Soorkha was created Vakeel-i-Dur.[46] These three officers divided the whole power of the government amongst them, the King having now become paralytic. In this state of affairs, every noble began to intrigue for power; and the Mogul omras, who professed attachment to the royal family, got possession of the Prince Keiomoors, an infant of three years of age (the King's only child), out of the haram, in order to place him on the throne. This gave rise to two factions, who encamped on opposite sides of the city. The Moguls espoused the cause of the young King, and the Khiljies that of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze. The latter marched with his party to Bahâdurpoor, a measure forced upon him by the opposite party, headed by Mullik Atmeer Kuchun, and Mullik Atmeer Soorkha, who, jealous of the power of the Khiljies, had issued a proclamation proscribing by name all the principal Khiljian officers.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, the first on the list, naturally placed himself in a posture of defence. Mullik Atmeer Kuchun had been deputed by the Mogul party to invite Julal-ood-Deen Feroze to a conference with the sick King, when a plot was formed for his assassination; but having obtained secret information of the measure, he slew the person who came to invite him, with his own hands, at the door of his tent. The sons of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, renowned for their courage, immediately put themselves at the head of 500 chosen horse, and making an assault on the camp of the Moguls, cut their way to the royal tents, pitched in

44. Aariz-ool Moomalik is the officer through whom petitions are presented.

45. Barbik is a Turkish title for one of the classes of the gold stick: it may be rendered by the title "gentleman usher," in the courts of Europe.

46. Vakeel-i-Dur was the officer who superintended the ceremonies of presentation. All persons of rank were first brought into his apartments, and remained there till the King was prepared to give audience. It answers to the kapoochy-bashy of the Ottoman court.

the centre of the army, and seizing the infant king, carried him off, together with the sons of Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, in spite of opposition. Mullik Atmeer Soorkha pursued them in their flight, but lost his life in the attempt, with many other Mogul chiefs of distinction. When this exploit became known in the city, the mob flew to arms. They marched out in thousands, and encamping at the Budaoon gate, prepared to go against Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, and rescue the infant King, for they greatly dreaded the power of the Khiljies. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, the old minister, so often mentioned in the former reign, dreading lest this step should lead to the death of the young Prince, and of his own sons, who were in the hands of the Khiljies, exerted his great influence and authority among the people, and, with some difficulty, induced them to disperse. Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, in the mean time, sent assassins to cut off the Emperor Keikobad, who lay sick at Kelookery. The ruffians found him lying on his bed, in a dying state, entirely deserted by all his attendants. They beat out his brains with bludgeons, and then, rolling him up in the bed-clothes, threw him out of the window into the river. The chief assassin was a Tartar of some family; whose father had been unjustly put to death by Keikobad, and who willingly undertook the office out of revenge. After the commission of this horrid act, Mullik Julal-ood-Deen Feroze ascended the throne, assuming the title of Julal-ood-Deen, and thus put an end to the dynasty of Ghoory, and established that of Khiljy; Jujhoo, nephew to Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, and deemed the rightful heir to the throne, having the district of Kurra conferred on him for his maintenance. Julal-ood-Deen Feroze now occupied the palace, and was proclaimed King with great solemnity; but, to complete his cruel policy, he, in the end, caused the young prince to be put to death.

This revolution happened in the year A.H. 687 (A.D. 1288); the reign of Keikobad having lasted rather more than three years. Eternity belongs only to God, the great Sovereign of the universe.

JULAL-OOD-DEEN FEROZE KHILJY

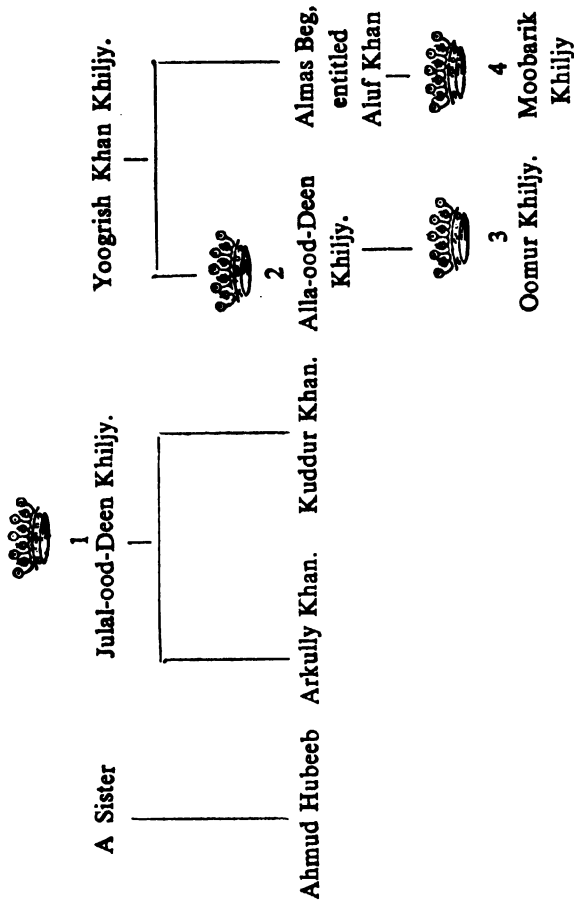
NIZAM-OOD-DEEN AHMUD relates, that he has seen, in some respectable work, that the tribe of Khulich or Kalij, is descended from Khulich Khan, a son-in-law of Chungiz Khan, and that his

SECOND TARTAR DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

DENOMINATED KHILJY.

A Sister
- Ahmud Hubeeb

1 Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy.
- Arkully Khan.
- Kuddur Khan.

Yoogrish Khan Khiljy.
- 2 Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy.
  - 3 Oomur Khiljy.
- Almas Beg, entitled Aluf Khan
  - 4 Moobarik Khiljy

history is this. Kalij Khan and his wife constantly disagreed, but he was afraid of throwing her off on account of the power of his father-in-law. At length, when Chungiz, having pursued Julal-ood-Deen Khwaruzm Shah to the banks of the Indus, was on his return towards Eeram and Tooran, Kalij Khan, being well acquainted with the mountainous country of Ghoor and Joorjistan, watched his opportunity to throw off his allegiance to Chungiz Khan, and remained with his tribe, amounting to 30,000 families, in those hills. Upon the death of Chungiz Khan, none of his descendants thought fit to persecute Kalij Khan, who remained ever since in those hills; and, as the race of Ghoor was now seated on the throne of India, the Khiljies, on account of their vicinity, went to Dehly in parties, and remained there. Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy of Dehly, and Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Mando, are both descended from Kalij Khan, vulgarly called Khalij Khan, and from him the tribe is called Khiljy. But, according to the author of the Suljook-nama, Toork, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, had eleven children, one of whom was called Khulich; and from him are descended the Khilchies or Khiljies. I conceive this account the most probable of the two, because the Khiljies are often mentioned in the histories of the Kings of Ghizny, particularly in the reigns of Subooktugeen and Sooltan Mahmood; and it is certain, that they existed anterior to the time of Chungiz Khan; but it is possible that Kalij Khan might be of the tribe of Khiljy, and that the father of Julal-ood-Deen, and the ancestor of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, may have both been descended in a direct line from him.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, at first, preserved, for some months, the young Prince Keiomoors alive, as a cloak to his usurpation; but having established himself firmly in his government, he caused him to be put to death. He was himself seventy years of age when he ascended the throne. He changed the colour of the royal umbrella from red to white; and was guilty of no further acts of cruelty, after the death of the young Prince, but became distinguished for his humanity and benevolence. He had no great confidence in the loyalty of the people of Dehly, and therefore resided at Kelookery, which he strengthened with fortifications, and beautified with fine gardens and terraced walks by the side of the river. The omras, following the King's example, built palaces around, so that Kelookery became known by the name

of the new city. Yooghrish Khan, the King's brother, was appointed Aariz-ool-Moomalik: the King's eldest son, Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, received the title of Khan Khanan, and the second son that of Urdully Khan;[47] on each of whom estates were conferred, and they maintained separate establishments.

In like manner the King took under his especial protection his two nephews, Alla-ood-Deen and Almas Beg, the sons of his brother, Shahab-ood-Deen Musaood. He raised the former to high rank in the army, and the latter, who is known under the title of Alugh Khan, was made Master of the Horse (Akhoor Beg). He also appointed his nephew, Mullik Ahmud Hubeeb (his sister's son), to the office of Barbik. Mullik Khoorum was nominated Ameer-i-Dur, Khwaja Khuteer was made Prime Minister, and Fukhr-ood-Deen Mullik-ool-Omra retained his office of Kotwal.[48]

The chiefs and nobles of Dehly, who had for sixty years paid obeisance to the throne of the Toorks, and had always revolted at the idea of subjection to the Khiljies, forgot for the moment their wonted animosity to this race, and were so well pleased with the commencement of the reign of Feroze Khiljy, that they resorted to the new city of Dehly, and ranged themselves around his throne.

After being well satisfied of the disposition of all classes towards him, the King left Kelookery, and entered old Dehly in great pomp at the head of a splendid retinue. On arriving at the palace, he prostrated himself twice before the threshold, and then having ascended the throne, raised his eyes and hands to heaven, in the sight of the court, and exclaimed with a loud voice, "How shall I ever be able to acquit myself of the gratitude I owe to my God for these great benefits; who hath raised me to that throne, before which I have been accustomed all my life to bow down, and who hath preferred me to this dignity, while my compeers, many of whom are equally, and even more deserving, stand around with their arms folded, in token of obedience." From thence he went towards the "Ruby Palace," where he dismounted, as usual, at the outer gate. His nephew,

47. I have been unable to satisfy myself as to the true reading of this word.

48. The office of Kotwal embraces the regulation of the town police, and the public market. The Kotwal also regulates the hire of cattle, and provides carriage for the government and for travellers.

Ahmud Hubèeb, observed, "Now that this palace belongs to your Majesty, why do you dismount at the outer gate." He replied, "Under every circumstance, respect is due to my former Prince and patron Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, who inhabited this palace." His nephew Ahmud Hubeeb said, "Your Majesty will, at all events, of course, make it your dwelling." The King answered by saying, "This palace was built by Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, when he was only a noble of the state, it is therefore the private property of his family, and I have no right to occupy it." His nephew observing, that "he would find such minute distinctions inconsistent with the great duties of a throne," the King said, "It might be so; but that considering his age, and the few years which, in the coure of nature, were allotted to him, he could invade no man's property without compunction of conscience." He accordingly continued to proceed on foot through the several court-yards, and even when he entered the hall of audience, he took a seat on the spot where he was accustomed to stand among the nobles. He then said, "May God confound the house of Atmeer Kuchun, and Atmeer Soorkha, who, by aiming at my life, compelled me, from motives of self-preservation, to adopt these measures. Had this not been the case, I had still been in my former station, and God knows how far that was removed from the throne of Dehly. I was content to have passed my life with the title of Mullik or Khan, but having attained this elevation, I am now astounded to think how I shall fill it. For since, in spite of the munificence and talents of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun and his posterity, they were unable to retain the reins of government in their hands, how shall I be able to support the office to which I am raised. God only knows, how it may fare either with me or my descendants." Some of the nobles of the court, famed for their experience and wisdom, held down their heads, and seemed lost in deep reflection, while others, young and bold, said to each other, "This is a strange sort of a king, who has hardly placed his foot on the throne, but he begins to think on the chance of losing it again. How will he ever bring himself to assume that bold and prompt line of conduct which dares to punish, and seeks to remunerate, when circumstances require him to do so?" In the evening of the same day, the King returned to the new city, where, for the present, he resided; and shortly after, he bestowed in marriage his two daughters (both remark-

able for their beauty) on his nephews, whom he had taken under his protection, viz, Alla-ood-Deen, and Almas Beg, (the latter) entitled Alugh Khan.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze Khljy was celebrated during his reign for many amiable qualities, and particularly for his mercy and benevolence. He hardly ever punished a fault among his dependents, and was never known to lay violent hands on the property of his wealthy subjects, as is too often the case with despotic monarchs. He was in the habit of associating familiarly, even after his accession, with his former acquaintances, and joining their parties, and drinking wine in moderation with them, the same as before.

The following persons are those whom he honoured with his personal friendship, and who were among his principal private associates:—

Mullik-Taj-ood-Deen Koochy.
Mullik-Fukhr-ood-Deen Koochy.
Mullik-Eiz-ood-Deen Ghoory.
Mullik-Kurra Beg.
Mullik-Noosrut Subbah.
Mullik-Ahmud Hubeeb.
Mullik-Kumal-ood-Deen, Abool Maaly.
Mullik-Nuseer-ood-Deen Kohramy.
Mullik-Saad-ood-Deen Muntuky.[49]

49. It is instructive and interesting to trace throughout this work the various distinctions which marked the several races of conquerors in the appellations belonging to their chiefs. Thus, among the early Arabians, we find the simple title of "Sheikh," with the family surname appended, or some distinguishing characteristic of the individual. The caliphs first brought into use those high-sounding titles, the cheap but valued reward of military merit; such as, "The Commander of those to be saved," "The Lion of God," "The Sword of the Lord,' "The Defender of the Faith," "The Splendour of Religion," "The Glory of the Faithful," "The Strength of the Government," "The Right Arm of the State," with numerous others. The northern races, from the regions of Tartary, seem each to have had some peculiar title. In the time of the Samany kings, we find the affix of "Tash" and "Tugeen" to prevail. The Suljook Toorkmans introduced the word "Beg or Bey," to the south; the Moguls brought that of "Khan;" while the race of Khiljy, of whose origin we have so little satisfactory information, but which we must believe to have adopted Afghan habits, at the period we are now about to treat, seem to have been partial to the appellation of "Mullik" or

These persons were distinguished as well for their courage and sense as for their wit and good humour.

The following learned men were also frequently admitted to the King's private parties:—

Taj-ood-Deen Eeraky.
Ameer-Khoosrow.
Khwaja-Hussun.
Moveiud Deewana.
Ameer-Arslan Kulamy.
Yekhtyar-ood-Deen Yaghy.
Baky Khuteer.

All these were distinguished for their erudition, and were authors of works of poetry, of history, or of science.

These parties were usually enlivened by the best singers, such as Ameer Khassa, and Humeed Raja; and the best instrumental performers; such as

Mahomed Shah Hutky.
Futtoo Shah.
Nusseer Khan.
Behroze.

Ameer Khoosrow hardly allowed a party to take place, without having prepared some new poetry or song for the occasion, for which he was usually rewarded on the spot. During the time Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy held the office of Aariz-ool-Moomalik, in the reign of the late King (Keikobad), he settled a pension on Ameer Khoosrow; but now having appointed him librarian, he was raised to the rank of an ameer, and was permitted to wear white garments, a distinction confined to the blood-royal, and to the nobles of the court. In the second year of his reign, Mullik Jujhoo, the nephew of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, at the instigation of Ameer Ally the master of the robes, who held the government of Oude under the new title of Hatim Khan, assumed royal privileges in his government of Kurra, caused new coin to be struck, and a white canopy to be placed over his head, and proclaimed himself King, under the title of Sooltan Moogheis-ood-Deen. He was joined by most of the nobles of the

"Malech," a title they used in common with the Jews, from whom the Afghans pretend to derive their origin.

house of Bulbun, as well as by several rajas of consequence in that quarter. With these reinforcements, he had the boldness to march towards Dehly.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, hearing of these events appointed his son the Prince Arkully Khan, with a select body of Khiljian cavalry, to proceed in advance, himself following with the main army, against the rebels. Arkully Khan encountered the enemy about twenty-five miles from the city, and repulsed them after an obstinate engagement. Several omras were made prisoners during the pursuit, among whom was Ameer Ally, the governor of Oude. These were placed on camels, with boughs of trees hung round their necks, and in that condition sent to his father. When Julal-ood-Deen Feroze saw them, he instantly ordered them to be unbound, to have a change of linen given them, and an entertainment to be provided; and having called them before him, repeated a verse to this purpose: "Evil for evil is easily returned, but he only is great who returns good for evil." They were then commanded to retire, in full assurance of his forgiveness. Jujhoo, some days after, being taken by the zemindars, was sent prisoner to the King, who instead of condemning him to death, as was expected, gave him a free pardon, and sent him to Mooltan, where he had a handsome establishment for life.

The King's lenity was universally condemned by the Khiljy chiefs, who strongly recommended him to adopt the policy of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, never to pardon a traitor. They said, at all events, the rebels should be deprived of sight, to deter them from further mischief, and as an example to others. If this were not done, they asserted, that treason would soon raise its head in every quarter of the empire; and, should the Moguls once gain the superiority, they would erase the very name of Khiljy out of Hindoostan. The King answered, that what they said was certainly according to the ordinary rules of policy; but, my friends, said he, "I am now old, and I wish to go down to the grave without shedding more blood."

The King's mistaken lenity seems to have soon produced the effect which these chiefs foresaw. Clemency is a virtue which descends from God; but the degenerate children of India of that age did not deserve it. The King's sentiments having become public, no security was any longer found. The streets and highways were infested by thieves and banditti. Housebreaking, robbery, murder,

and every other species of crime, was committed by many who adopted them as a means of subsistence. Insurrections prevailed in every province; numerous gangs of freebooters interrupted commerce, and even common intercourse. Add to which, the King's governors neglected to render any account, either of their revenues or of their administration.

The Khiljy chieftains, deeply affected by these proceedings, did not hesitate to refer the whole blame to their sovereign. They even began to consult about deposing him, and raising to the throne Mullik Taj-ood-Deen Koochy, a man of some influence, and of great promptness and resolution. For this purpose they met one day at his house, and, in their cups, began openly to talk of assassinating the King, and even went so far as to dispute which of them should have the glory of striking the blow. While in this situation, one of the company privately withdrew, and, running to Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, repeated circumstantially every particular of what had passed. The King immediately sent a guard to surround the house, which seized the conspirators, and brought them before the King. He upbraided them with their treason, and having drawn his sword, threw it on the ground, and challenged the boldest of them to wield it against him; but they fell on their faces, and remained silent and confounded. One of them, however, Mullik Noosrut, who had more assurance and presence of mind than the rest, told the King, that words uttered by men in a state of intoxication were but as the empty air. "Where shall we ever find," said he, "so good and gracious a sovereign; or where can the King hope to obtain such faithful servants, should he condemn us for a little unguarded sally?" The King, pleased with this mode of treating the affair, smiling, called for wine, and after giving him a cup with his own hand, dismissed the whole, not without severely reproaching them with their conduct.[50]

The execution of the Dervish Siddy Mowla is one of the most remarkable events in this reign. This event has been thus transmitted to us through the histories Zeea Burny and Sudr Jehan, of Guzerat.

50. Those persons who have had an opportunity of being acquainted with the equality maintained by Mahomedans in India towards each other, under all circumstances, and especially the Afghans, will be capable of appreciating the truth of this picture.

Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal, of Dehly, died about this time. His death reduced to poverty many of the ancient families of the time of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, which he had long supported at his own private expense. Among others, were 12,000 readers of the Koran, and some thousand domestic dependents. All these looked to Siddy Mowla for their maintenance. According to Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen Beejapoory, this holy man, in the character of a religious mendicant, had travelled from Joorjan, in Persia, to the west, where he visited various countries, and had kept company with men famous for piety and learning. He then returned, and eventually came to Hindoostan to visit Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen, Shukr-Gunj, with whom he resided for some time. In the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, having an inclination to see Dehly, he took leave of his friend, who strenuously advised him to cultivate no intimacy with the great men of the court, telling him, such connection would, in the end, prove fatal to him.

Siddy Mowla arrived at Dehly, and instituted an academy, and a house of entertainment for travellers, fakeers, and the poor of all denominations, turning none away from his door. Though very religious, and brought up in the Mahomedan faith, yet he adopted some particular doctrines of his own, which caused him to neglect attendance at public worship. He kept no women, nor slaves, and lived upon rice only; yet his expences, in charity, were so great, that, as he never accepted of any presents, men were astonished whence his finances were supplied, and actually believed that he understood the science of alchemy. After the death of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, he became still more extravagant, not only bestowing larger sums in charity, but expending more profusely in his entertainments, which were now frequented by all the great men of the city. He made nothing of bestowing 2000 or 3000 pieces of gold to relieve the wants of any noble family in distress. In short, he displayed more magnificence in his feasts than the princes themselves. Some idea may be formed of his charities when we find it asserted, that he expended daily, upon the poor, about 1000 maunds of flour, 500 maunds of meat, 200 maunds of sugar, besides rice, oil, butter, and other necessaries in proportion. The populace usually crowded his gates daily in such numbers that it was scarcely possible to pass; besides which, the King's sons, and other princes of the court,

resorted to him with their retenues, and spent whole days and nights either in festivity or in philosophical conversation. To these expences (after the death of Fukhr-ood-Deen Kotwal) the Dervish Siddy Mowla added the maintenance of the numerous dependents of the Kotwal. At this time, also Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany, a man of intriguing disposition, having obtained the entire confidence of Siddy Mowla, began to inspire the philosopher with views of ambition. He told him, that the people looked on him as sent from God to deliver the kingdom from the tyranny and oppression of the Khiljies, and to bless Hindoostan with a wise and just government.

Siddy Mowla suffered himself to be deluded, and privately began to bestow titles and offices upon his disciples, and to assume a tone and manner sufficiently indicative of his design on the throne. He engaged Meer Mohsun Kotwal and Nutty Pyhlwan, two of his followers, to join in the King's retinue on Friday, as he went to the public mosque, and to assassinate him; while he himself prepared about 10,000 of his adherents to support his usurpation. One of his followers, however, dissatisfied with the part assigned to him in the approaching revolution, went privately to the King, and disclosed the plot.

The King caused both Siddy Mowla and Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany to be apprehended, and brought before him for examination. They persisted in their innocence, and as no other witness appeared against them, the accusation was rendered doubtful. The King, therefore, caused a fire to be prepared in the plain of Bahadurpoor, in order that they might be submitted to the fiery ordeal to purge themselves of their guilt; and having left the city to see the ceremony, he ordered a circle to be railed off round the pile.

Siddy Mowla, and the others accused were then brought, in order that they might walk ttrough the flames to prove their innocence. Having said their prayers, they were just about to plunge into the fire, when the King stopped them, and turning to his ministers, asked, if it was lawful to try Mussulmans by the fiery ordeal? They unanimously declared, that it was the nature of fire to consume, paying no respect to the righteous more than to the wicked; and they also pronounced the practice to be heathenish, and contrary to the Mahomedan law, as well as to reason.

The King now directed Kazy Julal-ood-Deen Kashany to be sent prisoner to Budaoon, and Siddy Mowla to be confined in a vault under the palace, and two other men, who had engaged to perpetrate the King's assassination, to be publicly executed. At the same time, he banished a number of those who were suspected of being accessaries. While the police were carrying Siddy Mowla through the court to his prison, the King pointed him out to some Kalendars who stood near the throne, and said, "Behold the man who was projecting such an evil against us. I leave him to be judged by you, according to his deserts." At these words, a Kalendar, whose name was Sunjurry, started forth, and running towards the prisoner, began to cut him with a razor.

Siddy Mowla, without offering resistance, entreated him to be more expeditious in sending him, to God. He then addressed himself to the King, who was looking over the balcony, and said, "I am rejoiced that you have thought of putting a period to my life at once; yet it is sinful to distress the pious and the innocent; and be assured that my curse will lie heavy upon you and your unfortunate posterity." The King hearing these words, became pensive and perplexed. His son, the Prince Arkully Khan, who hated Siddy Mowla for the great intimacy which existed between him and his elder brother, Khan Khanan, seeing the Emperor's irresolution, beckoned to an elephant rider, who was in the court ready mounted, to advance, and tread Siddy Mowla to death. Zeea Burny, the author of the history of Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, informs us that he himself was then in Dehly, and that immediately after the death of Siddy Mowla, a black whirlwind arose, which, for the space of half an hour, changed day into night, and drove the people in the streets against one another, so that they could scarce grope their way to their own habitations.

The same author relates, that no rain fell in these provinces during that year A.H. 690 (A.D. 1291); and a famine ensued, by which thousands of Hindoos daily died in the streets and highways, while whole families drowned themselves in the river.

The prosperity of the King began visibly to decline; for every day new factions and disputes arose, which greatly disturbed his administration. Domestic calamities also pressed hard upon him, among which was the illness of his eldest son Khan Khanan. Medicines were of no avail; and the distemper gaining ground, that Prince fell a victim to the disease in a few days.

The King, after the decease of his son, marched his army towards Runtunbhore, to quell an insurrection in those parts, leaving his son Arkully Khan in Dehly, to manage affairs in his absence. The enemy retired into the fort of Runtunbhore, and the King reconnoitred the place, but, despairing of reducing it, marched towards Oojein, which he sacked. At the same time also, he broke down many of the temples of Malwa, and after plundering them of much wealth, returned to Runtunbhore. He summoned the fort a second time; but finding the Raja paid no attention to his threats, he gave orders to undermine the walls. But again wavering in his resolution, he decamped, saying, that he found the place could not be taken without the loss of many lives, and therefore he would lay aside the design. Mullik Ahmud Hubeeb, his nephew and minister, replied, that kings, in the time of war, should make no account of such things, when compelled to exertion by justice, and the necessity of supporting their authority, as was in this instance plainly the case. The King, becoming angry, observed, "These even may be my own sentiments; but I have often told you," said he, "that being now on the brink of the grave, I am unwilling to entail the curse of widows and orphans upon me in a reign of a few days." He accordingly continued his march to Dehly.

In the year A.H. 691 (A.D. 1292), one of the kinsmen of Hoolakoo Khan, grandson of the great Chungiz Khan, invaded Hindoostan with ten tomans of Moguls (a toman signifying 10,000 horse). Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, having received advices of the approach of the enemy, collected his army and moved forward to oppose them. On reaching the frontiers of Beiram,[51] the Moguls were perceived in front beyond a small river. Both armies encamped for the space of five days upon either side of this stream, during which time their advanced posts skirmished frequently, with some losses on either side. At length, as if by mutual consent, they selected an extensive plain on which on the sixth morning they drew up in order of battle, and fought a general action. The Moguls, after an obstinate contest, were defeated, many of their chiefs slain, and about a thousand prisoners taken. Among the latter were two omras, and several officers of distinction. The King, however, did not avail himself

51. This is probably, some error in all my manuscripts.

of the victory, but granted peace to the invaders, with permission to withdraw from his dominions. The Moguls having gladly accepted these terms, presents were interchanged as tokens of amity. When the Moguls retreated, Oghloo Khan, a grandson of Chungiz Khan, perceiving that he had little chance of power or distinction among the many blood relations of that warrior who were still alive, induced 3000 of his countrymen to join Julal-ood-Deen Feroze, whose daughter was given to him in marriage.

These Moguls all became Mahomedans. The King, about this time, having appointed his son, Arkully Khan, viceroy of Lahore, Mooltan, and Sind, and having left a strong force with him, returned to his capital. To Oghloo Khan, and the rest of the Moguls, was allotted a spot, near, Gheiaspoor, the burial-place of Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia, where they settled, and which is called Mogulpoora to this day.

In the year A.H. 692 (A.D. 1293), the King marched against the Hindoos in the neighbourhood of Mando, and having devastated the country in that vicinity, returned to Dehly. In the mean time, Mullik Alla-ood-Deen, the King's nephew, governor of Kurra, requested permission to attack the Hindoos of Bhilsa, who infested his province. Having obtained leave, he marched in the same year to that place, which he subdued; and having pillaged the country, returned with much spoil, part of which was sent to the King. Among other things there were two brazen idols, which were thrown down before the Budaoon gate of Dehly, to be trodden under foot.

Julal-ood-Deen Feroze was much pleased with the success and conduct of his nephew on this expedition, for which he rewarded him with princely presents, and annexed the province of Oude to his former government of Kurra.

Alla-ood-Deen, upon this preferment, acquainted the King that there were some princes of great wealth towards Chundery, whom (if the King would give permission) he would reduce. The King was induced to consent to this measure from the account he had learnt of the riches of those rajas; but the object of All-ood-Deen appears to have been to establish an independent power. He was narrowly watched, however, by Mullika Jehan, the King's favourite wife, who suspected him of being too ambitious, and warned the King that Alla-ood-Deen aimed eventually at fixing himself in an independent sovereignty in some

remote part of India. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 693 (A.D. 1294), after taking leave of the King of Dehly, All-ood-Deen proceeded towards Kurra, where he enlisted many chiefs of distinction, who had formerly been dependents of the Bulbun family. He then marched with 8000 chosen horse, by the nearest road, against Ram Dew, Raja of the Deccan,[52] who possessed the wealth of a long line of kings.

Alla-ood-Deen arriving on the Deccan frontier, pressed forward towards the capital. The first place of any consequence which he reached was Elichpoor, where having made a short halt to refresh his army, he moved by forced marches to Dewgur, the lower town of which was not entirely fortified, the outer wall being then incomplete. When the news of Alla-ood-Deen's progress reached the Raja, he, together with his son Shunkul Dew, was absent in a distant part of his dominions: the Raja hastened his return, and endeavoured to intercept the enemy with a numerous army. For this purpose, he threw himself between Alla-ood-Deen and the city, and opposed him with great gallantry, but was eventually defeated with severe loss.

This expedition is otherwise related in the Moolhikat, and in the Tubkat Nasiry, by contemporary authors. Alla-ood-Deen (say these writers) left Kurra Manukpoor on pretence of hunting, and having passed quietly through the territories of many petty rajas, purposely avoided all hostilities; giving out that he had left his uncle, the King, in disgust, and was going to offer his services to the Raja of Rajmundry, one of the rajas of Tulingana. Accordingly, after a march of two months, he arrived without any remarkable opposition at Elichpoor, from whence he suddenly marched, in the direction of Dewgur, the capital of Ram Dew. On his reaching that place, he found the Raja himself in the city, but his wife and eldest son were at worship at a temple at some distance.

On the approach of Alla-ood-Deen, Ram Dew was in the greatest consternation. Having, however, collected three or four thousand citizens and domestics, he opposed the Mahomedans at the distance of two coss (four miles) from the city, but being de-

52. Ferishta, following annalists of the day, styles Ram Dew of Dewgur, or Devagiry (now called Dowltabad), Raja of the Deccan. He was, probably, a king of Maharashtra, the country throughout which the Marratta or Maharashtra language prevails.

feated, retired into the fort which had at that time no ditch.[53] It happened that some of Ram Dew's subjects, who had brought salt for sale from the Concan, had left their bags close to the fort walls, and fled on the approach of the enemy. The garrison, supposing the bags to contain grain, carried them into the fort as a supply for a siege. Alla-ood-Deen so effectually surrounded the place that the inhabitants had no opportunity to escape, which enabled him to levy large sums on the merchants by way of contribution. He also captured forty elephants and several thousand horses, belonging to Ram Dew, in the town.

In the mean time he gave out that his force was only the advance-guard of the King of Dehly's army, consisting of twenty thousand horse, which was in full march to the place. This information excited general apprehension throughout the Deccan; and the rajas, instead of uniting for their common safety, each endeavoured to secure himself against attack. Alla-ood-Deen pillaged the city, seized on the merchants, brahmins, and principal inhabitants, and tortured them to make discovery of their property, while at the same time he conducted the siege of the fort.

Ram Dew, seeing that he must soon be obliged to yield, and apprehending that the King of Dehly intended to make an entire conquest of the Deccan, was anxious to secure peace before any other forces arrived. He, therefore, addressed the following letter to Alla-ood-Deen; "Your invasion of this country was imprudent and rash; but fortunately for you, you found the city unguarded, and you have been permitted to range at large. It is, however, possible, that the rajas of the Deccan, who command innumerable armies, may yet surround you, and not permit one of your people to return from our dominions alive. Supposing, even, that you should be able to retreat from hence undisturbed, are not the princes of Malwa, Kandeish, and Gondwara, in your route, who have each armies of 40,000 or 50,000 men? Can you hope they will permit you to escape unmolested? It is advisable, therefore, for you to retire in time, by accepting a moderate sum, which, with the spoil you have already got, will indemnify you for the expense of your expedition."

53. The ditch of Dowlutabad, the scarp of which is, in many places, 100 feet, excavated out of the solid rock, is now one of the most remarkable objects of curiosity in the Deccan; but according to the author quoted, it must be a modern work, and executed subsequently to the first invasion of the Deccan by the Mahomedans.

Alla-ood-Deen, according to these proposals, accepted of 50 maunds of gold,[54] and a large quantity of pearls and jewels, and retained the elephants which he had taken in the Raja's stables. He released his prisoners, and promised to quit the town on the morning of the fifteenth day from his first entrance. But while he was preparing to retreat, Ram Dew's eldest son, Shunkul Dew, who had retired with his mother on the first appearance of the Mahomedan troops to collect succours, advanced with a numerous army within a few miles of the city. Ram Dew sent a message to his son, informing him, that peace was concluded; and enjoined him to allow what had been settled to be quietly carried into effect, and required him to abstain from molesting the Mahomedans, whom he declared to be an enterprising and war-like race, with whom peace was better than war. The young prince, however, aware that his army amounted to thrice the number of the enemy, and hourly expecting to be joined by other princes, neglected the commands of his father, and wrote to Alla-ood-Deen in these terms:—"If you have any love for life, and desire safety, restore what you have plundered, and proceed quietly homeward, rejoicing at your happy escape." Alla-ood-Deen, on perusal of this letter, fired with indignation, ordered, that the messengers should have their faces blackened with soot, and be hooted out of his camp. He left Mullik Noosrut to invest the fort with a thousand horse, in order to prevent a sally, and marched with the rest of his army to attack the Raja's son.

The Hindoos by no means declined the contest; and an action ensued, in which the Mahomedan troops, overpowered by numbers, fell back on all sides. Meanwhile, Mullik Noosrut, on learning the situation of affairs, left his post without orders, and galloping up to the field of battle with his thousand horse, changed the fortune of the day, The dust preventing the enemy from discovering the amount of Mullik Noosrut's force, it was supposed, by the Hindoos, that the King's army, of which they had heard, was arrived. In an instant a panic spread through their ranks, and they broke and fled in every direction. Alla-ood-Deen did not think it prudent to pursue them, but immediately returned, and having again encamped around the fort, exhibited

54. The Deccan maund varies from 30 lb. at Surat, to 24 lb. at Goa : the amount of the specie would then be either 1200 lb. or 1500 lb. weight.

to the garrison several of the Raja's kindred, in chains, who had been taken prisoners in the action.

Ram Dew, now in a state of the utmost perplexity, sent expresses to hasten the succours which he expected from the raja's of Koolburga, Tulingana, Malwa, and Kandeish. But the greatest cause of distress (of which till then he was unaware) was his want of provisions; for it was only now discovered, that the bags formerly brought into the fort, and supposed to contain grain, were filled with salt. Ram Dew, with much presence of mind, commanded the circumstance to be kept secret from the troops, and opened a second negotiation with Alla-ood-Deen. "It must be known to you," said the Prince, "that I had no hand in the late quarrel. If my son, owing to the folly and petulance of youth, has broken the conditions between us, that event ought not to render me responsible for his rashness." Ram Dew, moreover, authorised his ambassador privately to accede to any terms rather than protract the siege.

Alla-ood-Deen, from the conduct of Ram Dew, suspected the true cause of his anxiety, and, therefore, proposed every day some new difficulty to retard the treaty. The garrison, being in the very last stage of distress, another treaty was concluded by the Raja upon the following terms:—viz. "That Alla-ood-Deen should receive, on evacuating the country, 600 maunds of pearls,[55] two maunds of diamonds, rubbies, emeralds, and sapphires, 1000 maunds of silver, 4000 pieces of silk," besides a long list of other precious commodities to which reason forbids us to give credit. This ransom was not the only one required, but the cession of Elichpoor, and its dependencies, was also demanded, where Alla-ood-Deen might leave a garrison, which should remain there unmolested, for the collection of the revenues to be remitted to him at Kurra Manukpoor.

Alla-ood-Deen having released all his prisoners, marched in triumph out of the city with his plunder, and proceeded on his return, on the 25th day from his first arrival before Dewgur. He conducted his retreat with such address, that he opened his way through extensive and powerful kingdoms; viz. Malwa, Gondwara, and Kandeish. In this retreat, though surrounded by hostile armies, yet owing to the great order and regularity, as well as courage, displayed by his troops, they made little impression; and

55. The quantity of precious stones seems beyond belief.

these attacks served only to add to the splendour of his enterprise. We may here justly remark, that, in the long volumes of history, there is scarcely any thing to be compared with this exploit, where we regard the resolution in forming the plan, the boldness of its execution, or the great good fortune which attended its accomplishment.

When Alla-ood-Deen marched to Dewgur, all communincation with Kurra was stopt, and no news heard of him for some months. The person whom he left as his deputy had orders to write to court, that he was engaged in the conquest of Chundery; but as the King, for the space of six months, had received no letters from under his own hand, he began to suspect treason. In the year A.H. 695, (A.D. 1295), under the pretence of hunting, the King ordered out his retinue, and proceeded towards Gualiar, where he encamped, and built a large and lofty dome, with a verse to this purpose inscribed over the door:—"What fame can I, whose footsteps press the throne of empire, acquire from raising this rude mass of masonry? No! I have united these broken stones together, in order that, under their shade, the weary traveller, or broken-hearted pilgrim, may find repose, and offer up his blessing."

In the mean time, private intelligence arrived, that Alla-ood-Deen, having conquered Dewgur, had acquired such wealth as was never before possessed, even by a king of Dehly, with which he was now on his return towards Kurra. The King, delighted with this news, reckoned upon the spoil as if already in his own treasury; but men of more reflection thought otherwise, and justly concluded, that it was not to fill the royal coffers, that Alla-ood-Deen, without the King's authority, had undertaken so bold and hazardous an expedition. They, however, waited to see the issue, without communicating their suspicions.

The King having one day assembled his council, told them, that Alla-ood-Deen was now on his return to Kurra with immense booty, and requested their advice, whether it would be most prudent for him to remain where he was, and command Alla-ood-Deen to the presence, or to march towards him, or to return to Dehly? Mullik Ahmud Hubeeb, at once sagacious and remarkable for his open and candid mode of addressing the King on all occasions, ventured to express his suspicions of the ultimate designs of his nephew. He advised the King to advance with his army towards Chundery, and encamp on the

road along which lay Alla-ood-Deen's route to Kurra. "This," said he, "will enable you to discover the Prince's intentions before he has time to augment his army." He added, further, that, upon the appearance of the imperial army, it was highly probable that the troops of Alla-ood-Deen, laden with spoil, and within their own country, would not hazard the loss of it by an action; but would rather endeavour to secure their wealth, and disperse among the mountains. That by these means, Alla-ood-Deen, if he meditated revolt, would be deserted by the greatest part of his small army, which would oblige him to abandon whatever plans he might have formed for establishing his independence, and induce him to lay his wealth at the foot of the throne. He proceeded to observe, that the King in this case might take the gold, jewels, and elephants, which, according to custom, appertained to the crown, and permit Alla-ood-Deen to retain the remainder for himself. It would then be a point for consideration, whether he should be allowed to continue in his government, or be directed to accompany the court to Dehly.

Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Koochy, kotwal of Dehly, though sensible of the propriety of this advice, yet, on looking towards the King, and perceiving he did not approve of it, spoke to the following effect: "The accounts of Alla-ood-Deen's return, the amount of his plunder, and the truth of his conquest, have not yet been publicly confirmed. We have them only from flying reports, which, we all know, are often vague and extravagant. Supposing, even, that what we hear is true, is it not natural to imagine, that when he shall hear of the approach of the King's army, that the fear of false accusation, or evil designs against him, will induce him to retreat to the mountains, from whence, as the rainy season is approaching, it will be impossible to dislodge him? Let us not, therefore, cast off our shoes before we reach the river, but wait till Alla-ood-Deen shall arrive at Kurra. If it shall then appear that he cherishes treasonable views, one assault of the King's forces will put an end to his ambition."

Ahmud Hubeeb, having heard this, observed, with indignation, "The time passes. As soon as Alla-ood-Deen shall have escaped us, will he not proceed by the way of Oude to Bengal? where, by securing his treasure, he will soon be enabled to raise such an army as neither you nor I will be able to oppose. Oh,

shame! that men who know better should not have the courage to give honest counsel when required to do so."

The King, displeased with these words, addressing the officers who stood near him, said, "Ahmud Hubeeb never fails to do ill offices to our nephew,[56] against whom he endeavours to excite our suspicion and resentment; but such private rancour shall have no weight with us. We are so well assured of the loyalty of Alla-ood-Deen, whom we have nursed in our bosom, that we would sooner believe treason of our own son than of him." Upon this, Ahmud Hubeeb rose with some emotion, and striking one hand upon the other, walked out, repeating the following verse: "When the sun of prosperity is eclipsed, advice ceases to enlighten the mind." The King adopted the opinion of Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen, and marched back with his army to Dehly.

Not many days after his arrival at the capital, a letter came from Alla-ood-Deen, in which he styled himself the King's slave, and stated, that all his wealth was at the King's disposal; but that, being wearied with the tedious march, he begged for some repose at Kurra. He observed, that he had intended to kiss the foot of the throne; but knowing he had enemies at court, who might, in his absence, defame his character, and deprive him of his Majesty's favour, he and the chiefs who accompanied him in the expedition (in which he was sensible he had acted without orders) were apprehensive of punishment. He, therefore, requested to have a letter of grace, assuring him and his followers of their safety, and of the royal protection.

The King was deceived, and credited all the assertions of his nephew, who, on his part, made preparations for going off to Luknowty; for which purpose he despatched Zuffur Khan towards Oude, to secure the boats on the Surjoo, so that in case the King should come to Kurra Manukpoor, he might be able to cross the river, and proceed at once to Bengal, where he resolved to establish an independent sovereignty. The King, unsuspicious of his designs, wrote kind letters to Alla-ood-Deen, which he sent by two trusty messengers. These messengers, on their arrival at Kurra, perceiving how matters stood, endeavoured to return, but they were seized, and had no opportunity of writing the true state of affairs to court. The King, concluding the apprehensions of Alla-ood-Deen were still unremoved, endeavour-

56. He was, also, Ahmud Hubeeb's cousin-german.

ed to satisfy his mind through Almas Beg, the brother of the latter. Alla-ood-Deen, meanwhile, wrote to Almas Beg, that it was now a matter of notoriety at Kurra, that the King intended certainly to take his life for proceeding to Dewgur without orders. That he sincerely repented of what he had done, and had taken his Majesty's displeasure, which to him was worse than death, so much to heart, that he was afraid excess of sorrow would put an end to his melancholy life. He, therefore, begged of his brother to inform him of the King's real design, in order that he might either take poison, or look out for a place of security. Letters to this effect were day after day received by Almas Beg, who, being in the plot to deceive the King, showed them to him, and professed at the same time to be apprehensive lest his brother should lay violent hands on himself, or fly his country. He used a thousand delusive arts to inveigle the King to Kurra, who conceived, that the final possession of the treasure depended on the preservation of his nephew's life. The old man at last embarked with a thousand horse and a small retinue. on the Ganges, ordering Ahmud Hubeeb to follow with the army by land.

Alla-ood-Deen, hearing of the King's departure from Dehly, crossed the Ganges, and encamped near Manukpoor, upon the opposite bank. On the 17th of Rumzan, A.H. 695 (July 19, A.D. 1295), the royal canopy appeared in sight. Alla-ood-Deen drew out his troops on pretence of doing honour to the King, deputing his brother, Almas Beg, who had come on before, to concert measures for his reception. This artful traitor represented to the King, that if he should take so large a retinue as a thousand horse with him, Alla-ood-Deen might be alarmed; for that some bad people had confirmed him so strongly in his fears, that all he could say was insufficient entirely to allay his suspicions. The King, still unsuspicious of treachery from so near a relative, whom he had cherished from his infancy, acceded to the proposal, and having ordered a few only of his select attendants to follow him into his barge, caused the fleet to remain at some distance behind. When the royal party came near the camp, Almas Beg again told the King, that his brother, seeing so many men in armour, might possible be alarmed; that, therefore, as he had taken such ridiculous notions into his head, which no one could remove, it were better to avoid the least appearance of state. The King,

consequently, directed his attendants to unbuckle their armour, and lay their weapons aside. Mullik Khoorum, the chief secretary, opposed this step with great vehemence, for he now began to suspect teachery; but the traitor Almas Beg, had such a winning and plausible tongue, that he, too, at last yielded, though with great reluctance.

The King reached the landing-place, and Alla-ood-Deen appeared upon the bank with his attendants, whom he ordered to halt. He advanced alone, met his uncle, and fell prostrate at his feet. The old man in a familiar manner, tapped him on the cheek, and raising him up, embraced him, saying, "How could you be suspicious of me, who have brought you up from your childhood, and cherished you with a fatherly affection, holding you dearer in my sight, if possible, than my own offspring?" Then taking him by the hand, he was leading him back into the royal barge, when Alla-ood-Deen made a signal to his guards, who were behind. Mahmood Bin Salim, rushing forward, wounded the King with his sword over the shoulder. The unfortunate monarch ran forward to gain the barge, crying, "Ah! thou villain, Alla-ood-Deen;" but before he had reached the boat, another of the guards, Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, coming up, seized the feeble old man, and throwing him on the ground, cut off his head. The rebels then fixed the venerable head of their sovereign on the point of a spear, and carried it through the camp and city.

The day before this event took place, Alla-ood-Deen visited a reverend sage, named Sheikh Karrik, who is buried at Kurra, and whose tomb is still held sacred. That holy man, rising from his pillow, repeated the following extempore verse: "He who cometh against thee shall lose his head in the boat, and his body shall be thrown into the Ganges." Which, they say, was explained a few hours after, by the death of the unfortunate King, whose head fell into the boat upon this occasion. Mahomed Bin Salim, one of the assassins, about a year after, died of a horrid leprosy, which dissolved the flesh, piece-meal, from his bones. Yekhtyar-ood-Deen, the other assassin, fared no better; for he became mad, crying out incessantly, that Julal-ood-Deen Feroze was cutting off his head. Thus this wretch also suffered a thousand deaths, in imagination, before he expired.

Almas Beg, the brother of Alla-ood-Deen, and the others concerned in this horrid tragedy, fell into such a course of mis-

fortunes, that in the space of four years no traces of them remained on the face of the earth, though the recollection of their crimes long survived the event. And even Alla-ood-Deen himself, though fortune smiled on him at first, yet in the end he suffered great distress of mind, being obliged to imprison his own children, and to put to death, one after another, the friends whom he loved most, and in whom he most confided. Julal-ood-Deen Feroze Khiljy reigned for a period of seven years and some months.

ALLA-OOD-DEEN KHILJY

INTELLIGENCE of the murder of the King having reached Ahmud Hubeeb, who was advancing with the army, he retreated to Dehly. Mullika Jehan, the Dowager-queen, imprudently, and without consulting the chiefs, placed the crown on the head of her youngest son, the Prince Kuddur Khan, entitled Rookn-ood-Deen Ibraheem; the heir apparent, Arkully Khan, his elder brother, being then at Mooltan. The Queen accompanied the young prince from Kelookery to Dehly, and seated him on the throne in the green palace, though he was yet a boy, and altogether unacquainted with affairs of state: at the same time, she divided the provinces among her partisans. Arkully Khan, the real heir, who possessed all the qualities of a king, was greatly perplexed by these proceedings, but thought proper, for the present, to remain at Mooltan.

Alla-ood-Deen, having learned that affairs at the capital had fallen into the hands of his inveterate enemy the Queen, Mullika Jehan, and her infant son, no longer confined his views to an independent kingdom at Lucknowty, but boldly aspired to the throne of Dehly, for which city he determined to march in spite of the rainy season. His first objects were to raise an army within his government, and to confer royal titles on his friends and followers. Almas Beg was honoured with the title of Aluf Khan; Mullik Noosrut Jalesury with that of Noosrut Khan; Mullik Hijubr-ood-Deen assumed the name of Zuffur Khan, and Mullik Sunjur, whose sister was married to Alla-ood-Deen, received the title of Rookn Khan. To these titles were superadded estates.

Alla-ood-Deen, by the advice of Noosrut Khan, distributed presents also among the army, wherever he encamped, and he amused himself by throwing golden balls from a sling among the people, so that his liberality soon brought abundance of soldiers to his banners. The Queen-dowager, in the greatest perplexity, owing to the information she daily received of Alla-ood-Deen's popularity, despatched an express to Mooltan, for her son Arkully Khan; but he returned for answer, that the time was past, for before he could arrive, the troops of the capital would join the enemy; that his coming now, therefore, would be of no avail. He observed, "a stream may be diverted at its source, but when it becomes a river, dams cannot oppose its current."

Alla-ood-Deen made no delay in his march, but crossed the Jumna, below Dehly, and encamped opposite the north-east gate. The Prince, fluttering like a solitary bird, collected his forces, and marching out of the city, drew up his line before the enemy. But when he saw them preparing for battle, he retreated into the city, and during the night was deserted by a number of omras, who went over with their forces to Alla-ood-Deen. The Prince now perceived that there was no safety but in flight. Taking, therefore, his mother, the haram, and treasure with him, he set out for Mooltan, accompanied by Mullik Rujub, Kootb-ood-Deen Oolvy, Ahmud Hubeeb, and Ameer Julal. The citizens, after the departure of the young King, crowded to pay their respects to Alla-ood-Deen, who causing new coin to be struck in his name, made a pompous and triumphant entry into Dehly, in the latter end of the year A.H. 696 (A.D. 1296), and ascended the throne, in the ruby palace. He commenced his reign by splendid shows, and grand festivals, and encouraged every description of gaiety, which so pleased the unthinking rabble, that they soon lost all memory of their former King, and of the horrid scene which had placed the present one on the throne. He who ought to have been viewed with detestation, became the object of admiration to those who could not see the blackness of his deeds through the splendour of his munificence.

Whilst obtaining by these means popularity with the lower classes, he endeavoured also to secure the good will of the great by conferring titles, and of the venal and avaricious by gifts. The office of vizier was conferred upon Khwaja Khuteer, a man renowned for his virtue in those degenerate times. Kazy Sudr-

ood-Deen Aarif, entitled Sudr-i-Jehan, was made chief justice in the civil court; and Oomdut-ool-Moolk, Mullik Humeed-ood-Deen, and Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen, were raised to the offices of secretaries. Both were men of great learning and talents. Noosrut Khan was appointed Kotwal of Dehly; Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Koochy was raised to the dignity of chief justice in the criminal court, and Mullik Zuffur Khan to that of chief secretary; many others were also raised to high offices, which it would be tedious to enumerate. Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, having bestowed six months' pay on his whole army, began to concert measures for extirpating the descendants of the late Julal-ood-Deen Feroze. He despatched Aluf Khan his brother, and Zuffur Khan, with forty thousand horse, towards Mooltan. They, on their arrival, invested that city, and laid siege to it for two months. At length the citizens and troops, betraying the cause of the Princes Arkully Khan and Kuddur Khan, surrendered the place on condition of the lives of the Princes being spared, for the fulfilment of which Aluf Khan gave the most solemn assurances.

The object of this expedition being attained, Aluf Khan wrote to his brother an account of his success, which was read in all the public pulpits after prayers, and great rejoicings were ordered to be made on the occasion. Aluf Khan, meantime, proceeded in triumph with his army, and brought his state-prisoners towards Dehly. He was met on his way by Mullik Noosrut Khan Kotwal, and was informed that the King had commanded the eyes of the prisoners to be put out. This cruel order was not only carried into effect on the two princes, but was extended to Oghloo Khan,[57] the grandson of the great Chungiz Khan, to Ahmud Hubeeb, and to others of less note. All their effects were also confiscated. The two unfortunate princes were then imprisoned in the fort of Hansy, where they were soon after assassinated; while the Queen-dowager Mullika Jehan, and all the ladies of the late King's haram, and his other children, were confined at Dehly.

In the second year of this reign, Khwaja Khuteer was dismissed from the office of vizier, which was conferred on Noosrut Khan. This minister demanded the restoration of all the sums that the King, at his accession, had bestowed on the nobility and people, a measure which created great disgust, and led to distur-

57. Oghloo Khan married the daughter of the late King, and Ahmed Hubeeb was his sister's son.

bances. During these transactions, advices reached Dehly, that Ameer Dawood, King of Mawur-ool-Nuhr, had prepared an Army of 100,000 Moguls, with a design to conquer Mooltan, Punjab, and Sind, and that he was then actually advancing with great expedition, carrying every thing before him with fire and sword. Alla-ood-Deen detached his brother Aluf Khan, to oppose the invaders; and the two armies met in the districts of Lahore, where a bloody conflict ensued, in which the Moguls were defeated with the loss of 12,000 men, and many of their chiefs. A great number of prisoners of all ranks was taken, who were put to the sword some days after, without sparing even the women and children captured in the Mogul camp. This victory raised the fame of the King's arms, established his power at home, and overawed his foreign enemies. Alla-ood-Deen, about this time, by the advice of his brother Aluf Khan, seized many omras, who, in the late revolution, had taken advantage of the distresses of the Prince Arkully Khan, and of the Queen-mother, to obtain from them large sums of money for their services. He caused these people to be deprived of sight, and their estates to be confiscated, by which means he added considerable wealth to his own coffers.

In the beginning of the year A.H. 697 (A.D. 1297), Aluf Khan, the King's brother, and Noosrut Khan, the Vizier, were sent with an army to reduce Guzerat. Accordingly, having laid waste the country, they occupied Nehrwala the capital, which was deserted by its prince (Ray Kurrun), who fled, and took protection with Ram Dew, King of Dewgur, in the Deccan. By the aid of that prince, Ray Kurrun soon after returned, and took up his residence in Buglana, one of the districts dependent on Guzerat, bordering upon Ram Dew's dominions; but his wives, children, elephants, baggage, and treasure, fell into the hands of the Mahomedans. Among the captives, was his beautiful wife Kowla Devy. After this exploit, Noosrut Khan proceeded with a part of the army to Cambay, which being a rich country, and full of merchants, yielded a prodigious booty. It was on this occasion that Noosrut Khan seized by force one Kafoor, a handsome slave belonging to a merchant of Cambay. This person afterwards gained great distinction, and attained to much eminence under the title of Mullik Kafoor. When the Mahomedans had sufficiently satisfied their avarice, and quenched their thirst for blood, they appointed governors to the provinces, and leaving part of the army for their de-

fence, returned towards Dehly. On the army reaching Jalwur, on its return to the capital, the two generals made a demand of the fifth of the spoil from the troops, besides what they had already realised for themselves. This step produced a mutiny in the camp. Mahomed Shah, general of the mercenary Moguls, with many other chiefs, placed themselves at the head of their several divisions. One party attacked Mullik Eiz-ood-Deen, the brother of the Vizier (Noosrut Khan), and slew him with a number of his people; another party proceeded to the quarters of Aluf Khan (the King's brother), who fled on foot to the Vizier's tent, so that the mutineers not finding him, killed the King's nephew (by a sister), who happened to be sleeping there, supposing him to be Aluf Khan. By this time, the alarm induced the Vizier to cause the drums to beat to arms, and the trumpets to be sounded; those not concerned in the mutiny, conceiving that the enemy was at hand, quickly fell into their stations, and the mutineers separating, dispersed, and escaping in the confusion, fled by different routes to a place of rendezvous. They were, however, closely pursued the next day, and forced to retreat, with some loss, to the districts of Bheem Dew, Raja of Runtunbhore, where they sought protection; Aluf Khan and the Vizier, meanwhile, continued their march to Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, on seeing Kowla Devy, the captive wife of the Prince of Guzerat, who, for beauty, wit, and accomplishments, was the flower of India, took her into the haram; and Kafoor, the slave above alluded to, who had been taken on this expedition, also attracted his attention. The Vizier, by the King's order, caused all the families of those Moguls, or others who had been concerned in the late mutiny, to be put to death, without pitying the fond wife, the weeping mothers, or the smiling infants who clung to their breasts.

About this time Choldy Khan, a Mogul chief, and his brother, appeared with a considerable force, and took the fort of Sewustan. Zuffur Khan marched against him, invested the place, and not only recovered it out of his hands, but secured the person of Choldy Khan, and about 2,000 Moguls, who were sent in chains to Dehly. Zuffur Khan distinguished himself so much on this expedition, that his fame excited the jealousy of the King, who resolved to deprive him of his government; but was prevented from doing so at that time, by another invasion of Moguls, under

Kootloogh Khan, the son of Ameer Daood Khan, King of Mawur-ool-Nehr.

The army of the invaders consisted of 200,000 horse, who promised to themselves the entire conquest of Hindoostan. Kootloogh Khan, accordingly, having occupied all the countries beyond the Indus, on his march protected the inhabitants from violence. Then crossing the river, he proceeded to Dehly, where he encamped on the banks of the Jumna without opposition; Zuffur Khan gradually retreating before him with his army. The whole country, in terror of the Moguls, crowded into the capital. The city became so full, that the streets were rendered impassable, and all business and communication were interrupted. This, however, was but the beginning of the disasters which ensued. In the space of a few days, the consumption being great, and no supplies procurable, famine began to rage, and desperation and dismay were exhibited in every countenance. Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, on this pressing occasion, called a council of his nobles, and, in spite of remonstrances, resolved to attack the enemy. He left the city, and marched out by the Budaoon gate with 300,000 horse, and 2700 elephants. He drew up in order of battle, on the plains beyond the suburbs, where the enemy formed to receive him. From the time when first the arms of Islam appeared in Hindoostan two such mighty hosts had never been brought together, nor am I aware that, up to the present period, being the year of the Hijra 1015, (A.D. 1606), such vast numbers have ever been opposed at the same time in one place.

Alla-ood-Deen gave the command of his right wing to Zuffur Khan, the greatest general of that age, who had under him all the troops of his governments, consisting of the provinces of Sumana, Punjab, and Mooltan. The left wing was entrusted to the King's brother, Aluf Khan, under whom was Rookn Khan, his brother-in-law. The King took post in the centre, with 12,000 volunteers, who were mostly persons of family: this body was commanded by Noosrut Khan. With the choicest of his elephants, he formed a line in his front, and supported his rear with a select body of cavalry under the vizier. Zuffur Khan commenced the action with great impetuosity on the right, and breaking with his line of elephants the enemy's line of horse, committed dreadful slaughter, and bore it away before him. Having thus turned the enemy's left flank, it fell back upon the

centre, so that considerable confusion ensued in that part of the line before the action was well begun. Alla-ood-Deen, observing this, ordered his brother, Aluf Khan, who commanded on the left, to advance and close with the enemy; but, jealous of the fame of Zuffur Khan, Aluf Khan halted at a short distance from the field of battle, leaving Zuffur Khan to continue the pursuit alone, for upwards of thirty miles. Next morning, one of the Mogul chiefs, whose toman[58] had not been engaged, perceiving Zuffur Khan unsupported, determined to attack him. At the same time he sent advice to Kootloogh Khan, the leader of the horde, who, during the day, also returned with 10,000 more men, and came upon Zuffur Khan's rear. Zuffur Khan, thus surrounded, saw the danger of his situation. It was too late to retreat. He drew up his troops, therefore, though not half the number of the enemy, dividing them into two squadrons, and again renewed the conflict, in which his soldiers exhibited great feats of personal valour. At last, the leg of Zuffur Khan's horse being cut through by a sabre, he fell to the ground. Zuffur Khan rose instantly, and seized a bow and quiver: he was a dexterous archer, and although on foot, he dealt death around him. Most of his men were by this time either killed or dispersed; Kootloogh Khan admiring his gallantry, called out to him to surrender, telling him that his valour should be rewarded with such honours as it deserved. Zuffur Khan replied sternly, "I know no greater honour than to die in fulfilling my duty," and persisted in discharging his arrows. The Mogul chief, upon this, ordered a party of horse to surround him, and endeavour to take him alive, but Zuffur Khan persisted in refusing quarter, and was at last cut in pieces, together with a few trusty servants who stood by him to the last.

This advantage, however, did not dispel the fears of the Moguls. They continued their retreat, and evacuated India with expedition. The bravery of Zuffur Khan became so proverbial among the Moguls, that when their horses started, they would ask them whether they saw the ghost of Zuffur Khan. Alla-ood-Deen, it is said, considered the death of this great general as the richest reward of the victory, and could not help expressing his satisfaction at the event. Great rejoicings were made at

58. A Toorky word, meaning a division of 10,000 soldiers.

Dehly, to celebrate the retreat of the Moguls; and the principal officers were rewarded with titles, and commands, according to their conduct, and their interest at court. Some few, who had behaved ill, were disgraced, particularly one officer who was seated upon an ass, and paraded round the city.

In the third year of the reign of Alla-ood-Deen, when prosperity shone upon his arms, he began to form some extraordinary projects. One of these was the establishment of a new religion, that like Mahomed he might be held in veneration by posterity. He often consulted with his brother Aluf Khan, Noosrut Khan his Vizier, and Rookn Khan, on this project, while engaged in their cups. His other design was equally absurd. He proposed to leave a viceroy in India, and like Alexander the Great, to undertake the conquest of the world. In consequence of this latter project, he assumed the title of "Alexander the Second," which was struck upon the currency of the empire. Notwithstanding these high notions, Alla-ood-Deen was so illiterate, that he was ignorant of the common acquirements of reading and writing; but he was so obstinate and self-willed in the ridiculous ideas which he formed, that men of learning, who disdained to prostitute their judgment, avoided the court, or stood silent in his presence. There were not, however, wanting sycophants, who, though they knew better, extolled all his sentiments to the skies, and seemed to foster their own imaginations with his crude projects.

Alla-ool-Moolk, the kotwal of the city, an old man, and so fat that he was unable to attend the court oftener than once a month, being one day sent for by the King to be consulted regarding his religious project, determined (however fatal the consequences) to reject every measure proposed in opposition to the doctrine of the Mahomedan faith, and to make a sacrifice of his few remaining years rather than encourage the King's design. With this firm resolve he attended at court, and found the King drinking with a number of his principal chiefs. Alla-ood-Deen began to converse with Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk on his favourite subject; but the old man told him he had something to say to him in private, and would be glad if he would order the wine and the company away.

The King smiled, and desired all the company to retire, except four. The old magistrate then fell upon his face, and

having kissed the ground, rose up, and thus spoke: "Oh, King! religion is the law of God, whose spirit inspired his prophets, but it depends not on the opinions of mortals. We are taught by God's holy word to believe, that the spirit of prophecy ended with Mahomed, the last and greatest of his messengers. This being, acknowledged by great and small, by all nations, and by all degrees of people, should your intentions against the true faith be once known, it is impossible to conceive what hatred you will incur, and what bloodshed and disturbance may ensue. It is, therefore, advisable, that you should set aside these new notions, since the accomplishment of your views exceeds the power of mere mortals. Did not Chungiz Khan, the most powerful of monarchs, and his successors, labour for ages to subvert our faith, that they might establish their own? What rivers of blood have flowed in the contest till at length the spirit of truth prevailed, and they became proselytes to that religion which they had endeavoured so long to destroy." The King, having listened with attention, replied, "What you have said is just, and founded on friendship and reason. I will for ever lay aside all thoughts of this scheme, which has so long engaged my attention. But what do you think of my project of universal conquest?"

The venerable magistrate replied, "Some kings, in former ages, formed the same great design which your Majesty has resolved on at present; and your power, personal bravery, and wealth, give you at least equal hopes of success; but the times are not so favourable, and the government of India seems not to stand upon so firm a basis as to support itself in your absence. Perfidy and ingratitude daily appear. Brothers become traitors to each other, and children conspire against their parents. How much is this degenerate age unlike to the virtuous times of Alexander? Men were then endued with honourable principles, and the cunning and treachery of the present times were then held in utter abomination. Your Majesty has no counsellors like Aristotle, who, by his wisdom and policy, not only kept his own country in peace and security, but brought other nations, by voluntary consent, to place themselves under his master's protection. If your Majesty can put equal confidence in your nobles, and can depend as much upon the love of your people as Alexander was enabled to do, you may then venture to carry your scheme into execution; if not, we cannot well reconcile it to

reason." The King, after musing awhile, said, "What you have told me bears on it the face of sincerity and truth; but what availeth all this power in armies, in wealth, and in kingdoms, if I content myself with what I already possess, and do not employ it in acquiring fame and glory?" Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk replied, "There are two undertakings in which the King's treasure may be expended to good purpose. The first is, the conquest of the southern kingdoms of Hindoostan, such as Runtunbhore, Chittoor, Jalwur, and Chundery; and the second, the reduction of the south-eastern provinces as far as the sea, and on the north-west as far as Lumghan and Kabul, so as to form a barrier to protect India from the invasions of the Moguls. This," said the chief magistrate, "would secure the peace of Hindoostan, and procure to the King immortal honour, by bestowing happiness upon his people; an object of greater importance than if he should consume the world in the flames of war. But even to succeed in this project, it is requisite that the King should abstain from excess of wine, and from licentiousness." The King, contrary to the old man's expectations, took all this advice in good part, and applauding his candour presented him with a robe of honour, ten thousand rupees, and two horses richly caparisoned, and granted to him and his posterity two villages in freehold. The other nobles, though they wanted the virtue or resolution to speak their minds, were extremely pleased with the kotwal, and sent him also presents to a large amount.

The King, in the year A.H. 699 (A.D. 1299), according to the advice of Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk, having summoned his brother, Aluf Khan, from Sumana, the Vizier from Kurra, and others from their respective soobadaries, to the presence, deputed them, with an army, against the Raja of Runtunbhore.

In the first instance, they took the fort of Jhayin, and afterwards invested the capital; but Noosrut Khan, the Vizier, advancing too near the wall, was crushed to death by a stone from an engine. Advantage was taken of the circumstance of the commander-in-chief's death. Raja Humbur Dew marched out from the fort, and gave battle, having collected, within a short time, 200,000 men. With this force, he compelled Aluf Khan to fall back to Jhayin, with great loss. The particulars of this defeat being reported at Dehly, the King resolved to take the field in person. During his march, he halted for a day at a place called

Jheelput, and went out hunting. Having wandered far from his camp in the chase, he remained with his attendants all night in a forest. On the morning, before sunrise, having occupied a spot of rising ground, he sat down with two or three attendants, and commanded the court to pursue their diversion on the plain below. The Prince, Sooliman Shah, entitled Rookn Khan, having observed this, it occurred to him, that at such a time the King might be cut off, in the same manner as he himself had cut off his predecessor. Rookn Khan thought, also, that being his nephew and brother-in-law, he might, through that relationship, as well as through the influence which as chief secretary he possessed, maintain as good a title as Alla-ood-Deen himself had to the throne. Having, accordingly, communicated his design to a few of the newly-converted Moguls, who had been for some time in his service, and on whose fidelity he firmly relied, he rode up to the King, and discharged a flight of arrows, two of which entered his body, so that he lay for dead on the ground. The Prince, Rookn Khan, now drew his sword, and ran to cut off the King's head; but being told by the royal attendants that he was quite dead, deemed it unnecessary to sever the head from the body.

Rookn Khan then proceeded to the camp, and having ascended the throne, was proclaimed king. Meanwhile, the army was thrown into the utmost confusion: the great men assembled to pay their court, and present their offerings on the occasion; the customary prayers were read from the Koran; the Khootba was formally pronounced in the name of Rookn Khan; and the public cries were ordered to proclaim his accession. The Prince, now descending from the throne, proceeded towards the haram; but Mullik Deenar, the chief eunuch, with his guard, stopped him at the door, swearing, that till he showed him Alla-ood-Deen's head, he should not enter while he had life to oppose it. Alla-ood-Deen, mean time, having recovered his senses, and having had his wounds bound up, imagined that Rookn Khan's treason must be connected with a preconcerted conspiracy of the nobles, and determined to fly to his brother, Aluf Khan, at Jhayin, accompanied by about 60 servants, who still remained with him. Mullik Humeed, deputy door-keeper of the presence, strongly dissuaded the King from this measure, and recommended him immediately to go to his own camp, and there show him-

self to the army; observing, that the usurper had not yet had time to establish himself, and that upon seeing the Emperor's canopy, he doubted not but the whole army would return to their duty; adding, at the same time, that the least delay might render his affairs irrecoverable.

Alla-ood-Deen having adopted this advice, mounted his horse with great difficulty, and raising the white canopy, which lay on the field, over his head, proceeded with his small retinue towards the camp. Being joined by some foraging parties on the way, he now appeared guarded by about 500 men, and having ascended an eminence in full view of the camp, his retinue was at once seen by the whole army. The soldiers immediately crowded in thousands around his person, and the court of the usurper was broken up in a few minutes, so that he found himself alone. In this dilemma, he mounted his horse, and fled towards Afghanpoor. Alla-ood-Deen proceeded towards the royal pavilion, and ascending the throne, gave public audience; sending, at the same time, a body of horse in pursuit of his nephew. This party shortly came up with him, severed his head from his body, and laid it at the King's feet. The King gave orders, at the same time, to seize the usurper's brother, Kootloogh Khan, and the chief conspirators, all of whom suffered death.

When Alla-ood-Deen recovered of his wounds, he continued his march to Runtunbhore, where he was joined by his brother, Alugh Khan, and began again to besiege the place. But the Hindoos defended it so obstinately that numbers of the King's army daily fell. Alla-ood-Deen, however, persisted in his attacks with redoubled resolution, while detachments of his army ravaged the adjacent territories of Malwa and Dhar. The siege being protracted for some months, Oomur Khan and Mungoo Khan (both nephews of the King), who held the government of Budaoon, rebelled: Alla-ood-Deen wrote letters to the several chiefs of those provinces whom he thought loyal, as also to the neighbouring zemindars, to levy forces for the suppression of the rebellion. By these means the rebels were defeated, and both were sent prisoners to the royal camp.

The King caused them to be deprived of sight, in the first instance, but subsequently put them to death, as an example to others. Notwithstanding this severity, one of the most extraordinary conspiracies recorded in history was undertaken by one

Hajy Mowla,[59] the son of a slave of the celebrated Fukhr-ood-Deen, kotwal of Dehly, who died in the fomer reign. This ambitious youth, finding the King so long engaged in the siege of Runtunbhore, formed a scheme for creating a revolution in the empire. He was, perhaps, moved to this by the murmuring of the citizens against the present kotwal's deputy (Toormoozy Khan), who, in his master's absence in camp, had oppressed the people severely. The first act of Hajy Mowla was, to collect in the heat of the day, when most people were gone to rest, a mob of citizens, by a forged order from the King. With these he hastened to the house of Toormoozy Khan, and sent word to tell him that a messenger had arrived with an order from the King. Toormoozy Khan, out of respect to the royal order, hastened to the door, when the young impostor, showing him the paper in one hand, cut him down with the other, and killed him. He then read aloud the forged mandate authorizing the act.

The mob now increasing, Hajy Mowla sent parties to secure the city gates, and despatched a person to Alla-ood-Deen Ayaz, kotwal of the new city, to come and examine the King's order. This magistrate, however, having heard of the disturbance, paid no regard to the message, but shut his own gates. Hajy Mowla, in the mean time, with his mob, entered the ruby palace, released the state prisoners, and taking out all the arms, treasure, and valuable effects, divided them among his followers. He then by force seated Alvy, styled also Shah Nunny, (one of the prisoners, a lineal descendant of Shums-ood-Deen Altmish), upon the throne, and commanded the principal men of the city to pay him obeisance. The King received advice of these transactions, but did not allow it to effect his prosecution of the siege, which he carried on with apparently renewed vigour. He, however, wrote to Mullik Humeed, his foster-brother, on the subject, who, having raised a party in the city, seized the Budaoon gate, on the seventh day after the usurpation, and took the field, where he was joined by a party of troops who happened to be marching to Dehly from Amroha to be mustered. With these troops Mullik Humeed re-entered the city at the Ghizny gate by surprise, but being opposed at the second gate, called Bhind, by

59. Hajy Mowla was the favourite slave of Fukhr-ood-Deen, kotwal; but who became disgusted with the little attention he received after the death of that eminent person.

Hajy Mowlah and his associates, a sharp conflict ensued. Mullik Humeed, being dismounted, ran up to Hajy Mowla (who was leading on his party with great bravery), and dragging him from his horse, threw him down in the street and slew him, having himself, in the mean time, received several wounds. The faction of Hajy Mowla, dispirited by the death of their chief, gave ground, and dispersed throughout the city. Mullik Humeed, then proceeding to the ruby palace, deposed and slew Shah Nunny Alvy, causing his head to be exhibited on the point of a spear, and thus put an end to the rebellion. Aluf Khan, the King's brother, was directed to proceed to Dehly, in order to punish all who were supposed to have had any share in the late insurrection. The sons and the survivors of the family of the late Fukhr-ood-Deen, kotwal, were put to death, merely on suspicion, for no other cause than that the rebel had been one of their dependents.

Runtunbhore had now been closely besieged for a whole year, and Alla-ood-Deen, after trying all other means, adopted the following expedient to reduce it. Having collected a multitude of people, and provided each with a bag filled with sand, they began, at some distance from the fort, to form an ascent to the top of the walls,[60] by which means the troops eventually obtained possession of the place. The Raja Humber Dew, his family, and the garrison, were put to the sword. This fort is esteemed the strongest in Hindoostan. Ameer Mahomed Shah, the Mogul general, who had taken refuge in Runtunbhore, after the mutiny at Jalwur, having lost most of his men in defence of the fort, was himself lying ill of his wounds, when Alla-ood-Deen entered the place. Alla-ood-Deen, finding him in this condition asked him, in an insulting manner, "What gratitude would he evince if the King should command his wounds to be immediately cured?" The Mogul fiercely replied, "I would put you to death for a tyrant, and endeavour to make the son of Humbur Dew, to whom my gratitude is due king." Alla-ood-Deen, enraged at this reply, caused him to be thrown beneath the feet of an elephant. But considering, afterwards, that he was a brave

60. The real mode of using the sand bags has, probably, been misrepresented. We can imagine nothing more feeble than a garrison which could allow a gradual ascent of road to be made by the besiegers from the plain to the tops of the works.

man, and one whose gallantry he had often witnessed, he directed his body to be put in a coffin, and interred with decent solemnity.

The King then commanded that Runmul, the Raja's minister, who had come over to the King with a strong party during the siege, should, with all his followers, be put to death, saying, "Those who have betrayed their natural sovereign will never be true to another." After which, bestowing the government of Runtunbhore, with all the booty taken in it, on his brother, Aluf Khan, the King returned to Dehly. But Aluf Khan, falling sick about six months after, died on his way to the capital.

Alla-ood-Deen after the late occurrences, becoming apprehensive of conspiracies against his person, summoned his nobles, and commanded them to give their opinion, without reserve, what should be done to avert these evils. At the same time, he called on them to state what they considered were the real causes of those disorders. They replied, that there were many sources out of which revolutions, dangerous and fatal in their consequences, might proceed. Among others, they hinted at the King's total inattention to business, and the consequent absence of all redress to his subjects. The excessive use of wine appeared to them also a source of many disorders, for when men form themselves into societies for the purpose of drinking, they unbosom their secret thoughts to each other, and are frequently excited to undertake desperate projects. The close connections formed among the nobles of the court they deemed also of danger to the state. Their numerous intermarriages, and the patronage in the hands of a few, gave them a degree of power, which enabled them, by coalition, to create revolutions whenever so disposed. The last and not the least cause, they thought, arose from the unequal division of property; they considered that the wealth of a rich empire, if confined to a few persons, only rendered them, as governors of provinces, more like independent princes than subjects of the state.

Alla-ood-Deen, approved of many of the remarks of his counsellors, and immediately began to carry into execution the plan which they laid before him. He first applied himself to a strict enquiry into the administration of justice, to redress grievances, and to examine narrowly into the private as well as public characters of all men in office. He procured intelligence of the most secret discourses of families of note in the city, as well as of every transaction of moment in the most distant provinces, and executed

justice with such rigour, that robbery and theft, formerly so common, were not heard of in the land. The traveller slept secure on the highway, and the merchant carried his commodities in safety from the sea of Bengal to the mountains of Kabul, and from Tulingana to Kashmeer. He published, also, an edict, prohibiting the use of wine and strong liquors on pain of death. He himself set the example, by emptying his cellars into the streets. In this he was followed by all ranks of people, so that, for some days, the common sewers flowed with wine. He issued orders that marriage, among the nobility, should not be ratified without a license from the crown; and that no private meetings or political discussions should be held among the nobles of his court, which proved a severe check on the pleasures of society. This latter order was carried into effect so rigorously, that no man durst entertain his friends without a written permission from the Vizier. At length the King became so rapacious, that he seized the private property, and confiscated the estates both of Mussulmen and Hindoos, without distinction, and by this means accumulated immense treasures. Men, in short, were almost reduced to a level over all the empire. All emoluments were cut off from the different offices, which were now filled with men whose indigence rendered them the servile instruments of his government. He ordered a tax, equal to half the gross annual produce of the lands, to be levied throughout the kingdom,[61] and to be regularly transmitted

61. The land-tax, or, more properly speaking, the land-rent appears, from time immemorial, to have been the principal source of public revenue in almost all the countries of the East, and it indicates a very limited knowledge of the principles of political economy. The Hindoos demanded from their subjects a certain portion of the crop; the Mahomedans commuted this tax in kind into a money-payment, according to the relative value of the portion in kind, and the value of the precious metals. The British government, apparently losing sight altogether of the original Hindoo principle, which is capable of being continued for ever, is disposed to strike an average of the money-payments of ten or twenty years, and to fix a permanent assessment, in specie, on an article, the value of which fluctuates daily; and this with a view, it seems, of ensuring to the state a fixed revenue, and of limiting the demand on the cultivator: but, in truth, so far from making the assessment fixed, with regard to the agriculturist, it is, in reality, the most variable of all imposts. A tax, which has no reference to the value of the crop, may, in fact, be light one year, when grain is scarce and dear, but it becomes onerous the moment the reverse takes place, and the demand for the raw produce slackens or ceases altogether

to the exchequer. He appointed officers to superintend the revenue collectors, whose office it was to take care that the zemindars should demand no more from the cultivators than the estimate which the zemindars themselves had made; and in case of disobedience or neglect, the superintendents were obliged to refund the amount, and to pay a fine. The farmers were restricted to the occupation of a certain quantity of land, and to a limited number of servants and cattle. No grazier was allowed to have above a certain number of cows, sheep, and goats, and a tax was paid for keeping even that number, so that many of the village registrars abandoned their offices; and the mokuddums, or heads of villages, who formerly possessed large farms, and maintained expensive establishments, were obliged to dismiss them, and to cause many of the menial offices of their families to be performed by their own wives and children. Neither were they permitted to resign their employments, till they found others as capable as themselves to execute their duties. It was a common saying of the King, "That religion had no connection with civil government, but was only the business, or rather amusement of private life; and that the will of a wise prince was better than the variable opinions of bodies of men."

The King himself being wholly illiterate, it became a maxim, with the learned men at court, to talk upon no subjects beyond the King's knowledge. He was, however, so sensible of the disadvantages under which he laboured, that he applied himself privately to study, and notwithstanding the difficulty of acquiring the knowledge of Persian, after he once bent his mind to it, he soon read all addresses, and made himself acquainted with the best authors in the language. After he had made such progress as to be able to take part in learned discourses, he encouraged literary subjects, and showed particular favour to all the eminent men of that age, particularly to Kazy Mowlana Kohramy, and Kazy Moghees-ood-Deen. He appointed the last of those learned men to explain the law to him; which he did, according to the true spirit, in every point upon which he was consulted. He did not, however, do it without fear and trembling, where it differed from the King's notions of good government.

The King, one day addressing himself to Kazy Moghees-ood-Deen, said, he wished to put a few questions to him on the subject of the law. As the King had not only never consulted the learned

men on any former occasions, but had declared them all to be hypocrites and rogues, the Kazy was confounded, and replied, "I fear, by what your Majesty proposes, that my last hour is come; if so, and it be your Majesty's will, I am prepared to die; but it will be only adding unnecessarily to the crime, if I am to be punished for speaking the truth, and according to the word of God." The King asked why he was afraid. He replied, "If I speak the truth, and your Majesty is offended, it may cost me my life, and if I speak falsely, and your Majesty should ascertain the truth from others, I shall then be deserving of death." The King told him to allay his apprehensions, and to answer his questions in conformity with the law of the Prophet (on whom be the peace of God).—First question. "From what description of Hindoos is it lawful to exact obedience and tribute?"—Answer. "It is lawful to exact obedience and tribute from all infidels, and they can only be considered as obedient who pay the poll-tax and tribute without demur, even should it be obtained by force; for, according to the law of the Prophet, it is written, regarding infidels, 'Tax them to the extent that they can pay, or utterly destroy them.' The learned of the faith have also enjoined the followers of Islam, 'To slay them, or to convert them to the faith;' a maxim conveyed in the words of the Prophet himself. The Imam Huneef, however, subsequently considers that the poll-tax, or as heavy a tribute imposed upon them as they can bear, may be substituted for death, and he has accordingly forbidden that their blood should be heedlessly spilt. So that it is commanded that the Juzeea (poll-tax) and Khiraj (tribute) should be exacted to the uttermost farthing from them, in order that the punishment may approximate as nearly as possible to death.[62] The King smiled and said, "You may perceive, that without reading learned books, I am in the habit of putting in practice, of my own accord, that which has been enjoined by the Prophet."—Second question. "Is it lawful to punish public servants who may be guilty of taking bribes, or of defrauding the government, in the same manner as if they had committed theft, and were actually thieves?"—Answer. "If a public servant is handsomely paid, according to the responsibility

62. When we consider that the whole of the Hindoo population, under the Bengal presidency, is subjected to Mahomedan law alone, it is instructive to know what are the rights which the most orthodox of the FAITHFUL conceive them entitled to.

and labour imposed on him, and he is then guilty of receiving brides, or of extorting money by force from those with whom he has business, it is lawful to recover the same from him by any means which the government may think fit; but it is unlawful to deprive him of life or limb like a common malefactor."

The King replied, "In this particular, also, I have acted in conformity with the law; for I make a point of exacting, even by rack and the torture, all such sums as are proved to have been fraudulently obtained by the public servants."—Third question. Am I entitled to retain, as my private property, the wealth I obtained during my campaign against Dewgur, before I ascended the throne; or ought it to be placed in the public treasury; and has the army any right to a portion of that booty?"—Answer. "The portion of the King, in that booty, is only one share in common with every soldier who accompanied him on the expedition."

The King was displeased at this reply; and said, "How can that be considered public property, or belonging to the troops, which I obtained during the time I was general, and which was gained through my own personal exertions?"

The Kazy replied, "Whatever the King may have obtained by his individual exertion belongs to him; but whatever is obtained by the exertion of the troops, should be equally shared with them." —Fourth question. "What portion of the above property belongs of right to me individually, and to my children?"

The Kazy said, inwardly, My fate is now certainly determined; for since the King was angry at the former reply, that which I must now give will be still more offensive.

The King said, "Speak! I spare your life." The Kazy replied, "There are three modes in which your Majesty may act.

"1. If you mean to act with strict justice, and according to the laws of the caliphs, you will be content by retaining for yourself one portion in common with others who shared in the danger.

"2. If you would take a middle course, you will retain for yourself a share equal to the largest portion of the booty which has fallen to the lot of any single officer in the expedition.

"3. If your Majesty, on the other hand, adopts the opinions which will be given probably by such learned men who look out for passages in the holy books, as authority in order to reconcile the minds of kings to despotic acts, you will reserve for yourself out of that booty a portion something greater than any other

of the generals, and such as may be suitable to the splendour and dignity of the crown; but I cannot think that the King can found a plea to any thing beyond this; your royal children may, also, on the same grounds, each be allowed a portion, either equal to a share of each common soldier, or to the share of an officer of rank." The King became angry, and said, "Do you mean to assert, then, that the private expenses of my household, and the money which is distributed in presents and rewards, is done contrary to the law." The Kazy replied, "When the King consults me on points of law, I am compelled to answer according to the written law of the Koran; but if you ask me on the score of policy and government, I can only say whatever you do is right; and according to the custom of governments, the more you accumulate and expend, the greater is the splendour which attends your court and your reign." Upon this King said, "I am in the habit of stopping one months' pay for three successive years, from every soldier who neglects to appear at muster; I always make it a rule, also, to extirpate every living soul of the family of a person going into rebellion, and to confiscate the whole of their property, in whatever country it may be. Do you mean to say, also, that it is unlawful to exact fines from fornicators, thieves, and drunkards?"

The Kazy, overpowered by the language and manner of the King, got up, and went as far as the threshold of the hall, where he prostrated himself, and as he rose pronounced, "Oh, King, all that thou doest is contrary to law;" with this he absconded. The King retired in a great fury to the private apartments, while the Kazy, having reached his home, made his will, and sat patiently and resigned, awaiting the arrival of the executioner.

On the following day, contrary to his expectation, the King sent for the Kazy, and received him with great kindness. He conferred on him a handsome gold embroidered vest, and a purse of 1000 tunkas, and said, "Although I have not had the advantage of reading books like yourself, I can never forget that I was born the son of a Mussulman; and while I am quite prepared to admit the truth of all you say, yet, if the doctrines which you call law were put in practice, they alone would not answer the purpose of government, and more particularly such a government as this of Hindoostan. Unless severe punishments were inflicted for crimes they could never be checked; so that while I act with rigour in all such cases, according to the best

of my judgment, I place reliance on God, that, if I have erred, the door of mercy will be open to me a repentant sinner."

Alla-ood-Deen about this time sent an army by the way of Bengal to reduce the fort of Wurungole in Tulingana, while he himself marched towards Chittoor, a place never before attacked by the troops of the Mahomedans. After a siege of six months, Chittoor was reduced in the year A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303), and the government of it conferred on the King's eldest son, the Prince Khizr Khan, after whom it was called Khizrabad. At the same time, the King bestowed upon Khizr Khan regal dignities, and he was publicly proclaimed successor to the throne. Intelligence of these distant expeditions becoming known in Mawur-ool-Nehr, Toorghay Khan, the Mogul chief who had distinguished himself formerly against Zuffur Khan, thinking that Alla-ood-Deen would for a long time be absent, seized the opportunity of invading Hindoostan. The King, hearing of this dangerous inroad, abandoned, for the present, his designs on the Deccan, and caused his army to return to Dehly. Toorghay Khan, with twelve tomans of Mogul horse, amounting to 120,000 men, reached the capital, and encamped on the banks of the Jumna. The cavalry of the Indian army being absent on the expedition to Wurungole, the King was in no condition to face the enemy on equal terms, and therefore contented himself with entrenching his infantry on the plain beyond the suburbs, till he could collect the forces of the distant districts. The Moguls, meanwhile, having command of the adjacent country, prevented all succours from joining the Indians, and proceeded to such lengths as to plunder the suburbs of Dehly, in the King's presence, without his being able to check them. Affairs remained in this state for two months; when Alla-ood-Deen, according to some authors, had recourse to supernatural aid, and applied to a saint of those days, whose name was Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia. The effect was, that, one night, without any apparent cause, the Mogul army was seized with a panic, which occasioned their precipitate retreat to their own country; an event ascribed by the historians of the day, and by the people of Dehly, to the miraculous intervention of the saint. The King, during this alarming period, was constrained to confess, that his ideas of universal conquest were absurd.

Alla-ood-Deen, relieved from the perils of this invasion, caused a palace to be built upon the spot where he had entrenched

himself, and directed the citadel of Old Dehly to be pulled down, and built anew. But apprehensive of another invasion of the Moguls, he increased his forces so greatly, that upon calculating the expense, he found his revenues, and what treasures he had himself amassed, could not support them above six years. In this dilemma he resolved to reduce the pay of the army, but it occurred to him that this could not be done with propriety, without lowering proportionately, the price of horses, arms, and provision. He therefore caused an edict to be proclaimed, which he strictly enforced throughout the empire, fixing the price of every article of consumption. To accomplish the reduction of the prices of grain, in particular, he caused large magazines to be built upon the rivers Jumna and Ganges, and other places convenient for water-carriage, under the direction of Mullik Kubool. This person was authorised to receive half of the land tax in grain; and the government agent supplied the markets when any articles rose above the fixed price.

The first regulation was established for fixing the prices of grain at Dehly, from which we may suppose what those were for the country towns:—

Wheat, per domuny, 7½ jeetuls.[63]
Barley, domuny, 4 jeetuls.
Cheny, domuny, 5 jeetuls.
Rice in the husk, ditto, 5 jeetuls.
Oorud in the husk, ditto, 3 jeetuls.
Mutt in the husk, ditto, 3 jeetuls.

The prices remained fixed during this reign; but, in consequence of a want of water, a dearth ensued, and a difference took place in practice. It is difficult to conceive how so extraordinary a project should have been put in practice, without defeating its own end. Such a plan was neither before ever carried into effect, or has it been tried since; but it is confidently asserted, that the orders continued throughout the reign of this monarch.[64] The importation of grain was encouraged; while to

63. The domuny is equal to 2 lbs., and the jeetul, a copper coin, weighing 6 dwts.

64. Ferishta, without being aware of it, is obliged to confess, that though the orders continued unannulled, the practice was at variance with them, owing to the dearth which ensued, as he states, for want of water. Such a cause might have increased the calamity, but was not requisite

export it, or any other article of provision, was a capital crime. The King himself had a daily report laid before him of the quantity sold and remaining in the several granaries; and overseers were appointed in the different markets to inform him of abuses, which were punished with the utmost rigour. Alla-ood-Deen established also a public office and inspectors, who fixed the price of the various kinds of cloth, according to its quality, obliging the merchants to open their shops at certain hours every day, and sell their goods at the stipulated prices.

The prices established for cloth formed the second regulation: —

	Tunkas.	Jeetuls.
Cheer, Dehly, per piece[65]	16	0
Cheer, Kotla, ditto	6	0
Cheer, common, ditto	3	0
Kullaye, ditto	0	8
Koorsy, ditto	0	6
Nal Nagory, ditto	0	24
Siree Saf, fine, ditto	5	0
Ditto, ditto, middling, ditto	3	0
Ditto, ditto, coarse, ditto	2	0
Sillahutty, fine, ditto	4	0
Ditto, middling, ditto	3	0
Ditto, coarse, ditto	2	0
Kirpas, fine, 20 guz,[66]	1	0
Ditto, middling, 30 ditto	1	0
Ditto coarse, 40 ditto	1	4

The treasury, at the same time, opened a loan, by which merchants were enabled to procure ready money to import cloth from the neighbouring countries, where the poverty of the people rendered their manufactures cheaper. But what is somewhat unaccountable, while the exportation of the finer kind of manufacture was prohibited, it was not permitted to be worn at home, except by special authority from the King, which favour was only granted to men of rank.

As the value of horses had risen greatly by combination

to produce it. The period was too remote for Ferishta to become personally acquitainted with the fact.

65. The names of these cloths are many of them lost.

66. The guz varies from 21 to 32 inches.

amongst the dealers, who bought them all up from the Persian and northern merchants to enhance the price, the King published an edict, by which merchants were obliged to register the prices paid for horses, and to sell them at a certain profit within a limit time, if that price was offered them, otherwise the King took them upon his own account.

The third regulation fixed the prices of horses:—

1st class of horses from 100 to 120 tunkas.[67]
2d class of horses from 80 to 90 ditto.
3d class of horses from 65 to 70 ditto.
Ponies, from 12 to 20 ditto.

Care was taken that the merchants who brought those animals should not sell them to dealers wholesale, but reserve them for persons who wanted them for use. As many frauds were practised in spite of this regulation, a number of horse-dealers were whipt out of the city, and others even put to death.

The fourth regulation regarded the sale of slaves of both sexes:—

1st class, from 100 to 200 tunkas.
2d class, from 20 to 40 ditto.
3rd class, from 5 to 10 ditto.

The fifth regulation regarded the sale of cattle, oxen, sheep, goats, camels, and asses: in short, every useful animal, and all commodities, were sold at a stated price in the markets.

These regulations extended even to the price of grocery:—

Sugar-candy, 1 seer, 2 jeetuls.
Moist sugar, 1 seer, 1 jeetul.
Red and coarse sugar, 1 seer, ½ jeetul.
Lamp oil, 3 seers, 1 jeetul.
Ghee (clarified butter), 1 seer, ½ jeetul.
Salt, 5 seers, 1 jeetul.
Onions and garlick, 1 seer, 1 jeetul.

The King received daily reports from three different departments on this subject; and he even employed the boys in the street to go and purchase articles, to ascertain that no variation took place from the fixed rates.

It is related in the Moolhikat of Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen Beejapoory, that one of his favourites, by way of a joke, proposed a

67. 160 rupees.

fixed price for prostitution; and the King, smiling, said, Very well, that shall be fixed also. Accordingly, prostitutes, were classed under the denomination of first, second, and third, and a price fixed on them.

In order to comprehend the true value of the money of that day, it is proper to state, that a tunka was equal to a tola in weight, whether of gold or silver, and a tunka of silver was equal to 50 jeetuls. The jeetul was a small copper coin, the weight of which is not now known. Some conceive it was a tola; while others are of opinion, that the jeetul, like the pice of the present day, weighed ¾ of a tola. The maund of the time of Julal-ood-Deen, weighed 40 seers, and each seer weighed 24 tolas. It is to be understood, whenever I speak of tolas generally, I mean silver tolas; and this may serve as a guide to all calculations hereafter in this work.[68]

The King having thus regulated the prices of articles, his next care was to new-model his army. He settled the pay of every horseman for himself and his horse. The first class had 234 tunkas, the second class, 156, and the third class, 88 tunkas annually, according to the goodness of the horse; and, upon a muster, he found his cavalry to consist of 475,000.[69]

In the mean time, in the year A.H. 704 (A.D. 1304), Ally Beg (one of the descendants of Chungiz Khan) and Khwaja Tash, with 40,000 horse, made an irruption into India. They passed to the north of Lahore, and skirting the Sewalik mountains, penetrated without opposition to Amroha. The King sent Toghluk Khan with a force against them; and the Moguls were

68. A sicca rupee of the present day, weighs one tola, or nearly 8 dwts of silver, and is worth 48, 62 or 76 copperpice, according to the size, which varies in different parts of India; so that if we substitute the word rupee for tunka, and pice for jeetul, we shall approach as near to the truth, as the text will allow, and sufficiently so as to give the reader some general notion of the value of the coins above alluded to.

69. We ought to be able to form some notion of the value of the precious metals in India, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, when we know that the first class of horsemen received 234 tunkas or rupees annually, and that the same class only receive 360 annually, in the nineteenth century. But all information on these subjects leads to the conclusion, that the relative value of the precious metals was much greater in the fourteenth century all over the world, than it is here represented, and consequently, that the pay of the soldier was very much higher then, than in modern times.

defeated, with the loss of 7000 men killed and wounded. Ally Beg and Khwaja Tash, with 9000 of their troops, were made prisoners, and sent in chains to the King, who ordered the chiefs to be thrown under the feet of elephants, and the soldiers to be put to death; while, as a reward for his services, Toghluk Khan was nominated viceroy of Punjab.

Aluk Khan[70] was, about this time, appointed governor and commander of the troops in Guzerat, and sent thither with a great force. Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, another chieftain, was also sent with an army to effect the conquest of Malwa. He was opposed by Koka, the Raja of Malwa, with 40,000 Rajpoot horse, and 100,000 foot. In the engagement which ensued, Ein-ool-Moolk proved victorious, and reduced the cities of Oojein, Mando, Dharanuggurry, and Chundery. After these successes, he wrote an account of the same to the King, who, on receiving it, commanded illuminations to be made for seven days throughout the city of Dehly. Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwur, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition. At this time, however, Ray Ruttun Sein, the Raja of Chittoor, who had been prisoner since the King had taken the fort, made his escape in an extraordinary manner. Alla-ood-Deen, having received an extravagant account of the beauty and accomplishments of one of the Raja's daughters, told him, that if he would deliver her over to him, he should be released. The Raja, who was very ill treated during his confinement, consented, and sent for his daughter, with a manifest design to prostitute her to the King. The Raja's family, however, hearing of this dishonourable proposal, concerted measures for poisoning the Princess, to save the reputation of the house. But the Raja's daughter contrived a stratagem by which she proposed to procure her father's release, and preserve her own honour. She accordingly, wrote to her father, to let it be known that she was coming with all her attendants, and would be at Dehly on a certain day, acquainting him with the part she intended to act. Her contrivance was this. Having selected a number of the dependents of the family, who, in complete armour, concealed themselves in litters (such as are used by women), she proceeded with such a retinue of horse and foot, as is custo-

70. The author of the Mirut Ahmudy, a very modern work, relates, that a mosque, built by Aluf Khan, at Nehrwala, is still standing.

mary to guard ladies of rank. Through her father's means, she received the King's passport, and the cavalcade proceeding by slow marches to Dehly, was admitted without interruption. It was night when the party arrived, and, by the King's especial permission, the litters were allowed to be carried into the prison, the attendants, having taken their stations without. No sooner were they within the walls, than the armed men leaping out of the litters, put the King's guards to the sword, and carried off the Raja. Horses being already prepared for his flight, he mounted one, and rushing with his attendants through the city, before opposition could be made, fled to his own country among the hills, where his family were concealed. Thus, by the exertions of his ingenious daughter, the Raja effected his escape, and from that day continued to ravage the country then in possession of the Mahomedans. At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the King ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. This Hindoo Prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoors as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of this reign. He sent annaully large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.

In the year A.H. 705 (A.D. 1305), Eibuk Khan, an officer of Ameer Dawood Khan, ruler of Mawur-ool Nehr, in order to revenge the death of Ally Beg and Khwaja Tash, invading Hindoostan, revaged Mooltan, and proceeded to Sewalik. Ghazy Beg Toghluk, in the mean time, having taken up a position in ambuscade, on the banks of the Indus, awaited the return of the Moguls to their country, and falling suddenly upon them, defeated them with great slaughter. Those who escape the sword, finding it impossible to force their way home, retired into the desert, where thirst and the hot winds which blow at that season put an end to their miserable lives; so that out of 57,000 cavalry, besides their followers, who were still more numerous, only 3,000 souls who were taken prisoners survived this defeat. These unfortunate wretches were reserved for a miserable fate. They were sent to Dehly with their chief, Eibuk Khan, where, being trodden to death by elephants, a pillar was raised before the Budaoon gate, formed of their skulls; and I am informed that a portion of it is to be seen at this day. All the Mogul women and children taken in this

war were sent to different parts of the kingdom to be sold, in the markets, as slaves. These repeated misfortunes did not deter the Moguls; for soon after Yekbalmund, a chief of reputation, again invaded Hindoostan. But Ghazy Beg Toghluk also defeated the Moguls with great slaughter, and sent some thousand prisoners to Dehly, who were put to death according to the custom of the times. From henceforward the Moguls gave over all thoughts of invading Hindoostan for many years, and were even hard pressed to defend themselves; for Ghazy Beg Toghluk, making incursions into their country every year, plundered the provinces of Kabul, Ghizny, Kandahar, and Gurmseer, and laid the inhabitant under heavy contributions.

In the Mean time Alla-ood-Deen was employed in the improvement of his internal government; and had such extraordinary success in whatever he undertook, that the superstition of the times ascribed it to supernatural agency, so much were people amazed at the good effects that resulted from his measures. Ram Dew, Raja of Dewgur, having neglected to send the tribute for the last three years, Mullik Kafoor (known by the name of Huzar Deenary[71]) was invested with the title of Mullik Naib, and placed in command of an army. Accompanied by many officers of renown, he was ordered to subdue the countries of the south of India, which, according to the language of the people, is denominated Deccan. The Emperor's attachment to Mullik Kafoor exceeded all bounds, and his wish now was to raise him to distinction among the nobles. The army was put under his especial charge, and the nobles were directed to pay their respects to him daily, as to a sovereign. This created great disgust, but no one durst complain. Khwaja Hajy, a man much esteemed in those days for his good principles, was appointed second in command in this expedition, which, (according to the authority of Kazy Ahmud Ghufary, who composed the Jehan-Ara) in the beginning of the year A.H. 706 (A.D. 1306), marched from Dehly, consisting of an army of 100,000 horse. This expedition was reinforced on the way by the troops of Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, governor of Malwa, and Aluf Khan, governor of Guzerat. Kowla Devy, one of the King's wives, and who has been before mentioned, hearing of this expedition, addressing herself to the King, told him, that before she was taken prisoner, she had borne two daughters to her

71. He derived this title from having been originally purchased for a thousand deenars.

former husband. That one of them (the eldest,) she heard, had since died, but that the other, whose name was Dewul Devy, and who was only four years old when she left her, was still alive. She, therefore, begged that the King would give orders to his generals to endeavour to get possession of her and send her to Dehly.

Mullik Naib Kafoor passed through Malwa, and having encamped on the borders of the Deccan, sent the King's order to Kurrun Ray, to deliver up his daughter Dewul Devy, which was now urged as a pretext for commencing hostilities in case of refusal. The Raja could by no means be brought to agree to this demand. According to the Moolhikat, Mullik Naib Kafoor encamped for some time in the district called Sooltanpoor, and he states that the district and town had this name from that time. Finding he could make no impression on the rajas in that vicinity, Mullik Naib in person, marched from thence, directing Aluf Khan, with his forces from Guzerat, to join him by the route leading through the mountains of Buglana, so as both to enter the Deccan together. Aluf Khan was opposed by Kurrun Ray, who for two months defeated him in every attempt to force his passage, in which time several actions were fought. Shunkul Dew, the Prince of Dewgur, had long sought to obtain the hand of the young Dewul Devy; but she being of the tribe of Rajpoot, and Shunkul Dew a Mahratta, her father withheld his consent to their union. At this time, however, Shunkul Dew sent his own brother, Bheem, Dew, with presents to Kurrun Ray, persuading him, that as Dewul Devy was the occasion of the war, if he would —deliver her over to —him, the troops of the Mahomedans, in despair of obtaining their end, would return to their own country. Kurrun Ray, relying much on the young Prince's aid, consented to the proposal, and reluctantly gave his daughter, then in her thirteenth year, in marriage to Shunkul Dew.

Aluf Khan, hearing this, was much concerned lest the King should impute this circumstances to his neglect, and resolved, at all events, if possible, to secure her before her departure. He was apprehensive that his own life depended on success. He acquainted his officers with the peculiarity of his situation, and they unanimously promised him their support. They entered the mountains in several directions, and engaging the Raja gave him a total defeat. Kurrun Ray fled to Dewgur, leaving his elephants,

tents, and equipage on the field. Aluf Khan pursued him through several passes for some time, and at length was within one march of Dewgur. Having entirely lost the track of the fugitives, he was in deep despair, when an accident threw the object of his desire in his way. While halting, for two days, to refresh his army among the mountains, some of his troops, to the number of 300, went without leave to see the caves of Elloora, in the neighbourhood of Dewgur, from which city his camp was not far distant. During this excursion, they perceived a body of horse approaching, whom they apprehended to belong to Shunkul Dew. Although they were few in number, the Mahomedans saw no safety in flight, but determined to stand on the defensive, and accordingly prepared to receive the enemy. This troop proved to be the retinue of Bheem Dew, who was conveying the young birde to his brother. The two parties instantly engaged, but the Hindoos were put to flight, while an arrow having pierced the horse of Dewul Devy, she fell, and was left on the ground. The conquerors seeing her, gathered round her horse, and commenced a bloody scuffle with the enemy for the prize. This might have proved fatal to the object of their contention, had not one of her female slaves discovered her name and quality, conjuring them to carry her to their commander. On hearing this the soldiers knew the peril of treating her with indignity; and while an express was despatched with the news to Aluf Khan, they conducted her with great care and respect to his camp.

Aluf Khan, having obtained his prize, was exceedingly rejoiced, knowing how acceptable it would be to his sovereign, over whom the lady's mother had so great influence. He, therefore, prosecuted his conquests no further, but returned to Guzerat, and proceeded from thence, with Dewul Devy, to Dehly, where he presented her to her mother. In a few days after her arrival, her beauty inflamed the heart of the King's son, Khizr Khan, to whom she was eventually given in marriage. The history of the loves of this illustrious pair is written in an elegant poem composed by Ameer Khoosrow Dehlvy. Let us now return to Mullik Naib Kafoor, whom we left entering the Deccan. Having first subdued great part of the country of the Mahrattas, which he distributed among his officers, he proceeded to the siege of Dewgur, since known by the name of Dowlutabad. Ram Dew, being in no condition to oppose the Mahomedan troops, left his son Shunkul Dew in the fort, and advanced with presents to meet the conqueror,

in order to obtain peace. Mullik Naib Kafoor, accordingly, having drawn up an account of his expedition sent it to the King, and some time after brought Ram Dew to Dehly, with rich presents and seventeen elephants, to pay his respects, where he was received with great marks of favour and distinction. Ram Dew had royal dignities conferred upon him; the title of Ray Rayan was granted to him, and he was not only restored to his government, but other districts were added to his dominion, for all which he did homage, and paid tribute to the King of Dehly. They King, on this occasion, gave him the district of Nowsary, near Guzerat, as a personal estate, and a lack of tunkas to bear his expenses home. Nor did Ram Dew neglcct to send the annual tribute to Dehly during his lifetime.

During the absence of Mullik Kafoor on this expedition, the King employed himself in taking a strong fort to the southward of Dehly, belonging to Seetul Dew, Raja of Sewana, which had often been attempted in vain. When Seetul Dew, Raja of Sewana, found he could hold out no longer, he sent his own image, which had been cast in pure gold, to Alla-ood-Deen, with a chain round its neck in token of submission. This present was accompanied with a hundred elephants, and other precious effects, in hopes of procuring peace. Alla-ood-Deen received the presents, but returned him for answer, that unless he came and made his submission in person, he could hope little from his dumb representative. The Raja, finding his enemy inexorable, threw himself upon his mercy, and delivered up the place, which, after being given over to plunder, was again restored. But the King alienated a great part of the Raja's country to his favourite chiefs, and compelled the Raja to do homage for the remainder.

It is related that the Raja of Jalwur, Nehr Dew, as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly. One day the King was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindoostan dared to oppose his arms; on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the King's troops to take the fort of Jalwur." The King directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwur; and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisht, "the Rose of Heaven." She had nearly succeeded in taking the fort, and

evinced great bravery, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort, and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly. Allo-ood-Deen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under Kumal-ood-Deen, a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwur by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures. The news of this event created great joy at the capital.

About this time A.H. 709 (A.D. 1309), the King, being informed that an expedition, which he had sent by the way of Bengal to Wurungole, in the country of Tulingana, had failed, and that his army on that side had been obliged to retreat in great distress, he sent Mullik Kafoor with another army to invade that country, by the way of Dewgur. This chief had orders, that if Luddur Dew, Raja of Wurungole, should consent to give him a handsome present, and promise an annual tribute, to return without prosecuting the war. When Mullik Kafoor and Khwaja Hajy had reached Dewgur, Ram Dew came out to meet them with offerings, and carrying them home, entertained them with great hospitality. He also ordered his markets to the camp, with strict orders to sell every thing according to the King's established prices in his own dominions. Mullik Kafoor, having marched from Dewgur, appeared at Indore,[72] on the frontiers of Tulingana, and issued orders to lay waste the country with fire and sword. This confounded the inhabitants, who had never injured their wanton enemies. Meanwhile the neighbouring rajas hastened with their forces to support Luddur Dew at this alarming crisis; but as the Moslem army proceeded by forced marches, the Raja was compelled, before the arrival of his allies to shut himself up in the fort of Wurungole, a place of great strength. The allied rajas also occupied several other strong holds in the country. Mullik Kafoor immediately invested Wurungole and began his attacks, which were repelled with great bravery. Notwithstanding the interruptions that Mullik Kafoor received from the auxiliary rajas without the place, the town of Wurun-

72. This town is situated about 60 miles due west of the city of Hyderabad, in the Deccan, and must not be confounded with that of the same name in Malwa.

gole, after some months' siege, was taken by assault, and many of the garrison put to the sword; because the inner fort, to which Luddur Dew had retired, was insufficient to contain the whole. Luddur Dew, driven to this extremity, purchased peace by presenting 300 elephants, 7000 horses, and money and jewels to a large amount; agreeing, at the same time, to pay an annual tribute. Mullik Kafoor, after this advantageous peace, returned with his army to Dehly. He despatched before him the account of his victories, which was read from the pulpit, and public rejoicings were ordered. On his approach to the city, the King himself came out to the Chubootra Nasiry, near the Budaoon gate, to receive him, and there the conqueror laid all the spoils at his sovereign's feet.

In the year A.H. 710 (A.D. 1310), the King again sent Mullik Kafoor and Khwaja Hajy with a great army, to reduce Dwara Sumoodra and Maabir[73] in the Deccan, where he heard there were temples very rich in gold and Jewels. Having reached Dewgur, they found that Ram Dew, the old King, was dead, and that the young Prince, Shunkul Dew, was not well affected to the Mahomedans. Leaving, therefore, some officers with part of the army at the town of Peitun, on the Godavery, Mullik Kafoor continued his march to the south. When the Mahomedans crossed the Raja's boundary, they began to lay waste the country, and eventually reached the sea-coast, after three months' march from Dehly; during a great part of which time they were opposed by the Hindoos, whose countries they traversed. Among others they engaged Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic,[74] and defeating him, took him prisoner, and ravaged his territory. They found in the temples prodigious spoils, such as idols of gold, adorned with precious stones, and other rich effects, consecrated to Hindoo worship. On the sea-coast, the conqueror built a small mosque, and ordered prayers to be read according to the Mahomedan

73. The Mahomedans of India, in common with the Arabs, called all the west coast of India, Maabir, or the Landing-place, from their making it the first land after they leave Arabia.

74. By the Carnatic, must be understood the country lying south of Satara and Beejapoor as far as Mysoor. The Carnatic of Europeans formes no part of the Carnatic kingdom or nation, but belongs to the geographical division, termed Draveda.

faith, and the Khootba to be pronounced in the name of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. This mosque remains entire in our days at Sett Bund Rameswur[75]; for the infidels, esteeming it a house consecrated to God, would not destroy it. The town of Dwara Sumoodra has, I understand, by the encoachment of the sea, been destroyed, and now lies in ruins.

Mullik Kafoor, having effected the object of his expedition, prepared to return to Dehly with the spoils. The night before his intended march, a quarrel arose among some brahmins, who had taken refuge in his camp. Some one who understood their language found the quarrel regarded hidden treasures, which being communicated to the superintendent of the market, the brahmins were seized and carried to Mullik Kafoor. At first, they denied any knowledge of the treasures; but their lives being threatened, and each being questioned apart, and apprhensive that one would inform against the other, they at length discovered the secret. Seven different places were pointed out near the camp, where treasures were concealed. These being dug up, and placed upon elephants, Mullik Kafoor returned to Dehly, where he arrived, without any remarkable occurrence, in the year A.H. 711 (A.D. 1311). He presented the King with 312 elephants, 20,000 horses, 96,000 maunds of gold, several boxes of jewels and pearls, and other precious effects. Alla-ood-Deen, on seeing this treasure, which exceeded that of the Badawurd of Purveez,[76] was greatly rejoiced, and rewarded all his officers with largesses. To each of the principal offices he gave ten maunds of gold, and to the inferior five. The learned men of his court each received one maund; and thus in proportion he distributed wealth to his servants, according to their rank and quality. The reminder was melted down, coined, and lodged in the treasury. It is remarkable that silver is not mentioned, as having been taken during this expedition to the Carnatic, and their is reason to conclude that silver was not used as coin in that country at all in those days. No person wore bracelets, chains, or rings of any

75. The Rameshwur, here alluded to, must be the point of that name in Canara, south of Goa, and not that at "Adam's Bridge," on the gulf of Manar.

76. Alluding to a vast treasure said to have been obtained by Purveez, from a vessel driven on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, and hence denominated the Badawurd, or that which was brought by the force of the winds.

other metal than gold; while all the plate in the houses of the great, and in the temples, was of beaten gold.[77]

Amongst other extraordinary events of this reign is the massacre of the newly converted Mahomedan Moguls. Although no particular cause is assigned for it, the King suddenly took it into his head to discharge all the soldiers of this class, desiring them to look out for other service. Some of them engaged with the omras; but the major part remained at Dehly in great distress, in hopes that the King would relent on seeing their wretched condition. He, however, remained obdurate; and some daring fellows among them, forced by their misfortunes, entered into a conspiracy to murder him. This plot being discovered, Alla-ood-Deen, instead of merely punishing the conspirators, extended his rigour to the whole body. He ordered them all to be instantly put to the sword; so that 15,000 of those unhappy wretches lay dead in the streets of Dehly in one day, and all their wives and children were enslaved. The King was so inexorable and vindictive, that no one durst attempt to conceal (however nearly connected) one of this unfortunate race, and not one of them is supposed to have escaped.

The King, elated by the success of his arms, abandoned himself to inordinate pride. He listened no longer to advice, as he sometimes condescended to do in the beginning of his reign, but every thing was executed by his irrevocable word. Yet it is related, that the empire never flourished so much as in this reign. Order and justice prevailed in the most distant provinces, and magnificence raised her head in the land. Palaces, mosques, universities, baths, mausolea, forts, and all kinds of public and private buildings, seemed to rise as if by magic. Neither did there, in any age, appear such a concourse of learned men from all parts. Forty-five doctors, skilled in the sciences, were professors in the universities.

Among the holy men were the following: Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia of Dehly, Sheikh Alla-ood-Deen, the grandson of the celebrated Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Shukrgunj of Ajudhun, Sheikh Rookn-ood-Deen, the son of Sudr-ood-Deen Aarif, and

77. It is also worthy of notice that up to a very late period, the current coin in the south of India was chiefly gold, a small coin called the gold fulum or fanam, worth only about six-pence, was current in large quantities; the vast importation of gold, however, into England, during the last 15 years, has almost drained India of that metal.

grandson of the famous Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia of Mooltan. The family of this latter personage had such influence, that persons guilty of almost any crime were protected if they sought an asylum with them. Sheikh Baha-ood-Deen Zacharia left enormous wealth to his descendants, the whole of which was expended in charity by his son and grandson. Besides these, was Syud Taj-ood-Deen, the son of Syud Kootb-ood-Deen, remarkable for his profound learning, and his extensive charities. He was originally Kazy of Oude, and eventually died Kazy of Budaoon. His brother, Syud Rookn-ood-Deen, Kazy of Kurra, was also celebrated among the learned men of his time. At Keytuhl, also, there were two brothers famous for their learning, and the sanctity of their lives, namely, Syud Mogheis-ood-Deen, and Mountujib-ood-Deen, who were styled the Nowayut Syuds.

Among the poets of this reign, we may record the names of

Ameer Khoosrow Dehlvy.
Ameer Hussun Sunjurry.
Sudr-ood-Deen Aaly.
Fukr-ood-Deen Khowass.
Humeed-ood-Deen Raja.
Mowlana Aarif.
Abdool Hukeem.
Shahab-ood-Deen Sudr Nisheen.

Besides whom were several historians and compilers of memoirs of the times. Most of the above-mentioned persons received pensions from the court.

But the King seemed to have now reached the zenith of his splendour and power; and as every thing is liable to perish, and stability belongs to God alone, so the fulness of the King's prosperity began to decline, and the lustre of his reign to fade away. He resigned the reigns of government entirely into the hands of Mullik Kafoor, whom he blindly supported in every impolitic and tyrannical measure. This gave disgust to the nobles, and caused universal discontent among the people. He neglected the education of his own children, who were removed from the seraglio, when very young, and entrusted with independent power. Khizr Khan was made viceroy of Chittoor, when as yet a boy, without any person of wisdom to advise him or to superintend his con-

duct, while Shady Khan, Moobaruk Khan, and Shahab-ood-Deen, the other princes, held public offices of the same important nature.

The Raja of Tulingana, about this time, sent some present and 20 elephants to the King, with a letter informing him that the tribute, which he had agreed to pay in his treaty with Mullik Kafoor, was ready. Mullik Kafoor, upon this, desire leave of the King to make another expedition into the Deccan, promising that he would not only collect the tribute, but bring the Raja of Dewgur and others, who had withheld it, under due subjection. Mullik Kafoor was principally moved to this by his jealousy of Khizr Khan, the declared heir to the empire, whose government lay most convenient for that expedition, and whom he feared the King intended to send to the south. Alla-ood-Deen consented to Mullik Kafoor's proposal, who accordingly proceeded the fourth time to the Deccan in the year A.H. 712 (A.D. 1312). He seized the Raja of Dewgur, and inhumanly put him to death. He then laid waste the countries of Mahrashtra and Canara, from Dabul and Choule, as far as Rachoor and Moodkul; he afterwards took up his residence at Dewgur, and realising the tribute from the Princes of Tulingana and the Carnatic, despatched the whole to Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, by this time, owing to his intemperance and excess, had ruined his constitution, and was taken extremely ill. His wife, Mullika Jehan,[78] and her son Khizr Khan, neglécted him entirely, and spent their time in riot and revelry. The King's strength daily giving way, he ordered Mullik Kafoor from the Deccan, and Aluf Khan from Guzerat, complaining to them in private of the undutiful and cruel behaviour of his wife and son towards him during his illness. Mullik Kafoor, who had long aspired to the throne, now began seriously to form schemes for the extirpation of the royal line. He therefore insinuated to the King, that Khizr Khan, the Queen, and Aluf Khan, had conspired against his life, and that which gave an air of probability to the accusation was, that at this time the Queen was very urgent to procure one of Aluf Khan's daughters to be married to her son Shady Khan. Mullik Kafoor did not fail to take advantage

78. This appellation, signifying Queen of the Universe, was assumed by many of the Queens of Dehly; this lady, therefore, is not to be confounded with the dowager queen-mother, Mullika Jehan, of the last monarch, Julal-ood-Deen Khiljy.

of this circumstance, so that the King at length being suspicious of treachery, ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to Amroha, there to continue till he himself should recover from his indisposition. Though Khizr Khan was full of the follies of youth, his father's order made a deep impression on his mind, and he felt conscious of having neglected him. At his departure, he therefore took an oath privately, that if God should spare the life of his father, he would return all the way on foot to the capital; and when he heard that his father's health began to recover, he steadily fulfilled his vow, before he waited on him. The traitor, Mullik-Kafoor, turned this act of filialpiety entirely against Khizr Khan. He insinuated that this behaviour, by such a sudden change, could be imputed to nothing but hypocrisy; and ascribed his disobedience of coming without his father's leave, to an intention, on his part, of intriguing with the nobles, in order to excite a revolution. Alla-ood-Deen did not give entire credit to these insinuations; but sending for Khizr Khan, embraced him to try his affection, and seeing him weep, seemed convinced of his sincerity, and ordered him into the seraglio, to see his mother and sisters. Unhappily for this prince, the giddiness of youth made him deviate again into his former wild habits. He neglected for several days to visit his father, during which time his subtle enemy gained over some of the King's private domestics, and induced them to support his aspersions against Khizr Khan.

At length, by a thousand wiles and artifices, Mullik Kafoor accomplished his purpose, and prevailed on the King to imprison his two sons, (Khizr Khan and Shady Khan) in the fort of Gualiar, and their mother in the old fort of Dehly. He at the same time procured an order to seize Aluf Khan, whom he unjustly put to death. Aluf Khan's brother, Nizam Khan, Soobadar of Jalwur, was also assassinated by Kumal Khan, who succeeded to his office. Thus far the schemes of Mullik Kafoor succeeded. At this time, also, the flames of universal insurrection, which had long been smothered, began to burst forth, and were first apparent in Guzerat, which rose into insurrection. To suppress this rebelion, Kumal Khan was sent thither, but the adherents of the late Aluf Khan defeated him with great slaughter. Kumal Khan was taken prisoner, and suffered a cruel death. Meanwhile the rajpoots of Chittoor threw the Mahomedan officers over the walls, and asserted their independence, while Hurpal Dew, the son-in-

law of Ram Dew, stirred up the Deccan to arms, ana expelled a number of the Mahomedan garrisons.

On receiving these accounts, the King bit his own flesh with fury. His grief and rage only tended to increase his disorder, which seemed to resist the power of medicine; and on the evening of the 6th of Shuval, in the year A.H. 716 (Dec. 19, A.D. 1316), he gave up the ghost, but not without suspicion of being poisoned by the villain whom he had raised from the dust to power. Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy reigned 20 years and some months. The household servants of this monarch amounted to 17,000 including artificers, for whom he always found employment. His wealth and power were never equalled by any prince who sat before him on the throne of Hindoostan, and they surpassed by far the riches accumulated in the ten campaigns of Mahmood Ghiznevy, all of which were left for others to enjoy.

OOMUR KHILJY

In the history of Sudr Jehan of Guzerat, we are informed that the day after the death of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. Mullik Kafoor assembled the omras, and produced a spurious testament of the deceased King, in which his youngest son, the Prince Oomur Khan was appointed his successor, and Mullik Kafoor regent, during his minority; setting aside altogether the right of primogeniture of Khizr Khan; and of the other princes. Oomur Khan, then in the seventh year of his age, was accordingly placed on the throne, and Mullik Kafoor began his administration. His first measure was to send a person to Gualiar, to put out the eyes of the Princes Khizr Khan and Shady Khan. His orders were inhumanly executed; and the Sooltana, their mother, was put into closer confinement, and her property seized. Moobarik Khan, the third son of Alla-ood-Deen, was also taken into custody, for the purpose of having his eyes put out However ridiculous it may appear, Mullik Kafoor, though an eunuch, married the mother of the Prince Oomur, the late Emperor's third wife. But the mother of the Prince Moobarik, the late King's second wife, having heard that the regent intended to put out the eyes of her son, acquainted Sheikh Nujm-ood-Deen, and he gave her some hopes

that the threatened misfortune should be prevented (A. H. 716, A. D. 1316).

Meanwhile, Mullik Kafoor, as a cloak to his designs, placed the young King every day upon the throne, and ordered the nobles to pay their respects as usual. He sent one night a band of assassins to cut off the Prince Moobarik Khan; but when they entered his apartment, he conjured them to remember his father, whose servants they had been. He then united a string of rich jewells, from his neck, which probably had more influence than his entreaties, and gave it them. They abandoned their purpose; but when they got out, they quarrelled about the division of the jewels, which they at last agreed to carry to the chief of the foot-guards, and aquaint him with what the Prince had said, and with their instructions from Mullik Kafoor. Mullik Musheer, the commandar of the foot-guards, and his lieutenant, who both owed every thing to the favour of the deceased king, shocked at the villany of Mullik Kafoor, and finding their men willing to second them, conspired against the eunuch. They accordingly entered his apartment a few hours after, and assassinated him, with some of the principal eunuchs, who were attached to his interest. This event happened 35 days after Alla-ood-Deen's death.

The Prince Moobarik Khan was released from confinement, and the reins of government placed in his hands. He, however, did not immediately assume the diadem, but acted for the space of two months as regent or vizier for his brother, till he had brought over the nobles to his interest. He then claimed his birthright, deposed his brother, and succeeded to the regal dignity. But, according to the barbarous custom and policy of those days, he deprived the Prince Oomur Khan of his eyesight, and confined him for life in the fort of Gualiar, after he had borne the title of King for three months and some days.

MOOBARIK KHILJY

On the 7th of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 717 (March 22, A.D. 1317), Moobarik ascended the throne. The commander of the foot-guards, who had saved his life, and raised him to the throne, as also his lieutenant, were ungratefully and inhumanly put to death by his orders, under no better pretence than that they pre-

sumed too much on the services they had done him. It is probable, that he was instigated to this base action by his fears, as, in some measure, appears by his immediately dispersing all the old soldiers, who were under their command, into different parts of the country. Moobarik began to dispense his favours among the nobles, but he disgusted them all by raising some of his slaves to the rank of omras. Mullik Deemar, the superintendent of the elephants, received the title of Zuffur Khan, Mahomed Moula, the King's maternal uncle, that of Sheer Shah, and Mowlana Zeea-ood Deen, that of Sudr-Jehan. In the year A.H. 717 (A. D. 1317) Mullik Kirran Beg was made a member of the council of state; and Hussun, a converted Purwary[79] slave of Guzerat, received the title of Mullik Khoosrow, and, through the King's attachment towards him, became the greatest man in the realm. He was appointed, in the first instance, to the command of the armies of Mullik Kafoor, and Khwaja Hajy, those joint conquerors of the Deccan, and at the same time received the title of Vizier.

The King, whether to affect popularity or in remembrance of his late situation, ordered all the prisons to be opened; by which means 17,000 persons were blessed with the light of day; and all the exiles were recalled by proclamation. He then commanded a present of six month's pay to be made to the whole of the troops, and conferred upon them many other advantages. He at the same time issued orders to give free access to all petitioners. He restored the lands and villages to those persons from whom they had been forcibly wrested in the late reign; and by degrees removed all the obnoxious restrictions on commerce, and the heavy tributes and taxes which had been exacted by his father. By this means, the ordinary and natural intercourse of trade fell into its usual channels; but in carrying these measures into effect, he abandoned some of the wisest institutions of his predecessor, and the sources of justice soon became polluted, and corruption prevailed. The King gave himself up entirely to wine, revelry, and lust; these vices became fashionable at court, from whence the whole body of the people was soon infected.

79. The Purwary is a Hindoo outcast, who eats flesh of all kinds, and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town.

Moobarik, in the first year of his reign, sent an army under the command of the celebrated Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany into the province of Guzerat, which had revolted. Ein-ool-Moolk was an officer of great abilities: he defeated the insurgents, cut off their chiefs, and settled the country in peace. After this, the King conferred the government of Guzerat upon Zuffur Khan, whose daughter he had taken in marriage. Zuffur Khan soon after marched his army to Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat, where some disturbances had taken place. He reduced the rebels, confiscated their estates, and sent their movable wealth to the King.

In the second year of his reign (A.H. 718, A.D. 1318), the King collecting his army, marched towards the Deccan, to chastise Hurpal Dew, the son-in-law of Ram Dew, who, by the assistance of the other princes of the Deccan, had recovered the country of the Marrattas.[80] Having appointed one Shaheen, the son of a slave, to whom he gave the title of Wufa Beg, his lieutenant in his absence, the King left Dehly and arrived at Dewgur. Here Hurpal Dew, with osme other rajas, had assembled, but fled at the approach of the Moslems. A detachment was sent in pursuit, which brought back Hurpal Dew prisoner, who was flayed alive, decapitated, and his head fixed above the gate of his own capital. The King now ordered a chain of posts to be established as far as Dwar Sumoodra, and built a mosque in Dewgur, which still remains. He appointed Mullik Beg Luky,[81] one of his father's slaves, to command in the Deccan; and, in imitation of Alla-ood-Deen, gave to his favourite, Mullik Khoosrow, the ensigns of royalty. He sent the latter towards Malabar, with part of his army, and returned in person to Dehly.

Mullik Assud-ood-Deen, a cousin of the King on his mother's side, seeing him daily in a state of intoxication, and negligent of the duties of his high station, began to entertain thoughts of usurping the crown, and formed a conspiracy against the King's life. The plot, however, was disclosed by one of the conspirators, and Assud-ood-Deen was condemned to death. Whether

80. The proper name is Maharashtra, the inhabitants of which are called Marrattas.

81. The tribe of Luk is among the most ancient of the original families of the low countries of Farsistan, in Persia.

Moobarik had found proofs that his brothers were concerned in this transaction is not known; but at that time he sent an executioner to Gualiar, and caused the Princes to be put to death. He also caused Dewul Devy, the wife of his elder brother Khizr Khan, to be brought to the royal haram.

Moobarik, now in quiet possession of Guzerat, the Deccan, and most parts of northern India, gave a loose to the most unbridled excesses. He grew more perverse, proud, vindictive, and tyrannical, than ever; despising all council, ill treating his friends, and inflicting the most sanguinary and unjust punishments, merely in conformity with his obstinate and arbitrary will. Zuffur Khan, the governor of Guzerat, among others, fell a victim to his caprice, as also Wufa Beg, upon whom he had heaped such favours; both suffered death without even an accusation. The King became infamous for every vice that can disgrace human nature, and condescended so far as to dress himself often like a common actress, and go with the public women to dance at the houses of the nobility. At other times, he would lead a gang of abominable prostitutes, half naked, along the terraces of the royal palaces, and oblige them to exhibit themselves before the nobles as they entered the court. These, and other indecencies too shocking to mention, were the constant sources of his daily amusement. After the death of Zffiur Khan, Hissam-ood-Deen, uncle to Mullik Khoosrow, obtained the government of Guzerat. He had not long been established, when in conjunction with a few nobles he rebelled. The other nobles of Guzerat, rising in arms, defeated him, and sent him prisoner to Dehly. Here he was not only pardoned, but regained his place in the King's favour, and Mullik Wujee-ood-Deen Kooreishy was sent to Guzerat in his stead. About this time news arrived, that Mullik Beg Luky, governor of the Deccan, had rebelled. The King sent a force to suppress that insurrection, which contrived to seize Mullik Beg and his principal adherents, and to send them to Dehly, where the chief had his ears cut off, and the others were put to the torture. Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany was now raised to the office of governor of the Deccan.

In the year A. H. 719 (A. D. 1319), Mullik Khoosrow, who had gone to Malabar, stayed there about one year. He plundered the country of one hundred and twenty elephants, a perfect diamond, weighing one hundred and sixty-eight ruttys, with other

jewells, and gold to a great amount. His ambition was increased by his wealth; and he proposed to establish himself in the Deccan in an independent sovereignty. Being unable to gain over any of the chief officers of his army, he conceived a project for their destruction. To this end, he recalled one Mullik Tubligha from the government of the island of Goa. He also recalled Mullik Teimoor and Mullik Gool, Afghans, who were in different services, and gave out that he had orders to return to Dehly. These nobles, having intelligence of his designs, disobeyed his commands, and wrote a remonstrance to court, accusing Mullik Khoosrow of treason. The King commanded him to be seized, and to be sent prisoner to Dehly, which order the officers found means to execute. When Khoosrow came before the King, he pleaded his own cause so successfully, and retorted on his accusers with such plausibility, that the King believed the whole accusation originated in envy and disgust at being commanded by his favourite. He immediately recalled his accusers, and though they gave undoubted proofs of their assertions, he not only shut his ears against the defence which they brought forward, but disgraced them, confiscated their estates, and reduced them to poverty. Other nobles, seeing that the enemies of Mullik Khoosrow, right or wrong, were destined to destruction, made excuses, in order to obtain leave to retire to distant parts of the empire. A few sycophants adhered to the favourite, who had now become the object of universal dread, as well as the source of all honours and promotion. This slave, in the mean time, cherished his own ambitious views, and began again to form measures for his own advancement to the throne.

To accomplish this purpose, he told the King, that as his fidelity had been so generously rewarded, and as the King might still have occasion for his services in the conduct of his military affairs, he begged that he might be permitted to send for some of his relations from Guzerat, on whom he could more certainly depend than officers now in the King's service, who were jealous of his elevation. The King acceded to his request; and Mullik Khoosrow remitted a large sum of money, by some of his agents, to Guzerat, who collected about 20,000 of his own cast, the dregs of the people, and brought them to Dehly. Every office of profit and trust was conferred upon those vermin, which bound them fast to Mullik Khooshow's interest.

In the year A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321) on one occasion, as the King was going to hunt towards Sursawa, a plot was formed to assassinate him. But this was laid aside on account of a difference of opinion among the conspirators. They therefore resolved to perform their tragedy in the palace. Moobarik returned to Dehly, and, according to custom, gave himself up to his debauched habits. Mullik Khoosrow, full of his project, took the opportunity of a favourable hour, to beg the King's permission to entertain his friends in the outer court of the palace. The King not only consented, but even issued orders to give them free access at all times; by which means the courts of the palace became crowded with the followers of the favourite. The plot for the King's assassination was not even kept secret, many people in the city heard of it from the incautious and profligate band which was employed by Mullik Khoosrow; but such was his influence over the King's mind, that none dared to mention it. At length Kazy Zeea-ood-Deen, one of the most learned men in the city, and who had been the King's tutor in his youth, gained access, and told him plainly that such a plot was notorious throughout the town. He recommended immediate measures to be taken for seizing Khoosrow, and for instituting an enquiry into the truth; observing, if it should be clearly proved to be unfounded, it would only be the cause of an increase of the King's favour towards his minister. At this identical moment Mullik Khoosrow, who had been listening, entered in a female dress, with all the affectation of a girl. The King, on seeing him, got up, embraced him, and forgot all that Kazy Zeea-ood-Deen had said.

On the following night, the Kazy, still suspicious of treason, could not go to rest, but walked out about midnight, to see whether the guards were watchful. In his rounds, he met Mundul, Khoosrow's uncle, who engaged him in conversation. In the mean time, one Jahirba came behind him, and with one stroke of a sabre laid him low on the ground, leaving him only strength to cry out, "Treason! treason! murder and treason are on foot." Two or three servants who attended him ran off, screaming aloud that the Kazy was assassinated. The guards started up in confusion, but were instantly attacked by the conspirators, and massacred before they could prepare for defence.

The King, alarmed at the noise, asked Mullik Khoosrow, who lay in his apartment, the cause. The villain arose as if to enquire, and going out on the terrace, stood for some time, and returning, told the King, that some of the horses belonging to the guard had broken loose and were fighting, while the people were endeavouring to secure them. This satisfied Moobarik for the present, but soon after, the conspirators ascended the stairs and got upon the terraces which led to the royal sleeping apartment. Here they were stopped by Ibrahim and Isaac, two servants, as well as by the sentries over the private chambers, all of whom were immediately put to the sword. The King hearing the clash of arms, and the groans of dying men so near, arose up in great alarm, and ran towards the haram, by a private passage. At this moment Mullik Khoosrow, fearing he might escape, rushed after him, and seizing him by the hair in the gallery, struggled with him for some time. Moobarik, being the stronger man, threw Khoosrow on the ground: but as Khoosrow had twisted his hand in the King's hair, the latter could by no means disengage himself, till some of the other conspirators came, and with a stroke of a scimitar cut off the King's head, and threw it into the court-yard (A. H. 721, A. D. 1321).

The conspirators below began to be hard pressed by the guards and the servants, who now crowded from all quarters; but on hearing of the King's fate, the latter hastened out of the palace. The conspirators then shut the gates, and massacred such as had not the good fortune to escape. The ruffians now entered the female apartments, and put to death the mother of the Prince Fureed Khan, as well as the younger children of the late Alla-ood-Deen, and the Princes Fureed Ally and Omur. Besides which, they gave a loose to their inclinations in every possible manner among the ladies of the seraglio. Thus the vengeance of God overtook and exterminated the race of Alla-ood-Deen for his ingratitude to his uncle Feroze, and for the streams of innocent blood which flowed from his hands. Heaven also punished his son Moobarik, whose name and reign would be too infamous to have a place in the records of literature, did not our duty, as an historian, oblige us to this disagreeable task. Notwithstanding which, we have in some places been obliged to draw a veil over circumstances too horrid and indecent to relate.

This event occurred on the 25th of Rubb-ee-ool-Awul, in the year A. H. 721 (March 24, A. D. 1321). In the morning Khoosrow, surrounded by his creatures, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Nasir-ood-Deen. He then ordered all the slaves and servants of Moobarik, whom he thought had the least spark of honesty, to be put to death, and their wives and children to be sold as slaves. His brother was dignified with the title of Khan Khanan, or chief of the nobles, and married to one of the daughters of the late Alla-ood-Deen. Khoosrow took Dewul Devy, the widow of his murdered master and sovereign to himself, and disposed of the other ladies of the seraglio among his beggarly relations. The household troops[82] still remained to be bribed, and they loved nothing better than a revolution; for it had always been customary, on such occasions, for them to receive a donation of six months' pay from the treasury. A trifle purchased the service of those dissolute slaves, who were lost to all sense of gratitude or honour.

In the year A. H. 721 (A. D. 1321) the son of Kimar, the chief of a gang of thieves, received the title of Shaista Khan, and was made chief secretary; while Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany was appointed captain-general of the forces. Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Joona Khan, obtained the title of Khoosrow Khan, with the appointment of master of the horse, and many other distinguished honours. This the King did in order to gain over to his cause that chief's father (Ghazy Beg Toghluk), governor of Lahore and Depalpoor, of whom the usurper was in great fear. Notwithstanding his promotion, Joona Khan was touched to the soul to see the condition of affairs. His father, also, who was reckoned a man of great courage and honour, indignant at the infamous proceedings at court, was roused to revenge. He acquainted his son with his purpose; and Joona Khan, taking the first opportunity to fly from Dehly, joined his father. The usurper was in great perplexity after the flight of Joona Khan, and began already to despair of maintaining himself. Ghazy Beg Toghluk immediately prepared for hostilities, and, by circular letters, invited all the nobles to join his standard. A great many of the governors of the provinces put their troops in motion; but Mogultugeen, the governor of Mooltan, unwilling

82. The reader of history will recognise in this scene the ordinary course of such revolutions, whether at Rome, Constantinople, or Dehly.

to act a secondary part, refused to join, and he was accordingly cut off by Beiram Abia, a Mogul chief of some note in that quarter. Mullik Beg Luky, governor of Samana, though the usurper had been the occasion of his losing his ears, transmitted the circular letter of Ghazy Beg Toghluk to Khoosrow, informing him of the rebellion. Mullik Beg took the field against the confederates, sustained a signal defeat, and in his flight to Dehly was attacked by the Zemindars, who put him to death. The usurper now sent his brother, Khan Khanan, and Yoosoof Suffy, with all on whom he could depend, against the confederates.

Ghazy Beg Toghluk, being joined by Beiram Abia with the army from Mooltan, and other governors of provinces, advanced to oppose the usurper's army on the banks of the Soorsutty. The troops of Grazy Beg were experienced in frequent wars with the Moguls, and those of Khoosrow were enervated by indolence and debaucheries, besides being lost to all sense of military honour. The latter were broken at the first onset, and the public treasure, elephants, and baggage were taken. The booty was divided on the field among the conquerors, who then continued their march in triumph towards Dehly. The usurper, in great embarrassment, marched out of the city, and took possession of a strong post near the Houz Alla-ood-Deeny, with the citadel in his rear, and many gardens with high walls in his front. He then opened the treasury, and gave three years' pay to his troops, leaving for himself nothing but the jewels, of some of which he also disposed. The confederates advancing, an action was expected next morning, but, on that night, Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany withdrew his forces from the usurper, and took the route of Mando. Although this event affected Khoosrow's army, yet his troops drew up in order of battle, and Mullik Tubligha and Shaista Khan opposed the confederates with great bravery, as they advanced through the lanes. These chiefs were at length overpowered and slain. Their position gave such advantages to the usurper's army, that they maintained it till the evening, when at length Khoosrow fled, with a few of his friends, towards Jeelput. On the way he was deserted by most of his attendants, and obliged to conceal himself in a tomb, from whence he was dragged the next day, and ordered to be put to death, together with his brother, who was taken in a neighbouring garden (Rujub 30, A.H. 721, August 22, A.D. 1321).

The day after this action, being the 1st of Shaban, A.H. 721, (August 22, A.D. 1321), the nobles and magistrates of the city came to pay their respects to the victor, and presented him with the keys of the city. He mounted his horse, and entered Dehli in triumph. When he came in sight of the palace of Huzar-minar (Thousand Minarets), he wept bitterly, crying with a loud voice, "O ye subjects of this great empire, I am no more than one of you, who unsheathed my sword to deliver you from oppression, and rid the world of a monster. My endeavours, by the blessing of God, have been crowned with success. If, therefore, any member of the royal line remain, let him be brought, that justice may be done, and that we, his servants, may prostrate ourselves before his throne. But if none of the race of kings have escaped the bloody hands of tyranny and usurpation, let the most worthy of the nobility be elected among you, and I swear to abide by your choice."

The people cried out with one voice, that none of the princes were now alive; that as he had shielded them from the vengeance of the Moguls, and delivered them from the rage of a tyrant, none was so worthy to reign. Then laying hold on him, the populace raised him up, and having placed him upon the throne, hailed him as Shah Jehan (the King of the Universe), but he assumed the more modest title of Gheias-odd-Deen.—The reign of Khoosrow lasted only five months.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK

BOTH the ancient and modern historians of Hindoostan have omitted to mention the origin of this Prince, so that in fact we have no satisfactory accounts of his pedigree. But the author of this work, Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, when deputed by his sovereign, Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor, to the court of Jehangeer Padshah, then at Lahore, took pains to enquire from certain persons in that country, well read in Indian history, what they knew of the origin of the Toghluk dynasty. They all agreed that no written authority existed on the subject, but said that it was generally believed, according to tradition, that the name of the father of Gheias-ood-Deen (the first of the family who ascended the throne of Dehli) was Toghluk, and that he was a

THIRD TARTAR DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

ENTITLED TOGHLUK.

1

Salar Rujub — Sister. Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk I.

3 Feroze Bin Salar Rajub.

2 Mahomed I.

Futteh Khan.

6 Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed II.

Zuffur Khan.

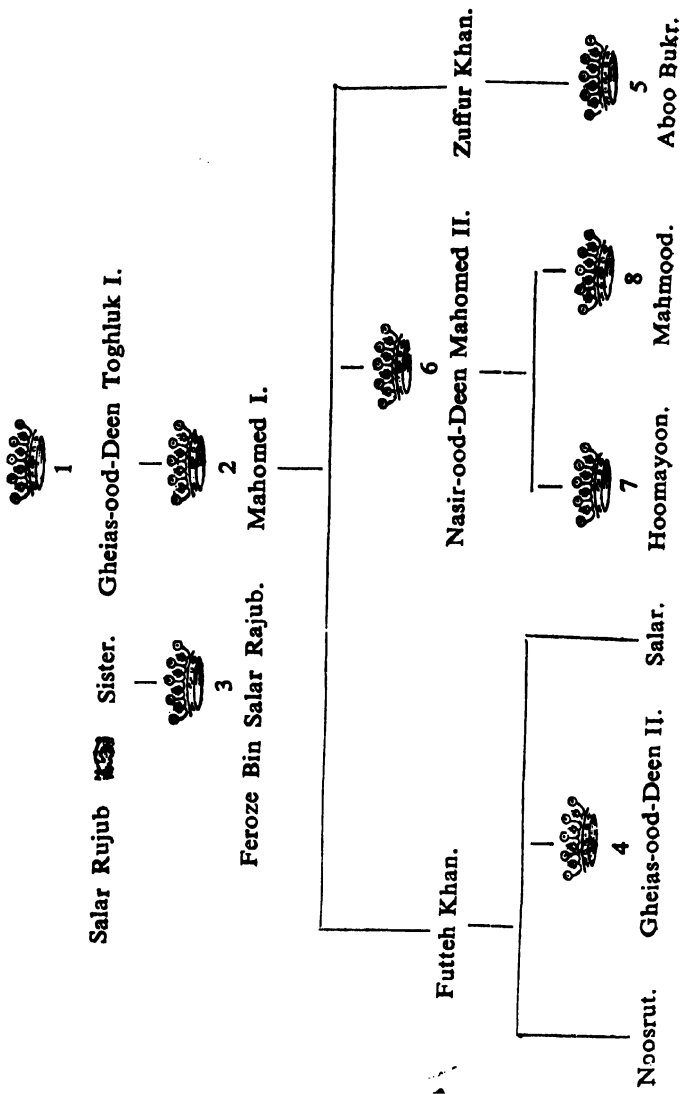
Noosrut.

4 Gheias-ood-Deen II.

Salar.

7 Hoomayoon.

8 Mahmood.

5 Aboo Bukr.

Toorky slave of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun; that he married a woman of the Jut tribe (the cultivators of Lahore and its vicinity), and that she was the mother of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk. The author of the Moolhikat says that the name is properly Kootloogh, from whence is derived Kootloo, but that Toghluk is a vulgarism.

When Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk ascended the throne, he regulated the affairs of the government, which had fallen into disorder, in so satisfactory a manner, as to obtain general esteem. He repaired the old palaces and fotifications, built others, and encouraged commerce. Men of genius and learning were invited to his court: a code of laws for the civil government were framed, founded upon the Koran, and consistent with the ancient usages of the Dehly monarchy.

In the year A.H. 721 (A.D. 1321), Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen Joona, the King's eldest son, was declared heir-apparent, with the title of Aluf Khan, and the royal ensigns were conferred on him. The King's other four sons were, Beiram, Zuffur, Mahmood, and Noosrut. Beiram Abia, who had so effectually aided the King with the army from Mooltan, and whom he now adopted as a brother, received the title of Kishloo Khan, and was appointed his lieutenant over the provinces on the Indus. Mullik Assud-ood-Deen, one of the King's nephews, was appointed Barbik, and Mullik Baha-ood-Deen, another nephew, was appointed Aariz-ool-Moomalik, with the province of Samana for his support. Mullik Shady, another nephew, who was also the king's son-in-law, was made vizier, Mullik Boorhan-ood-Deen, received the government of Dewgur, and his adopted son, Tartar Khan, the government of Zuffurabad.

The King, meantime, stationed troops on the Kabul frontiers, and built forts to protect his dominions from the incursions of the Moguls, which so effectually answered the purpose, as to prevent his being troubled by these invaders during the whole of his reign. In the second year after his accession, the Prince Aluf Khan, the King's eldest son, attended by some of the old nobles, with the troops of Chundery, Budaoon, and Malwa, was despatched towards Tulingana. It appears that Luddur Dew, the Raja of Wurungole, during the late disturbances, had refused to send his tribute, and the province of Dewgur had also relapsed into disaffection. The Prince Aluf Khan advanced accordingly

into those countries, and plundered them in every direction. Luddur Dew opposed the Mahomedans with spirit, but was in the end obliged to retreat into the city of Wurungole, which Aluf Khan immediately invested.

The siege was carried on with great loss on both sides; but the works having been lately strengthened, no practicable breach could be effected. The Moslems, meanwhile, on account of the hot winds and severe weather, were seized with a malignant distemper, which swept away hundreds every day. Many became desirous to return home, and to this end spread false reports through the camp, which threw universal consternation over the army. No advices having been received for above a month from Dehly, one Sheikhzada of Damascus, Oobeid the poet, and some other companions of the Prince Aluf Khan, circulated a report, that the Emperor was dead, and that a revolution had taken place at Dehly. Not content with this, they went to the tents of Mullik Kafoor, seal-keeper, and Mullik Tuggeen, two of the principal officers in camp, and told them the state of affairs at Dehly. They also said that the Prince Aluf Khan, suspecting that they would dispute his right to the throne, had resolved to cut them off.

In the year A.H. 722 (A.D. 1322), the officers, deceived by this false information, left the camp that night with all their adherents. The Prince Aluf Khan thus deserted, was under the necessity of raising the siege, and retreating in haste and disorder towards Dewgur, wither he was pursued by the enemy with great slaughter. On his arrival there, letters of a late date being received from Dehly, exposed the falsehood of these rumours, on which the Prince halted, and collected his scattered army. The officers who had fled, disagreeing, took separate routes; they were attacked by the infidels, plundered of their elephants, camels, and baggage, and otherwise greatly harassed in their march. Two of them, Mullik Teimoor, and Mullik Tuggeen, both fell victims. The former died, in a prison of one of the Hindoo Rajas; and the other was cut off by the Marattas; while Mullik Gool Afghan, and Mullik Kafoor, were seized by their own troops, and brought back to Dewgur. An enquiry was instituted into their conduct; the authors of the false reports were discovered, seized, and sent prisoners to Dehly. On their arrival there, the King ordered them to be buried alive, with the severe

remark, "that as they had buried him alive in jest, he would bury them alive in earnest."

The Prince Aluf Khan, after his retreat from Dewgur, brought back to Dehly only three thousand horse, of all his great army. In two months, however, he recruited his troops, and again marched to Wurungole. On his way thither, he besieged and took the town of Bedur, belonging to the Raja of Wurungole, on the frontiers of Tulingana, and some other places, wherein he left garrisons. He then advanced to the capital, and renewing the siege of Wurungole, reduced it to surrender. Some thousands of Hindoos were put to death, and Luddur Dew, with his family, were taken prisoners. Aluf Khan sent them, together with their treasures, elephants, and private property, to Dehly, under charge of Kuddur Khan, and Khwaja Hajy, the latter of whom had been second in command under Mullik Naib Kafoor. Upon their reaching the capital, great rejoicings were made in the new citadel at Dehly, which the King had just finished, and to which he gave the name of Toghlukabad. The Prince Aluf Khan appointed officers to govern the country of Tulingana, and caused Wurungole to be called Sooltanpoor,[83] after which he proceeded in person towards Jajnuggur. On this occasion, he took forty elephants from the Raja, and sent them to his father. Returning to Wurungole, he stayed there a few days, and marched back to Dehly.

In the beginning of the year A.H. 724 (A.D. 1323), complaints arrived from Luknowty and Soonargam, of the oppressions committed by the governors of that province, and Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, after having appointed his son Aluf Khan to the government of Dehly, marched in person towards Bengal. In the year A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325) when he reached Nahib,[84] Nasir-ood-Deen, Kurra Khan, the son of Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, and father of Kei Koobad, who had remained in that government since the death of his father, came from Luknowty to pay his respects, bringing with him many valuable presents. He was confirmed in his government of Bengal, and permitted to assume the ensigns of royalty; after which, Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk prepared for his return. At this time, also, Tartar Khan, the King's adop-

83. Wurungole soon lost this Mahomedan title, and to this day bears its ancient Hindoo name.

84. This name is indistinct in all my MSS. and is probably incorrect.

ted son, was nominated to the government of Soonargam, and directed to reduce to subjection Bahadur Shah, an officer of the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. Bahadur Shah was defeated, and fled; but Tartar Khan succeeded in seizing him, and sent him to the King. In the Futtooh-oos-Sulateen,[85] it is related, that as the King was passing near the hills of Tirhoot, the Raja appeared in arms, but was pursued into the woods. Finding his army could not penetrate them, the King alighted from his horse, called for a hatchet, and cut down one of the trees with his own hand. The troops, on seeing this, applied themselves to work with such spirit, that the forest seemed to vanish before them. They arrived at length at a fort, surrounded by seven ditches full of water, and a high wall. The King invested the place, filled up the ditches, and destroyed the wall in three weeks. The Raja and his family were taken, and great booty obtained, while the government of Tirhoot was left in the hands of Ahmud Khan, the son of Mullik Tubligha, after which the King returned towards Dehly. On reaching Afghanpoor, he was met by his son Aluf Khan, with all the nobles of the court, who came to congratulate him on his safe return. At this spot Aluf Khan had raised a temporary wooden building, in three days' time, for his father's reception. When the entertainment was over, the King ordered his equipage to proceed : every body hastened out, and stood ready to accompany him, when the roof of the building suddenly fell, and the King and five of his attendants were crushed in the ruins.

Some authors have attributed this accident to the nature of the building, and think it might have been pushed down by the crowd of elephants that were without. Others refer it to design, of which they accuse the Prince Aluf Khan as the contriver, because, say they, the construction of such a building in a camp was quite unnecessary; and Zeea Burny, a contemporary of Feroze Toghluk, between whom and Aluf Khan, afterwards Mahomed Toghluk, the greatest intimacy subsisted, has neglected to mention the story in his history. But it will occur to all unprejudiced persons, that these accusations are far from probable. For it must be recollected that the Prince himself had been for

85. The Futtooh-oos-Sulateen, or the victories of Kings, is, I understand, a compilation of little authority, and may be ranked with the jama ool-Hikayat, or other collections of historical romances.

some time with his father in the building, during the entertainment: how, then, was he to effect, as if by a miracle, that the house should fall on the very moment he left it? But the most entertaining surmise is that recorded by Sudr Jehan Guzeratty, who asserts, that the Prince Aluf Khan raised the palace by magic, and the instant the magical art which upheld it was withdrawn, it fell. Hajy Mahomed Kandahary says, that it was struck by lightning, and this does not seem at all improbable. But God only knows the real truth.

The death of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk happened in the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul, of the year A.H. 725 (February, A.D. 1325), after a reign of four years and some months. The poet, Ameer Khoosrow of Dehly, who lived to the end of this King's reign, and received a pension of 1000 tunkas monthly, wrote the history of this Prince, under the title of the Toghluk Nama; but the work is very scarce.

MAHOMED TOGHLUK

In the year A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325), on the third day after the King's funeral, his eldest son Aluf Khan ascended the throne, by the title of Mahomed Toghluk, and proceeded from Toghlukabad to Dehly. On this occasion, the streets of the city were strewed with flowers; the houses adorned; drums beaten; and every demonstration of joy was exhibited. The new monarch ordered some elephants laden with gold and silver to precede and follow the procession, from which money was scattered among the populace. Tartar Khan, whom the late Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk had adopted as his son, and appointed to the government of Soonargam, was honoured with the title of Beiram Khan, and received a hundred elephants, a crore of golden tunkas (166,666*l*. 3*s*. 6*d*.), two thousands horses, and was appointed to the government of Bengal. To Mullik Sunjur Budukhshy were also given seventy lacks (116,666*l*. 4*s*. 4*d*.); to Mullik-ool-Moolk Imad-ood-Deen, eighty lacks (133,333*l*. 6*s*. 8*d*.); and to Mowlana Azd-ood-deen, the King's preceptor, forty lacks (66,666*l*. 3*s*. 4*d*.); all on one day. Mowlana Nasir-ood-Deen Koomy had an annual pension of one lack; and Mullik Ghazy, the poet, had also a pension to the same amount. Nizam-ood-deen

Ahmud Bukhshy, surprised at the vast sums stated by historians as having been lavished by this Prince, took the trouble to ascertain, from authentic records, that these tunkas were of the silver currency of the day, in which was amalgamated a great deal of alloy, so that each tunka only exchanged for 16 copper pice.[86] In the early part of his reign the King's liberality attracted to Dehly some of the most learned men of Asia, who returned to their countries laden with honours and with gifts. He established hospitals for the sick, and almshouses for widows and orphans, on the most liberal scale. He was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his time; and his letters, both in Arabic and Persian, display so much elegance, good taste, and good sense, that the most able secretaries of latter times study them with admiration. He was fond of history, and had so retentive a memory, that he recollected almost every event he head of, and the time it occurred. He was skilled, also, in the sciences of physics, logic, astronomy, and mathematics; and he had the talent of discovering the character of persons from a very slight acquaintance. He even went so far as to attend himself on patients afflicted with any remarkable disease. He studied the philosophy of the Greek schools, and after his accession to the throne he maintained disputes with Assud Muntuky, the metaphysician; Oobeid the poet; Nujm-ood-deen Intishar; and Mowlana Ein-ood-deen Shirazy, besides other learned men. He, however, took no delight in works of fiction written for amusement, such as tales or romances, nor did he encourage buffoons or actors. He wrote some good Persian poetry himself, and was the patron of literary men in general. He was not less famous for his gallantry in the field than for those accomplishments which render a man the ornament of private society. His constant desire of extending his territory accounts for his having passed the greater part of his life in the camp. He is represented by contemporaries as one of the wonders of the age in which he lived, from his possessing, in so eminent a degree, qualities and accomplishments so opposite. He even wished to unite in his own person the duties of a monarch with those of a high priest. He was always regular at his own daily prayers, and punished those persons who neglected theirs. He abstained from fornication,

86. Making a tunka worth only about *4d.*, instead of *2s.*, and the whole amount equal to 533,331*l.*

drunkenness, and other vices forbidden in the holy book. But with all these admirable qualities, he was wholly devoid of mercy or of consideration for his people. The punishments he inflicted were not only rigid, and cruel, but frequently unjust. So little did he hesitate to spill the blood of God's creatures, that when any thing occurred which excited him to proceed to that horrid extremity, one might have supposed his object was to exterminate the human species altogether. No single week passed without his having put to death one or more of the learned and holy men who surrounded him, or some of the secretaries who attended him. On his nobles and relatives, however, he conferred great honours and distinctions, and the following were among those who were most favoured: Mullik Feroze, his cousin, was appointed Naib of the Barbik, or deputy grand usher; Mullik Bedar Khiljy was graced with the title of Kuddur Khan, and was made governor of Luknowty on the death of Nasir-ood-Deen Khiljy. Kootloogh Khan was made Vakeel-i-Dur; Mullik Mukbool was created Imam-ool-Moolk, and was nominated Vizier-ool-Momalik. Ahmud Ayaz received the title of Khwaja Jehan, and the government of Guzerat; Mullik Mokbil was created Khan Jehan, and appointed vizier of Guzerat. Mahomed, the son of Kootloogh Khan, also received an estate for his support in Guzerat; and Mullik Shahab-ood-Deen was created Mullik-oot-Toojar (chief of the merchants), and received the estate of Nowsary for his maintenance. In the year A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327), in the beginning of the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, before the government was settled, Toormooshreen Khan, a chief of the tribe of Choghtay, and a Mogul general of great fame, invaded Hindoostan with a vast army, in order to make an entire conquest of it. He subdued Lumghan, Mooltan, and the northern provinces, and advanced rapidly towards Dehly. Mahomed Toghluk, seeing he could not cope with the enemy in the field, and that the city must soon fall, sued for peace. He sent valuable presents in gold and jewels, to soften the Mogul chief, who at last consented, on receiving almost the price of the kingdom, to withdraw to his own country, retreating through Guzerat and Sind on his return; both of which territories he plundered, and carried off many of the inhabitants. Zeea-ood-Deen Burny, who flourished under this reign, has omitted to make mention of this eventful irruption for fear of giving offence to his successor. Mahomed Toghluk, how-

ever, turned his thoughts to conquest within India; and he so completely subjected the distant provinces of Dwar-Sumoodra, Maabir. Kumpila, Wurungole, Luknowty, Chutgaun (Chitagong), and Soonargâm; that they were as effectually incorporated with the empire as the villages in the vicinity of Dehly. He also subdued the whole of the Carnatic, both in length and breadth, even to the shore of the sea of Ooman.[87] But in the convulsions which soon after shook the empire, all these conquests, with the exception of Guzerat, were wrested from him, and continued separate. The causes of the disturbances were chiefly these: the heavy taxes which in this reign were imposed on the inhabitants of the Dooab, and other provinces; the passing of copper money for silver, by public decree; the raising of 370,000 horse for the conquest of Khorassan and Mawur-ool-Nehr; the sending of 100,000 horse towards the mountains between India and China; the cruel massacre of many Mahomedans, as well as Hindoos, in different parts of India; and many other lesser reasons, which, for the sake of brevity, we forbear to mention.

The duties levied on the necessaries of life realised with the utmost rigour, were too great for the power of industry to cope with: the country, in consequence, became involved in poverty and distress. The farmers fled to the woods, and maintained themselves by rapine; the lands were left uncultivated; famine desolated whole provinces, and the sufferings of the people obliterated from their minds every idea of subjection. The copper money, for want of proper regulations, was productive of evils equal to those already specified. The King, unfortunately for his people, adopted his ideas upon currency from a Chinese custom of using paper on the Emperor's credit, with the royal seal appended, in lieu of ready money. Mahomed Toghluk, instead of stamped paper, struck a copper coin, which he issued at an imaginary value, and caused it to pass current by a decree throughout Hindoostan. The mint was under bad regulations. Bankers acquired large fortunes by coinage. Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received for the articles they sold silver and gold in foreign markets. In the year A.H. 727 (A.D. 1326), there was so much corruption practised in the mint, that for a premium to those persons who had the management of it, mer-

87. Indian ocean, lying between Arabia and the Indian peninsula.

chants had their coin struck considerably below the legal value; and these abuses were connived at by the government. The great calamity, however, consequent upon this debasement of the coin arose from the known instability of the government. Public credit could not long subsist in a state so liable to revolutions as Hindoostan; for how could the people in the remote provinces receive for money, the base representative of a treasury that so often changed its master?

From these evils the discontent became universal, and the King was at length obliged to call in the copper currency. Such abuses had occurred in the mint, however, that, after the treasury was emptied, there still remained a heavy demand. This debt the King struck off, and thousands were ruined. The state, so far from gaining by this crude scheme, had exhausted its treasury; and the bankers, and some merchants, alone accumulated fortunes at the expence of their sovereign and the people. Mahomed Toghluk, at the representation of Ameer Nowroze Beg, a Mogul chief, who, with thousands of his tribe, had entered into the service, buoyed himself up with hopes of the facility of reducing both Persia and Tartary. But, before these projects could be put in execution, the troops were all in arrears. These, finding they could not subsist without pay, dispersed, and carried pillage, ruin, and death to every quarter. Such are the calamities comprehending the domestic transactions of many years. The public treasury thus exhausted by his former impolitic scheme, the King resolved to repair his losses by putting in execution a project equally absurd.

Having heard of the great wealth of China, Mahomed Toghluk conceived the idea of subduing that empire; but, in order to accomplish his design, it was found necessary first to conquer the country of Hemachul,[88] which lies between the borders of China and India. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337), he ordered 100,000 horse, under the command of his sister's son, Khoosrow Mullik, to subdue this mountainous region, and to establish garrisons as far as the frontiers of China. When this should be effected, he proposed to advance in person with his whole army to invade that empire. The nobles and counsellors of state in vain assured him, that the troops of India

88. Nepal, and the countries on both sides of the Himmalaya mountains.

never yet could, and never would advance a step within the limits of China, and that the whole scheme was visionary. In the year A.H. 738 (A.D. 1337), the King insisted on making the experiment, and the army was accordingly put in motion. Having entered the mountains, small forts were built on the road, to secure a communication; and proceeding in this manner, the troops reached the Chinese boundary, where a numerous army appeared to oppose them. The numbers of the Indians were by this time greatly diminished, and being much inferior to the enemy, they were struck with dismay; which was only increased, when they considered their distance from home, the rugged country they had passed, the approach of the rainy season, and the scarcity of provisions, which now began to be severely felt. With these feelings, they commenced their retreat towards the foot of the range of hills, where the mountaineers, rushing down upon them, plundered their baggage, and the Chinese army also followed them closely. In this distressing situation the Indian army remained for seven days, suffering the extreme of famine. At length, the rain began to fall in torrents; the cavalry were up to the bellies of their horses in water. The waters obliged the Chinese to remove their camp to a greater distance, and gave to Khoosrow Mullik some hopes of effecting his retreat; but he found the low country completely inundated, and the mountains covered with impervious woods. The misfortunes of the army seemed to be at a crisis; no passage remained to them for retreat, but that by which they entered the hills, which was occupied by the mountaineers; so that in the short space of fifteen days the Indian army fell a prey to famine, and became the victims of the King's ambition. Scarcely a man returned to relate the particulars, excepting those who were left behind in the garrisons; and the few of those troops who evaded the enemy did not escape the more fatal vengeance of their King, who ordered them to be put to death on their return to Dehly.

Baha-ood-Deen, the King's nephew, a nobleman of high reputation, known more generally by his original name of Koorshasip, possessed a government in the Deccan called sagur.[89] He began to turn his thoughts towards the throne, and gained over many of the nobles of his principality to his interest. Through the influence of these chiefs, and by the great riches he

89. This must be Sagur, near Koolburga.

had acquired, the power of Koorshasip became so formidable, that he attacked some chiefs, who continued firm in their allegiance to the King, and obliged them to take refuge in the fort of Mando. The King having intelligence of this revolt, commanded Khwaja Jehan, with many other officers, and the whole of the Guzerat forces, to chastise the rebel chief. In the year A.H. 739 (A.D. 1338), when the King's army arrived before Dewgur, they found the troops of Koorshasip drawn up in order of battle to receive them. After a gallant contest, the rebel chieftain was defeated, owing to the defection of Khizr Bahram, one of his principal officers, who, with his whole division, went over to the royal army during the engagement. Koorshasip fled to Sagur; but not daring to remain there, he carried off his family and wealth to Kumpila,[90] in the Carnatic, and took refuge in the dominions of the raja of that place, with whom he had maintained a friendly intercourse.

Mahomed Toghluk, in the mean time, took the field, and arriving soon after at Dewgur, sent from thence Khwaja Jehan with a force against Koorshasip, and the Raja of Kumpila. The royalists were twice defeated; but fresh reinforcements arriving from Dewgur, Khwaja Jehan engaged the Raja a third time, and gained a victory, in which the Raja of Kumpila was made prisoner, but Koorshasip fled to the court of Bilal Dew,[91] who, fearing to draw the same misfortunes upon himself as the neighbouring raja had done, seized Koorshasip, and sent him bound to Kwaja Jehan, and at the same time acknowledged the supremacy of the King of Dehly. Khwaja Jehan immediately despatched the prisoner to court, when he was ordered to be flayed, and shown a horrid spectacle, all around the city, while the executioner proclaimed aloud, "Thus shall all traitors to their king perish."

The King was so much pleased with the situation and strength of Dewgur, and considered it so much more centrical than Dehly, that he determined to make it his capital. On proposing this subject to his ministers, the majority were of opinion, that Oojein was a more proper place for that purpose. The King, however, had previously formed his resolution; he, therefore,

90. I believe there is a place of this name on the Toongbudra near Beejanuggur.

91. Raja of Dwar Sumoodra.

gave orders, that the city of Dehly, then the envy of the world, should be evacuated, and that men, women, and children, with all their effects and cattle, should migrate to Dewgur. To add importance to the event, he caused trees to be torn up by the roots, and planted in rows along the road, to yield the travellers shade; and required that all who had not money to defray the expense of their removal, should be fed on the journey at the public expense. He directed, also, that for the future Dewgur should be called Dowlutabad. He raised several fine buildings within it, and excavated a deep ditch round the fort, which he repaired and beautified. On the top of the hill whereon the citadel stood, he formed new reservoirs for water, and made a beautiful garden. These measures, however, greatly affected the King's popularity, and disgusted the people.

In the year A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340), Mahomed Toghluk having effected this object, marched his army against the fort of Kondhana,[92] near Joonere. Nag-nak, a Koly chieftain, opposed him, with great bravery, but was forced to take refuge within his walls. As the place was built on the summit of a steep mountain, inaccessible but by one narrow pass cut through the rock, the King had no hopes of reducing it but by famine. He accordingly caused it to be closely blockaded, and at the same time made some attacks on the works, in which he was repulsed with heavy loss. The garrison, distressed for provisions, and having no hopes of the King's retreat, at length evacuated the fort, at the expiration of eight months, after which the King returned to Dowlutabad.

He had not been long in his capital, when he heard that his father's old friend, Mullik Beiram Abia, the viceroy of Mooltan, had rebelled, and was then reducing the Punjab. The cause of the revolt was this. Mahomed Toghluk having issued orders to all his officers to send their families to Dowlutabad, Ally the messenger, who was despatched to Mooltan, presuming too much upon the King's authority, had, on observing some hesitation on the part of Mullik Beiram, proceeded to impertinent threats; and one day even told Mullik Beiram's son-in-law, that he believed the viceroy meditated treason against the state. High words arose between them, which ended in blows; and the messenger's head was struck off by one of Mullik Beiram's servants. Mullik

92. Kondhana, the modern Singur, near Poma.

Beiram, knowing the violent temper of the King, foresaw that this disrespect to his authority would never be forgiven, and resolved to take up arms. The King, on learning what had occurred, put his army in motion, towards Mooltan; and Mullik Beiram prepared to oppose it. The two armies, each eager for victory, engaged with resolution; and, after a considerable slaughter, on both sides, the troops of Mullik Beiram were defeated. The King then gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants of Mooltan, but the learned sheikh, Rookn-ood-Deen interceded for them, and prevented the effects of this cruel mandate. Mullik Beiram, being over-taken in the pursuit, was slain, and his head brought to the King, who returned towards Dehly.

At sight of their native country and city, all those persons who had been forced to Dowlutabad began to desert the army and to disperse themselves in the woods. In the year A.H. 741 (A.D. 1340), the Emperor, to prevent the consequences of this desertion, took up his residence in the city, whither he invited his troops to return, and remained there for the space of two years; but again resolving to make Dowlutabad his capital, he removed his own family, and compelled the nobles to do the same. He also carried off the whole of the inhabitants a second time to the Deccan, leaving the noble metropolis of Dehly a resort for owls, and a dwelling-place for the beasts of the desert.

At this time the taxes were so heavy, and exacted with such rigour by the revenue officers, that in the whole extent of that fertile tract, lying between the rivers Ganges and Jumna, the cultivators, weary of their lives, set fire to their houses, and retired to the woods with their families and cattle. Many populous towns were abandoned, and remained so for several years. The colony of Dowlutabad was also in great distress. The people, without houses, and without employment, were reduced to the utmost misery. The tyrannical caprices of this despot exceed any thing we have met with in history; of which the following is a horrid instance. While he remained at Dehly he led his army out to hunt, as is customary with princes. When he arrived in the district of Beiram, he plainly told his officers, that he came not to hunt beasts, but men, and without any obvious reason, began to massacre the inhabitants. He had even the barbarity to bring home some thousands of their heads, and to hand them over the city walls. On another occasion he

made an excursion towards Kunowj, and put to death the inhabitants of that city, and the neighbourhood for many miles round, spreading terror and desolation wherever he turned his eyes.

During this time Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen, after the death of Mullik Beiram, rebelled in the eastern provinces. He slew Kuddur Khan, and possessed himself of the three provinces of Bengal, viz. Luknowty, Soonargam, and Chutgam (Chittagong). Advices were also brought, that Syud Hussun had rebelled in Maabir,[93] on which the King ordered Syud Ibrahim, the son of Syud Hussun, and all his family, to prison, and himself marched in the year A.H. 742 (A.D. 1341), after the sacking of Kunowj, towards Maabir. When he reached Dowlutabad, he laid a heavy contribution on that city and the neighbouring provinces, which created an insurrection; but his numerous army soon reduced the insurgents to their former state of slavery. From Dowlutabad he sent back a part of his army under Khwaja Jehan to Dehly, while he himself marched towards Maabir by the way of Tulingana.

When Mahomed Toghluk arrived before Wurungole, a pestilence broke out in his camp, to which a great part of his army fell victim. He had, on this occasion, nearly lost his own life, and was induced to leave one of his officers, Mullik Naib Imad-ool-Moolk, to command the army, and to return himself towards Dowlutabad. On the way, he was afflicted with a violent tooth-ache, and lost one of his teeth, which he ordered to be buried with much ceremony at Beer, and caused a magnificent tomb to be reared over it, which still remains a monument of his vanity and folly. Having arrived at Moongy-Peitun, he found himself better, and halted to take medicines for some days. In this place he gave to Shahab-ood-Deen Mooltany the title of Noosrut-Khan, and the government of Bidur with its dependencies, which yielded annually a revenue of one crore of rupees. He, at the same time, conferred the government of Dowlutabad, and the country of Mahrashtra, upon Kootloogh Khan, who had been his tutor in early life.

From Peitun he proceeded in his palky to Dehly, having heard of some disturbance among the Afghans in that capital; and, on this occasion, he gave permission to such of the inhabi-

93. The western coast of the peninsula.

tants of Dowlutabad as were willing to return to Dehly, to do so. Many thousands made the attempt, but several of them perished on the way by a famine, which then desolated the countries of Malwa and Chundery. When the rest reached Dehly, they found the famine raging there with such fury, that very few persons could procure the necessaries of life. The King's heart seemed for once to be softened with the miseries of his subjects. He even, for a time, changed his conduct, and took some pains to encourage husbandry and commerce, and, for this purpose, distributed large sums to the inhabitants from the treasury. But, as the people were distressed for food, they expended the money in the necessaries of life, and many of them were severely punished upon that account.

Shahoo,[94] a chief of the mountain Afghans, about this time commenced hostilities in the north, and poured down with his followers like a torrent upon Mooltan. He laid waste the province, slew Behzad Khan, the viceroy, in battle, and put his army to flight. The King now prepared an army at Dehly, and moved towards Mooltan; but Shahoo, on his approach, wrote him a submissive letter, and fled to the mountains of Afghanistan. Perceiving that it would be useless to pursue him, the King returned to Dehly. The famine still continued to rage in the city, so that men ate one another. The King, in this distress, ordered a second distribution of money towards the sinking of wells, and the cultivation of lands, but the people, weakened by hunger, and distracted by private distresses in their families, made very little progress in restoring prosperity, while the continuation of the drought rendered all their labours vain. At this time, also, the tribes of Mundulla, Chowhan, Meeana, Bhurteea, and others, who inhabited the country about Soonam and Samana, unable to discharge their rents, fled to the woods. The King marched forthwith in that direction, and massacred several thousands of them.

In the year A.H. 743 (A.D. 1342), Mullik Heidur, a chief of Gukkurs, invaded Punjab, and slew Tartar Khan, the viceroy of Lahore, in action. To reduce this enemy, Khwaja Jehan was sent into that quarter. The King, at this time, took it into his head, that all the calamities of his reign proceeded from his not

94. This is, probably, some error in the original; but which the editor could not venture to alter.

having been confirmed on his throne by the Abassy Caliph. He, therefore, despatched presents and ambassadors to Arabia, and caused the Caliph's name, in place of his own, to struck on all the current coin, and prohibited his own name from being included at public worship in the mosques, till the Caliph's confirmation arrived. In the year A.H. 744 (A.D. 1344), a holy person, of the race of the Prophet, named Hajy Sayeed Hoormozy, returned with the ambassador, and brought a letter from the Caliph and a royal dress. The Caliph's envoy was met 12 miles outside the city by the King in person, who advanced to receive him on foot, put the letter of the Caliph upon his head, and opened it with great solemnity and respect. When he returned into the city, he ordered a grand festival to be made, and caused the public prayers to be said in all the mosques, striking out every king's name from the Khootba who had not been confirmed. Among the number of those degraded monarchs was the King's own father. He even carried this fancy so far, as to cause the Caliph's name to appear on all his robes, and furniture. The ambassador, after having been sumptuously entertained, received a letter to his master, full of respect, and also bore presents of great value. He was accompanied on his return by Kubeer Khan, commander of the household troops.

This year Krishn Naig, the son of Luddur Dew, who lived near Wurungole, went privately to Bilal Dew, Raja of the Carnatic, and told him, that he had heard the Mahomedans, who were now very numerous in the Deccan, had formed the design of extirpating all the Hindoos, that it was, therefore, advisable to combine against them. Bilal Dew, convened a meeting of his kinsmen, and resolved, first, to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishn Naig promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution, to raise all the Hindoos of Wurungole and Tulingana, and put himself at their head.

Bilal Dew, accordingly, built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions, and called it after his son Beeja, to which the word nuggur, or city, was added, so that it is now known by the name of Beejanuggur.[95] He then raised an army, and put part of it under the command of Krishn Naig, who reduced

95. Vijeianuggur, the city of victory.

Wurungole, and compelled Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, to retreat to Dowlutabad. Bilal Dew and Krishn Naig, united to their forces the troops of the Rajas of Maabir and Dwar-Sumoodra, who were formerly tributaries to the government of the Carnatic. The confederate Hindoos seized the country occupied by the Mahomedans, in the Deccan, and expelled them, so that within a few months, Mahomed Toghluk had no possessions in that quarter except Dowlutabad.

On receiving this intelligence, the King was exasperated, and became more cruel than ever, wreaking his rage upon his own subjects, whom he slew without distinction. His conduct occasioned general disaffection; and the effects of anarchy prevailed throughout the realm. The famine still continued in the city of Dehly, and the people deserted it; till at length the King, unable to procure provisions even for his household, was obliged to abandon it also, and to open the gates, and permit the few half-starved inhabitants whom he had lately confined to provide for themselves. Thousands crowded towards Bengal, which, as we have before observed, had revolted from his rule. Mahomed Toghluk encamped his army near Kampila[96] and Putially, on the banks of the Ganges, and drew supplies from the countries of Oude and Kurra. The people of his camp here built houses, till at length a town arose under the name of Surgadewary.

In the year A.H. 745 (A.D. 1345), one Nizam Bein, a person of low origin, was governor of Sumbhul. This person, unable to collect the estimated revenue, and which he had promised, raised a mob of the discontented farmers, and assuming the royal ensigns, took the title of Alla-ood-Deen. Before the King, however, could march against him, Ein-ool-Moolk, the Soobadar of Oude, raised forces, defeated him, and sent his head to court. Noosrut Khan, who had farmed the revenue of the whole province of Bidur at one crore of rupees, unable to make good that contract, also rebelled in the same year; but Kootloogh Khan, being ordered against him from Dowlutabad, expelled him from his government. During this period, Ameer Ally, the nephew of Zuffur Khan Allahy, one of the Ameer Judeeda,[97] was sent from

96. It is proper to remark here, that there are two places of the name, the one Kampila, on the Ganges, and the other situated in the Carnatic (properly so called), near Beejanuggur.

97. It is proper to mention in this place, that the Ameer Judeeda (new officers) was a term given to the newly-converted Moguls and their

Dowlutabad, to collect the revenue of Koolburga; but finding no legitimate authority in the country, he summoned together his Mogul brethren, raised an army, and occupied Koolburga and Bidur on his own account, in the year A.H. 746 (A.D. 1346). Mahomed Toghluk, on this occasion, sent the Malwa army as a reinforcement to Kootloogh Khan to suppress this rebellion. When Kootloogh Khan arrived on the confines of Bidur, Ameer Ally gave him battle, but was defeated, and obliged to shut himself up in the city. He was, however, soon obliged to capitulate, and Kootloogh Khan carried him prisoner to the King at Surgdewary, who banished him and his brethren to Ghizny. These people returning to Dehly some time afterwards, without permission, they were apprehended, and put to death.

Ein-ool-Moolk, Soobadar of Oude, having paid great attention to the King, and entirely gained his favour, was appointed to the viceroyship of Dowlutabad, and Wurungole, in the room of Kootloogh Khan. Ein-ool-Moolk considered this appointment as a prelude, on the part of the King, to deprive him of office; for when he considered the services which Kootloogh Khan had rendered in the Deccan, and the power he enjoyed, Ein-ool-Moolk concluded the King only intended to withdraw him from his own province, in order eventually to deprive him of office altogether. Meanwhile, a number of the clerks of the revenues, being convicted of abuses in their departments, were ordered to be put to death. Some who survived, found means to escape to Ein-ool-Moolk, and endeavoured to confirm him in his suspicions of the King's intentions. Ein-ool-Moolk accordingly refused to proceed to the Decaan, and breaking out into rebellion, sent a detachment of horse under the command of his brother, who carried off all the elephants, camels, and horses that were foraging near the royal camp. The King instantly summoned the troops in the vicinity to his assistance, while Khwaja Jehan joined him with a force from Dehly. The King now marched against Ein-ool-Moolk, who by this time had crossed the Ganges, and was advancing. Ein-ool-Moolk had hopes that the royal

descendants, who, having invaded India, had embraced the Mahomedan religion, and the service of the kings of Dehly at the same time. Being foreigners, and without any local partialities, they were deemed the best instruments for carrying into effect the orders of a despotic prince. They were, however, bold and high spirited, and soon shook off their allegiance.

army, disgusted with their sovereign, would join him. The King behaved with great intrepidity on this occasion. He mounted his horse, and led his troops in person, and after a sharp conflict put the rebels to flight. In the year A.H. 747 (A.D. 1346), Ein-ool-Moolk was taken prisoner, and his brother Sheikh Oolla, who had been wounded in the action, was drowned while swimming across the Ganges; and Ruheem-Dad, another brother, was slain on the field. Contrary to expectation, the King not only pardoned Ein-ool-Moolk, but restored him to his former office, saying, that he was certain he was a loyal subject, but had been instigated to this rebellion by others. He now proceeded to Bhyraich, to pay his devotions at the tomb of Salar Musaood Ghazy, one of the descendants of Sooltan Mahmood of Ghizny, who had been killed there by the Hindoos, in the year A.H. 557 (A.D. 1162). He distributed alms among the fakeers, who resided at Bhyraich, and then returned to Dehly. After this period, Hajy Rujub Ruffeea returned from Bagdad, and Sheikh-oos-Sheiookh Misry arrived as envoy from the Caliph. He was received with the same distinctions as the former ambassador, and was dismissed with rich presents. Not long after, a prince of the house of Abass arrived at Dehly, and was met by the King in state, at the village of Palum. He was presented with two lacks of tunkas (3333*l*. 9*s*. 8*d*.) an estate, a palace at Dehly, and five gardens. Out of respect to the Caliph, this prince was always placed on the King's righthand at court, and the King sometimes even condescended to sit on the carpet below him.

It was at his period, that some of the courtiers calumniated Kootloogh Khan, governor of Dowlutabad, and accused him of oppression and abuse of authority in his government, though, in truth, he was a man of great integrity. The King, however, recalled him, and ordered his brother Mowlana Nizam-ood-Deen, then at Baroach (to whom he gave the title of Alum-ool-Moolk), to assume charge of the government of the Deccan, till he should send some other person from court. When the King's order arrived, Kootloogh Khan was employed in constructing a reservoir of water, which is called the Houz-i-Kootloo[98] to this day. This work he begged of his brother to complete, and prepared to return to Dehly, with the revenues of the Deccan, which he

98. This reservoir, on the table-land above Dowlutabad, is still to

had previously secured in the fort of Dhara-Gir, the hill-fort of Dowlutabad, so called. After the arrival of Kootloogh Khan, the Deccan was divided into four provinces, and four governors were nominated, who had orders to reduce it, as before, to the King's authority. To accomplish this end, a numerous army, under the command of Imad-ool-Moolk, now created Sipah-Salar of the Deccan, was directed to march to Dowlutabad; Survur-ool-Moolk, and Yoosoof Bokraz, two officers of distinction, were also sent with him. These three officers were ordered to place themselves under the immediate authority of Alum-ool-Moolk, the newly appointed viceroy; and it was estimated that they would be able to realise, annually, a revenue of seven crore of silver tunkas,[99] out of the resources of the country. So extremely ill did this arrangement turn out, that the people, disgusted at the removal of Kootloogh Khan, and the want of capacity displayed by the new administration, rebelled in all quarters, and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence.

To make up the deficiency of the revenue, as well as to gratify their own avarice, the Deccan officers plundered and oppressed the inhabitants. At this time, also, the government of Malwa was conferred on Azeez, a person of low origin, formerly a wine-seller, who was told that the Ameer Judeeda being considered dangerous subjects by the King, he must contrive some plan for their extirpation. These measures being put in train, the King marched back to his old cantonments at Surgdewary, and began to promote agriculture on a plan originating with himself. He appointed an inspector of husbandry, by the name of Amurgo, literally, one who issues commands. This person divided the country into districts of 60 miles square, each placed under an officer to be responsible for its cultivation and improvement. About 100 of these officers received their appointments at once, and 70 lakhs of tunkas, (116,666*l*.) were issued out of the treasury, in two years, to enable them to carry on the business. The object, however, entirely failed; and it is likely, if the King had ever returned to Dehly, he would not have spared the life of one of those revenue officers.

When Azeez arrived at Dhar, in Malwa, he invited the Ameer

99. If the tunka be estimated at 4*d*., according to the computation of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy, this sum would amount to 1,166,666*l*. sterling, which, considering the loose tenure by which the Moslems held their possessions in the Deccan, seems a large sum.

Judeeda, or foreign chiefs, to an entertainment, and assassinated 70 of them with their attendants. He wrote to the King an account of this transaction, who sent him a present of a dress and a fine horse, and required all the officers of his court to write congratulatory letters on the subject, and to send him each a present . The King had lately taken into his head, that he should be better served by people of low birth than by men of family. He accordingly promoted Lutchena, a singer, Peeroo, a gardener, and Munga his son, Baboo, a weaver, Mokbil, a slave, and other mean persons, to the rank of nobles, and raised them to the command of provinces, and to high offices at court; forgetting the lines of the poet, who observes.

"Let the man who shall raise up a slave recollect,
If ever a grateful return he expect,
That his labour is lost; and too late he shall find
A venomous reptile his heart hath entwined."[100]

Having discovered that men of character would not become the instruments of his wickedness, the King elevated these wretches to rank and power; but the consequence was, that the hereditary nobles, and more particularly the Ameer Judeeda (the foreign officers), only watched for opportunities to revolt, especially after the massacre by Azeez in Malwa. This spirit was first evinced in Guzerat. On the discovery of the feelings of the nobles, the King's new governor, Mullik Mokbil, who, with the title of Khan Jehan, had been just nominated to the office, secured the treasure, and proceeded to Dehly. The Ameer Judeeda, hearing of his movements, intercepted him with a body of horse, and not only robbed but compelled him to retire to Nehrwala, the capital of Guzerat. The King, on hearing of this assault, prepared to march to Guzerat, leaving his nephew Feroze governor at Dehly. In the year A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347), he encamped at Sooltanpoor, about 30 miles from the city, where he waited till he could collect his army.

Kootloogh Khan, the King's preceptor, and the ex-viceroy of the Deccan, being then at the capital, sent a message to the King through Zeea-ood-Deen Burny, the author of the history of Feroze Shah, saying that this petty insurrection did not demand the presence of the King, himself volunteering to march, and bring matters to issue; observing, that the absence of the

100. Firdowsy's satire on Sooltan Mahmood Ghiznevy.

King, at this particular moment, from Dehly might favour a rebellion in other quarters. This advice had no effect on Mahomed Toghluk who continued his preparations for moving as before. An address now came from Azeez, the vinter's son, begging to be allowed to reduce the foreign chiefs of Guzerat, he being nearer to the scene, and having a sufficient force, as he supposed, for that purpose. The King assented, but expressed much doubt of his success, knowing him to be a dastard, and without experience. Azeez advanced towards Guzerat; but in the beginning of the action he was panic-struck, and falling from his horse was taken and suffered a cruel death, while his army was totally defeated.

The King, when informed of this disaster, proceeded without delay. It was during this journey that he told Zeea-ood-Deen Burny the historian, that he understood the people thought these rebellions arose out of his severe punishments; "but," said he, "they shall never prevent them. Crimes must be punished. You are a great historian, and learned in the law, in what instances are capital punishments warranted?"

The historian replied, "Seven sorts of criminals deserve severe punishment. These are, 1. Apostates from their religion. 2. Those who shed innocent blood. 3. Double adulterers. 4. Rebellious persons. 5. Officers disobeying lawful orders. 6. Thieves. 7. Perverters of the laws."

The King then asked, "How many of these seven are mentioned in the law of the Koran?" Zeea-ood-Deen said, "Three; apostates, shedders of Mahomedan blood, and double adulterers. The other four are punishable consistently with good policy." The King said, "All this may be very true, but mankind has become much worse since those laws were made."

When the King reached the hills of Aboogur, on the confines of Guzerat, he sent one of his generals against the rebels. He encountered them in the vicinity of the village of Devy, and gave them a total defeat. The King now proceeded by slow marches to Baroach, and Mullik Mokbil was sent in pursuit of the rebels. This officer came up with them on the Nurbudda, put the greatest part to the sword; and the few who escaped took refuge with Man-Dew, Raja of Buglana, by whom they were plundered of their wealth.

On this occasion many of the Mogul chiefs fell; and the towns of Cambay and Surat were sacked by the King's troops.

The King now resolved to seize the persons of the Ameer Judeeda of the Deccan; and he proposed doing it thus: Zein-ood-Deen Zund, entitled Movyeid-ood-Deen, and Mullik Mokbil, the son of Rookn-ood-Deen Tahnesurry, both of whom were the most disreputable fellows of the time, were employed and sent to Dowlutabad, to secure the Ameer Judeeda, and to bring them to punishment. Mullik Mokbil, according to orders, repaired to Dowlutabad, and summoned the Ameer Judeeda from Rachoor, Moodkul Koolburga, Bidur, Bejapoor, Gunjouty, Raibagh, Gilhurry, Hookerry, and Berar.[101]

The Ameer Judeeda, conformably to those orders, prepared to come to Dowlutabad; and when they arrived, Mullik Mokbil seized and despatched them, under a guard of 1500 horse, to the royal presence. On arriving on the Deccan frontier, at the Manukpoonj pass, fearing the King had a design on their lives, they entered into a confederacy, and with one accord fell upon the guard, and slew Ahmud Lacheen who commanded the escort, with many of his people, and the rest of the King's troops under the command of one Hoossein Ally fled to Dowlutabad. In the year A.H. 748 (A.D. 1347), the Ameer Judeeda pursued them closely, and before measures could be taken to put the place in a state of defence, they took it, being favoured by the garrison. Having experienced kindness from the viceroy, Alum-ool-Moolk, the insurgents spared his life and property, but the rest of the King's officers were put to death, and the public treasure was divided among the captors. The Ameer Judeeda of Guzerat and other parts, who had retired to the woods and mountains, hearing of the success of their brethren in the Deccan, joined them; and Ismael, one of their leaders, was proclaimed King, by the title of Nasir-ood-Deen.

Mahomed Toghluk, hearing of this revolution, left Baroah, and proceeded towards Dowlutabad. The Ameer Judeeda drew out their army, and waited to give him battle. The two armies met; and the insurgent troops, though greatly inferior in point of numbers, roused by their danger and wrongs, assaulted the royal troops with such violence, that the right and left wings fell back, and the whole army was upon the point of flight. But

101. This geographical sketch gives a good notion of the extent of the Mahomedan conquests before the period of the independent kings of the Deccan.

many of the chieftains who fought in the van being killed, 4000 of the troops of the Ameer Judeeda fled, and night coming on, left the battle undecided. A council was called by the Ameer Judeeda, who had suffered severely in the engagement, and it was determined that their King, Ismael, should retire into Dowlutabad, with a strong garrison. That the remainder should disperse till Mahomed Toghluk might quit the Deccan; when they resolved to re-assemble at Dowlutabad. Mahomed Toghluk, meanwhile, having ordered Imad-ool-moolk, then at Elichpoor, to pursue the fugitives, himself laid siege to Dowlutabad.

In this state of affairs, advices arrived that one Mullik Toghan, heading the Ameer Judeeda of Guzerat, had been joined by many of the zemindars, and had not only taken possession of Nehrwala the capital, but had put to death Moozuffur Khan, the Naib of Guzerat, had imprisoned Moiz-ood-Deen the governor, and after having plundered Cambay, was now besieging Baroah. Mahomed Toghluk, on hearing this news, left one of his generals to conduct the siege of Dowlutabad, and with the greater part of his army marched to Guzerat. He was plundered on his route of many elephants, and a great part of his baggage, by the Deccanees, by whom he was closely pursued. Having, however, arrived at Baroah, and encamped on the Nurbudda, Mullik Toghan retreated to Cambay, whither he was followed by Mullik Yoosoof Bokraz, whom the King detached in pursuit. Mullik Toghan engaged his pursuers at Cambay, and not only defeated them, but slew Mullik Yosoof, and many other officers of distinction. He also caused all the prisoners taken in the action, as well as those formerly in confinement, to be put to death, among whom was Moiz-ood-Deen, the governor of Guzerat.

Mahomed Toghluk, hearing of this cruelty, and breathing nothing but revenge, hastened to Cambay; but Mullik Toghan, unable to oppose him, retreated, and the King, owing to the state of the weather and bad roads, was obliged to halt at Asawul.[102] Here advices were received, that Mullik Toghan had recruited his army at Nehrwala, and was returning to give battle. The royal troops met him at Kurry. Mullik Toghan had injudiciously caused his men to be intoxicated with strong liquors, so that they attacked the royalists with the fury of mad-men;

102. Now known by the name of Ahmudabad.

but the elephants in front checked their approach, and eventually threw them into disorder. An easy victory was obtained: five hundred prisoners were taken and put to death, and an equal number fell on the field. The Kings despatched the son of Mullik Yoosoof Boghraz in pursuit of Toghan after the battle; but he quitted Nehrwala, and fled, with his family and followers, to Tutta, in Sind. The King, meanwhile, went in person to Nehrwala, and was employed for some time in restoring order in Guzerat.

At this time news arrived from the Deccan that the foreign officers had re-assembled under one Hussun Gungoo; had defeated and slain the royalist general, Imad-ool-Moolk, and had expelled all the royal troops towards Malwa. Also, that Ismael had resigned his regal dignity, to which Hussun Gungoo had succeeded, under the title of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo Bahmuny. Mahomed Toghluk, on receipt of this information, began to consider his own severity might be the cause of all these disorders. He therefore resolved to govern with more mildness for the future. In the first place, however, he sent for his nephew Feroze, and other nobles, with their troops from Dehly, in order to employ them against Hussun Gungoo.

Before these chiefs arrived, the Deccan army had become so formidable, that the King determined, in the first instance, to settle Guzerat, and to reduce Girnal (now called Joonagur), after which, he intended to march in person to the Deccan. He spent the greatest part of that year in Guzerat recruiting his army, and in the following year he was taken up in besieging Girnal and in reducing Kutch. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud states, that Mahomed Toghluk took the fort of Girnal; but other authors of good authority relate, that he desisted from the attempt, on receiving offerings from the Raja; and that the fort of Girnal was not taken by the Mahomedans till it fell to the arms of Mahmood Shah, Begurra of Guzerat, A.H. 873 (A.D. 1469). Zeea-ood-Deen Burny informs us, that Mahomed Toghluk, addressing him one day, said, that the disorders of the state were of such a nature, that he no sooner put down disaffection in one place than it broke out in another, and asked the historian to suggest to him some remedy. Zeea-ood-Deen replied, that when disaffection had once taken root so deeply in the minds of the people, it was not to be exterminated without tearing up

the vitals of the state. The King, he observed, ought now to be convinced how little was to be effected by mere punishment; and he stated that the wisest men had recommended that a monarch, in his circumstances, should abdicate the throne in favour of his heir, in order to obliterate the remembrance of former wrongs, and dispose the people to peace and good order. Mahomed Toghluk (says Burny) answered, in an angry tone, that he had no one whom he could trust, and that he was determined to scourge his subjects for their rebellion, whatever might be the consequence.

The King, soon after this conversation with Burny, fell sick at Gondul, a town within fifteen coss of Girnal (Joonagur), where he remained till the arrival of Khwaja Jehan, whom he had previously sent to Dehly to conciliate and bring with him the principal men of the State. The King, having recovered a little from his disorder, mustered his army, and directed boats to be collected from Mooltan, Oocha, and Depalpoor, and to be brought to Tutta. Marching thence from Gondel, the army reached the banks of the Indus, which they crossed in spite of some opposition made by Toghan. The King was here joined by five thousand Mogul horse under the command of Altoon Bahâdur, with which reinforcement he proceeded to Tutta, in order to chastise the Soomura[103] Prince of Sind, who had given protection to Toghan. Within sixty miles of that city the King halted, to pass the first ten days of the month of Mohurrum; where, having eaten to excess of fish, he was seized with a fever. He could not be prevailed on to remain quiet till he recovered, but embarked in a vessel, and proceeded to within 30 miles of Tutta, where he expired, on the 21st day of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 752 (March 20, A.D. 1351). And thus this cruel tyrant became the victim of death, after a reign of 27 years.

FEROZE TOGHLUK

IN the year A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351) at the time of the death of Mahomed Toghluk, his cousin Feroze, nephew of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, was in the camp. Mahomed Toghluk having a

103. The dynasty of Soomura reigned for many years in Sind; and their history forms a part of this work.

great affection for him, proposed making him his successor, and accordingly recommended him as such on his death-bed to his nobles. On the King's demise, the army fell into the utmost disorder; to remedy which, Feroze gained over the majority of the Indian chiefs to his party, and prevailed on the Mogul mercenaries to remove to some distance from the camp, till he should be able to compose the differences which existed in the army. Ameer Nowroze, the Mogul chief who commanded the troops of his nation in the army quitted the camp on the same night, and joined Altoon Tash, the leader of the auxiliary troops, to whom he suggested that the time was favourable for them to plunder the late King's treasure, and then to retreat to their native country. Altoon Tash being persuaded to enter into this scheme, the Moguls returned next morning to the camp, which was still in disorder, and after a sharp skirmish, loaded several camels with treasure. In order to secure himself from further depredation, Feroze led the army to Sevustan, commonly called Sehwan, and took every possible precaution to defend himself against the Moguls. Meanwhile, the officers of his army having waited on Feroze, entreated him to ascend the throne, to which, after some hesitation, he gave his assent, and was accordingly proclaimed King. On the same day he gave orders to ransom the prisoners, who during the late disorders had fallen into the hands of the people of Tutta, and on the third day he marched against the Mogul auxiliaries, whom he defeated, and took many of their chiefs prisoners.

He now marched to the fort of Bhukur, where presents were conferred on the members of the court, and the army, as is usual on the accession of a new king; and donations were given also to the zemindars of Bhukur and Sehwan. From thence the King detached Imad-ool-Moolk and Ameer Ally Ghoory, with a part of his army, against the rebel Mullik Toghan, while he himself marched to Oocha, where he did many acts of benevolence and charity.

At Oocha the King received advices from Dehly, that Khwaja Jehan, a relation of the late King, then about 90 years of age, had placed upon the throne a boy six years old, of obscure origin, whom he had adopted, by the name of Mahomed, and had procured a number of the citizens to pay him allegiance. Feroze deputed Seif-ood-Deen, the controller of the elephant

stables, to expostulate with the old man, and to induce him by promises of forgiveness and favour to relinquish his project. The King, meanwhile, remained some time with the army at Depalpoor, and thence proceeded to Ajoodhun, where he was joined by Mullik Mokbil. This chief had before received the title of Khan Jehan: he was now vested with the seals of office, and received an honorary dress in confirmation of his former dignity of vizier.

In the year A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351), Feroze having reached Hansy, on his way to Dehly, met messengers from Khwaja Jehan, saying, that as the government was now in the hands of Mahomed Toghluk's son, it would be right for Feroze to acknowledge the title of the young King, and be content to act as regent during his minority. Feroze[104] confronted the bearers of this communication with the officers of his court, and asked them whether they knew of the existence of any male descendant of Mahomed Toghluk. They all declared, that if Mowlana Kumal-ood-Deen, who was then present, did not know of any person, no one else could. On appealing to Mowlana Kumal-ood-Deen, he replied, that though there should even be any of his issue, it was advisable, under existing circumstances, to abide by the measures already adopted. I think, therefore, there is strong reason to believe, that the youth who was set up at Dehly was actually a son of Mahomed Toghluk, though it was at that time deemed prudent by the nobles not to recognise him.

After this event, Feroze deputed Sheikh Dawood, Mowlana-zada (the messenger) of Khwaja Jehan, to relate what had passed, and to induce him to bring about an accommodation. Shortly after Sheikh Dawood reached the city, a number of the principal men of the place hastened to the camp, and paid their respects to Feroze. At the same time, advices were received from Guzerat, that Mullik Toghan had been defeated by Imad-ool-Moolk, and on that very day a son was born to the new King, whom he named Futteh Khan. These circumstances all

104. If we consider the opposition encountered by Feroze from a part of his army, the caution he took from the first, before he proclaimed himself king, and the suspicious circumstances connected with the youth, who was actually crowned at Dehly by Khwaja Jehan, strong suspicious must arise that Feroze was an usurper; and although Ferishta does not positively assert it, he evidently supposes the youth who was set up at the capital, to have been a son of Mahomed Toghluk.

concurred to confirm the power of Feroze. Khwaja Jehan, conceiving it impracticable to support the young King, agreed to an accommodation with Feroze, to whom he sent some respectable persons to intercede for pardon, and to solicit leave to pay his respects. Feroze willingly consented; and the old man, with his head bare, and his turban hung round his neck, came, accompanied by some of the principal men of the city, to make his submission. The King, according to his promise, spared his life, but ordered the chief magistrate of Hansy to take him under his charge. Mullik Khutab, Khwaja Jehan's principal partisan, was banished to Bituhnda, and Sheikhzada Boostamy was expelled from the court.

On the 2nd of Rujub, in the year A.H. 752 (Sept. 14, A.D. 1351), Feroze entered Dehly, and having ascended the throne, began to administer justice to his people, who flocked from all quarters with their petitions. On the 5th of Suffur, in the following year A.H. 754 (March 12, A.D. 1353), on the plea of hunting, he removed his court to the Surmore hills, and reduced several zemindars to obedience. On Monday the 3d of Jumad-ool-Awul A.H. 754 (June 5, A.D. 1353), the King had a second son born to him at Dehly, whom he named Mahomed, on which occasion great rejoicings were made, and presents distributed.

In the year, A.H. 754 (A.D. 1353), the King, having hunted at Kallanore, caused a palace to be built on the banks of the Soorsutty. In the month of Shuwal (December), of the same year, he appointed Khan Jehan to the charge of Dehly, and himself marched towards Luknowty, to subdue Hajy Elias. This chief had assumed royal honours, and the title of Shums-ood-Deen, and had also occupied with his troops the whole of Bengal and Behar, as far as Benares. On the King's arrival in the neighbourhood of Gorukpoor, the zemindars of that place made the usual presents, and were admitted to pay their respects. The King then penetrated as far as Bundwa, one of the stations of Hajy Elias; and the latter retreated to Yekdulla, whither the King pursued him, and arrived there on the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul A.H. 755 (April 1, A.D. 1354). An action ensued on the same day; but Hajy Elias having entrenched his position very strongly reduced the King to the necessity of surrounding him. The blockade continued for twenty days, when, on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Akhir (April 29), Feroze, intending

to change his ground, and to encamp on the banks of the Ganges, went out to reconnoitre. The enemy, imagining that he meditated a retreat, left their works, and drew up in order of battle. On perceiving it was the King's intention to attack them, however, they again retreated, but with such precipitation and confusion, that 44 elephants and many standards fell into the King's hands. The rainy season soon after came on with great violence; peace was concluded; and the King returned to Dehly, without effecting his object.

In the year A.H. 755 (A.D. 1354), Feroze built the city of Ferozabad adjoining that of Dehly; and on the 12th of Shaban A.H. 756 (July 12, A.D. 1355), he marched to Depalpoor, and constructed a canal 48 coss in length, from the Sutloog to the Kugur. In the year A.H. 757 (A.D. 1356), he constructed another canal, between the hills of Mundvy and Surmore, from the Jumna, into which he led seven other minor streams, which all uniting, ran in one channel through Hansy, and from thence to Raiseen,[105] where he built a strong fort which he called Hissar Feroza. He also conveyed an aqueduct from the Kugur, over the river Soorsutty, to the village of Pery Kehra, where he founded a city, named after him Ferozabad. At the same time he introduced another canal from the Jumna, which filled a large lake he caused to be constructed at Hissar Feroza. In the month of Zeehuj 757 (Jan. 1356), an honorary dress, and a letter of congratulation on his accession, were presented from Abool Futteh Aboo-Bukr Aby-Rubeea Sooliman, Caliph of Egypt. In the same month, also, he received an embassy with fresh proposals of peace from Bengal, which Feroze accepted and soon after ratified. From that period, both Bengal and the Deccan became in a great measure independent of Dehly, paying only a small tribute. In the year A.H. 758 (A.D. 1358), Zuffur Khan Farsy, coming from Soonargam, was appointed deputy to the Vizier.

In the year A.H. 759 (A.D. 1357), the King of Bengal sent a number of elephants and other rich presents to Dehly, in return for which a number of Arabian and Persian horses, some jewels, and other rich curiosities, were sent back. When the Dehly embassy arrived at Behar, news was received of the death of

105. This place must not be confounded with a town of the same name in Malwa.

Shums-ood-Deen, King of Bengal, and also of his son Sikundur having succeeded to the throne. The envoy, therefore, thought proper not to proceed, but returned to Dehly. The King, being in the same year encamped at Sumana, received advices that the Moguls had made an incursion as far as Depalpoor; he forthwith ordered Kubool Khan (Lord of the Bed-chamber) with an army against them; but the enemy, before his arrival, having laden themselves with spoil, retreated towards their own country.

In the year A.H. 760 (A.D. 1359), the King marched an army in the direction of Luknowty, but being overtaken by heavy rains at Zuffurabad, he remained there during the monsoon. While at this place, Sheikzada Boostamy, who had been banished on the accession of Feroze, arrived as ambassador on the part of the Caliph of Egypt, with a dress, on which account he was graciously received, and honoured with the title of Azim-ool-Moolk. An embassy was now despatched to Sikundur Shah Poorbeea, the new King of Bengal, and in return, an envoy came, bringing with him five elephants and other valuable presents. Notwithstanding these overtures, Feroze marched, after the rains, towards Luknowty, and, on his way, conferred the ensigns of royalty on his son the Prince Futteh Khan, at the same time appointing tutors for his instruction. Feroze arrived at Bundwa, when Sikundur Shah, following the example of his father, retreated to Yekdulla, and shut himself up in that place. Being, however, closely invested, and reduced to great distress, he sent 48 elephants and other presents to the King of Dehly, with overtures for peace. In a few days, terms were agreed on; and Feroze returned as far as Joonpoor, where he quarterd his army for another season, and then moved towards Jajnuggur. On reaching the town of Songhur, he plundered that country, and its ruler (Ray Sidhun) fled. His daughter, who bore the title of Shukr Khatoon,[106] fell into the King's hands, and was brought up as his own child. The King thence proceeded to a town called Benares,[107] the capital of the Prince of Jajnuggur. The

106. This title, signifying "the Sweet Lady," must have been given to her by the King after her captivity.

107. Not Benares on the Ganges. It is not improbable that the Raja, during his reign, chose to give to his capital the name of the Holy City, which it lost after his death. Several instances of these

Raja fled, on the approach of Feroze, towards Tulingana. Having plundered this country also, Feroze returned, and on his way was met by the Raja of Beerbhoom, who presented him with 37 elephants and other valuable presents, in consideration of his not ravaging his territory. The King, having received these presents, changed his route, and, as he passed through the woods of Pudmawutty, which abound with elephants, he caught 30 of those animals, and killed two others, that could not be taken: continuing his march, he reached Dehly in the A.H. 762 (A.D. 1360).

On his return, in the month of Rujub, to Dehly, the King heard, that in the vicinity of Perwar was a hill, out of which ran a stream that emptied into the Sutlooj, which stream bore the name of Soorswutty: that beyond the Soorswutty was a smaller stream called the Sulima. It was stated, that if a large mound, which intervened between these streams, were cut through, the water of the Soorswutty would fall into the small stream, from whence it would come to Soonam, passing through Surhind and Munsoorpoor, and that the stream would flow all the year round. The King, accordingly, moved in that direction, and ordered that 50,000 labourers should be collected and employed in cutting through that mound, and forming the junction. In this mound were found the bones of elephants and men. The bones of the human fore-arm measured three guz (five feet two inches): some of the bones were petrified, and some retained the appearance of bone. On this occasion, Surhind, which was originally under Samana, was separated, and the country, within ten coss (15 miles) of Samana, was formed into the separate district of Surhind. It was made over in charge to Zeea-ood-Deen and Shums-ood-Deen Ally Ruza. A fort was also built there, which was called Ferozepoor.[108]

ephemeral titles occur in Indian history, and serve to confound the reader, who may not be aware of the practice.

108. The canal is now no longer in existence. The Soorswutty is called the Soorsa in our maps, and the Sulima has received the modern name of the Khanpoor Kee Nala, the Khanpoor Stream. The intentions of the Prince have been frustrated, and the labour of 50,000 men would have been expended in vain, had not the historian transmitted to us the curious fact of fossil elephants, or, perhaps, mastodons, being dug up nearly five centuries ago in the neighbourhood of the Himalaya mountains, 1200 miles distant from the sea.

From thence the King marched towards the mountains of Nagrakote, where he was overtaken by a storm of hail and snow.[109] The Raja of Nagrakote, after sustaining some loss, submitted, but was restored to his dominions. The name of Nagrakote was, on this occasion, changed to that of Mahomedabad, in honour of the late king. The people of Nagrakote told Feroze, that the idol which the Hindoos worshipped in the temple of Nagrakote was the image of Nowshaba, the wife of Alexander the Great, and that that conqueror had left the idol with them. The name by which it was then known was Jwalamooky.[110] In this temple was a fine library of Hindoo books, consisting of 1300 volumes. Feroze ordered one of those books, which treated of philosophy, astrology, and divination, to be translated into prose in the Persian language, by Eiz-ood-Deen, Khalid Khany, and called it Dulayil Feroze Shahy. Some historians state, that Feroze, on this occasion, broke the idols of Nagrakote, and mixing the fragments with pieces of cow's flesh, filled bags with them, and caused them to be tied round the necks of Bramins, who were then paraded through the camp. It is said, also, that he sent the image of Nowshaba to Mecca, to be thrown on the road, that it might be trodden under foot by the pilgrims, and that he also remitted the sum of 100,000 tunkas, to be distributed among the devotees and servants of the temple.[111]

After the conquest of Nagrakote, Feroze moved down the Indus towards Tutta, wherein Jam Bany, the son of Jam Afra, who had before been considered tributary to Dehly, had revolted, and fortified himself. The King's army invested the city; but provisions and forage becoming scarce, and the rains setting in with great violence, it was deemed advisable to raise the siege, and to march to Guzerat. The King spent this season in hunting, and after the rains, conferred the government of Guzerat upon Zuffur Khan, and returned to Tutta. Jam Bany, shortly after, submitted to Feroze, who carried him and his prin-

109. The Indians had, probably, never before seen snow fall.

110. Effulgent Countenance.

111. It is to be hoped, for the honour of this great and liberal Prince, that this story is the invention of some bigotted historian, who has recorded it for the same of adding to his glory, and that the facts, so contrary to the usual practice of his reign, never occurred.

cipal chiefs to Dehly, but after some time taking them into favour, he sent Jam Bany to resume his government.

In the year A.H. 774 (A.D. 1372), the Vizier, Mullik Mokbil, entitled Khan Jehan, died, and his son Joona Shah, succeeded to his office and titles. The following year A.H. 775 (A.D. 1373), was marked by the death of Zuffur Khan, governor of Guzerat, who was succeeded by his son Duria Khan. During the next year A.H. 776 (A.D. 1374), the King was plunged into affliction by the death of his favourite son, Futteh Khan, a prince of great promise. In the year A.H. 778 (A.D. 1376), the revenue of Guzerat being greatly deficient, the King was induced to listen to the proposal of Khwaja Shums-ood-Deen Dumghany, who offered to give 100 elephants, 40 lacks of rupees, 400 Abyssinian slaves, and 40 Arabian horses every year, over and above the present payment, should he be appointed to that government. The King replied, that if the present viceroy, the successor of Zuffur Khan, consented to give the same, he should be continued in office; but this officer, not agreeing to the proposal, a new commission was granted to Shums-ood-Deen, who forthwith proceeded to Guzerat. Being unable, however, to fulfil his promise, he withheld the revenue, and rebelled; but the people, whom he had greatly oppressed, conspired against him, and, with the assistance of the Ameer Judeeda settled in the province, cut him off, and sent his head to Dehly. This is the only rebellion which occurred during the reign of Feroze. The government of Guzerat was now conferred upon Mullik Moofurra, entitled Furhut-ool-Moolk, and new governors were appointed to all the frontier provinces. Mullik Shums-ood-Deen Sooliman, the son of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, was nominated governor of Kurra, Mahoba, and its vicinity; Hissam-ool-Moolk to Oude, Sumbhul, and Korla; Mullik Behroze to Joonpoor and Zuffurabad. Nuseer-ool-Moolk, the youngest son of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, was made governor of Punjab, and the country as far as Kabul. In the year A.H. 779 (A.D. 1377), a trifling insurrection occurred among the zemindars of Etawa; but it was soon crushed, and the insurgents brought to punishment, while forts were built to keep them in future subjection. In the year A.H. 781 (A.D. 1379), Feroze marched towards Sumana, Ambala, and Shahabad, as far as the foot of the mountains of Saharunpoor;

and after levying tribute from the rajas of the Surmore hills, he returned to his capital.

About this time information was brought that Kurgoo, the zemindar of Kutehr, had invited Syud Mahomed, governor of Budaoon, with his brothers, Syud Alla-ood-Deen, and Syud Mahomed, to his house, and basely assassinated them. Enraged at this transaction, the King instantly marched and took severe vengeance on the associates and kindred of the zemindar, putting them to the sword, and levelling their houses with the ground. The murderer himself made his escape to the mountains of Camaoon, and was protected by the rajas of those parts. Feroze ordered a detachment of his army against them, and nearly 23,000 of those mountaineers were made prisoners and condemned to slavery. As he could gain no information of Kurgoo himself, the King appointed one Mullik Dawood, an Afghan, with a body of troops, to remain at Sumbhul, with orders to invade the country of Kutehr every year, and not to allow it to be inhabited until the murderer was given up. The King himself also, under pretence of hunting, marched annually in that direction to see that his orders were fulfilled, and for six years not an inhabitant was to be seen in that district, nor was the land cultivated.

Age and infirmity began in the year A.H. 787 (A.D. 1385) to make rapid ravages on the constitution of the King. The power of the Vizier, Zuffur Khan Farsy (entitled Khan Jehan), became so absolute, that the King was guided by him in every thing, till at length that minister had the baseness falsely to accuse the Prince Mahomed Khan, the King's son, of a design against his father's life. Among others said to be concerned in the plot, was Zuffur Khan, the late governor of Guzerat, and then governor of Mahoba, as also Mullik Yakoot and Mullik Kumal-ood-Deen. The King gave credit to the accusation, and authorised the Vizier to secure the parties. Zuffur Khan was accordingly recalled from his government of Mahoba, and confined. The Prince Mohomed Khan, obtaining intelligence of the design against him, provided for his security, by fortifying his palace. In this situation he remained shut up for some days, and at last, having obtained leave for his wife to visit the King's ladies, he put on his armour, and getting into a closed palankeen, was himself carried into the seraglio. On being discovered, the women, alarmed, ran scream-

ing into the King's apartment, telling him that the Prince had come in armour with treasonable designs. The Prince following them, presented himself to his father, and falling at his feet, told him, that the suspicions he had entertained of him were worse than death itself; that he came, therefore, to receive his fate from the King's own hands; but he first begged leave to inform him, that he was perfectly innocent of the charge which the Vizier had purposely contrived, in order to pave his own way to the throne.

Feroze, confiding in his son's veracity, clasped him, in his embrace, and, weeping, acknowledged he had been deceived, and authorised him to act as his judgment prompted against the traitor. On this the Prince, Mahomed Khan, leaving the presence, ordered out twelve thousand horse, and proceeded to surround the Vizier's house. On hearing of the Prince's approach, the Vizier put to death Zuffur Khan of Guzerat, one of the persons whom he had accused of treason, and collecting his own friends engaged the Prince in the streets. The traitor was wounded, fled first to his house, and thence escaped towards Mewat. The Prince, in the mean time, secured all the minister's wealth, and cut off his adherents.

Immediately after these transactions, Feroze resigned the reins of government into the hands of his son, and abdicated the throne. The Prince, assuming the name of Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, ascended the throne in the month of Shaban, A.H. 789 (August, A.D. 1387) and caused the Khootba to be read both in his own name as well as in that of his father. The first act of his government was to form a new administration, and to distribute honorary dresses among the chiefs. Mullik Yakoob Khan, the master of the horse, was nominated to the charge of the government of Guzerat, with the title of Sikundur Khan. On his route thither, Koka Chowhan, a Rajpoot zemindar of Mewat with whom Khan Jehan the Vizier had taken refuge, fearing the King's resentment, seized and delivered him up as a prisoner to Sikundur Khan, who cut off his head, and sent it to Dehly. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed went with his army, in the year A.H. 790 (A.D. 1388), towards the mountains of Surmore, to hunt. While engaged in this diversion, advices were received that Furhut-ool-Moolk, governor of Guzerat, in conjunction with the Ameer Judeeda settled in that country, had risen in rebellion, and had defeated and slain Sikundur Khan, who had been lately appointed to succeed him. On this informa-

tion, the Prince hastened to Dehly; but, as if infatuated, he gave himself up entirely to pleasure, and seemed insensible of the loss he had sustained, and of the dangers in which his conduct had involved him. When the officers of his court attempted to rouse him from his lethargy, he dismissed them from his presence, and filled their places with parasites and flatterers. The nobles, seeing affairs in this state, availed themselves of the circumstance to unite with the Princes Baha-ood-Deen and Kumal-ood-Deen, cousins of the Prince Mahomed, for the purpose of subverting his authority, and collected not less than 100,000 men. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed employed Mullik Zuheer-ood-Deen Lahory to treat with the insurgents, whose camp was formed without the city. The mob, however, pelted him with stones, and obliged him to retire, after being much bruised and wounded. The Prince, seeing no hopes of an amicable result, roused himself, and advanced with his army against the conspirators. After a bloody battle, he drove them into the city, where they secured the palace, and renewed the contest. The city became now a horrid scene of slaughter. During the space of two days and nights, the dead were left lying in the streets; where friends and foes, victors and vanquished, were jumbled together without distinction. On the third day the populace brought out the old King in his palankeen, and placed him down in the street, between the combatants. (A.H. 790, A.D. 1388). The Prince Mahomed's troops seeing their former master, and concluding that his appearance was voluntary, quitted the Prince, and crowded around the old King with shouts of joy. The Prince Mahomed thus deserted, fled with a small retinue to the mountains of Surmore. All parties now united, and tranquility being restored, Feroze again resumed his full authority. But feeling himself unequal to the task, on account of his age, he once more resigned, and, at the instance of the household troops, placed his grandson Gheias-ood-Deen, the son of his eldest son, Futteh Khan, upon the throne. The troops, in the mean time, put to death Ameer Syud Hussun, the King's son-in-law, for supporting the fugitive Prince Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, and the first orders issued by Gheias-ood-Deen after his accession were to kill all the adherents of his uncle Mahomed, wherever they might be found.

Feroze, having now arrived at the age of 90, died on the third of Rumzan, in the year A.H. 790 (Oct. 23, A.D. 1388.).

Feroze Toghluk was a just and learned prince. His soldiers and his subjects were equally happy under his administration, nor did any one dare to exercise oppression in his time. He was himself the author of the Futtoohat Feroze Shahy. He was the first of the Dehly kings who brought forward, by his patronage, the race of Afghans, before whose time they were not held in estimation. He reigned 38 years over Hindoostan, and the words وفات فیروز "Wufat Feroze," "The Death of Feroze," comprise the numerical letters of the date of his demise. Zeea-ood-Deen Burny, who lived at his court, has written the history of his reign in a work entitled Towareekh Feroze Shahy. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy observes in his history, that Feroze introduced many excellent laws, which were current in his time. Among others, were the three following regulations: The first was the abolition of the practice of mutilating criminals, a mode of punishment which he would not allow to be inflicted on any of his subjects, either Mahomedan or Hindoo. The second regulation limited very much the demand on cultivators, by which he increased not only the population but eventually his revenue. The third was the encouragement he gave to learned men, whom he caused to reside in different parts of the empire, for the sake of imparting instruction to the people. He caused his regulations to be carved on the Musjid of Ferozabad, of which the following may be taken as a sample: "It has been usual in former times to spill Mahomedan blood on trivial occasions, and, for small crimes, to mutilate and torture them, by cutting off the hands and feet, and noses and ears, by putting out eyes, by pulverising the bones of the living criminal with mallets, by burning the body with fire, by crucifixion, and by nailing the hands and feet, by flaying alive, by the operation of ham-stringing, and by cutting human beings to pieces. God in his infinite goodness having been pleased to confer on me the power, has also inspired me with the disposition to put an end to these practices. It is my resolution, moreover, to restore, in the daily prayers offered up for the royal family, the names of all those princes, my predecessors, who have reigned over the empire of Dehly, in hopes that these prayers, being acceptable to God, may in some measure appease his wrath, and ensure his mercy towards them. It is also hereby proclaimed, that the small and vexatious taxes, under the denomination of Cotwally, &c. payable to the public

servants of government, as perquisites of offices, by small traders; that licences for the right of pasturage from shepherds, on waste lands belonging to the crown; fees from flower-sellers, cotton-cleaners, silk-sellers, and cooks; and the precarious and fluctuating taxes on shopkeepers and vintners, shall henceforward cease throughout the realm; for it is better to relinquish this portion of the revenue than realise it at the expence of so much distress, occasioned by the discretionary power necessarily vested in tax-gatherers and officers of authority; nor will any tax hereafter be levied contrary to the written law of the book. It has been customary to set aside one fifth of all property taken in war for the troops, and to reserve four fifths to the government. It is hereby ordered, that in future four fifths shall be distributed to the troops, and one fifth only reserved for the crown. I will on all occasions cause to be banished from the realm, persons convicted of the following crimes: Those who profess atheism, or who maintain schools of vice. All public servants convicted of corruption, as well as persons paying bribes. I have myself abstained from wearing gaudy silk apparel and jewels, as an example to my subjects. I have considered it my duty to repair every public edifice of utility, constructed by my predecessors, such as caravanseraies, musjids, wells, reservoirs of water, aqueducts, canals, hospitals, alms-houses, and schools, and have alienated considerable portions of the revenue for their support. I have also taken pains to discover the surviving relations of all persons who suffered from the wrath of my late lord and master, Mahomed Toghluk, and having pensioned and provided for them, have caused them to grant their full pardon and forgiveness to that Prince, in the presence of the holy and learned men of this age, whose signatures and seals as witnesses are affixed to the documents; the whole of which, as far as lay in my power, have been procured, and put into a box, and deposited in the vault in which Mahomed Toghluk is entombed. I have gone and sought consolation from all the most learned and holy men within my realm, and have taken care of them. Whenever my soldiers have been rendered inefficient for service, by wounds, or by age, I have cause them to be pensioned on full pay for life. Two attempts have been made to poison me, but without effect."

The following are the public works constructed during the reign of this prince:—

50 Dams across rivers, to promote irrigation,
40 Mosques,
30 Colleges with mosques attached,
20 Palaces,
100 Caravanseraies,
200 Towns,
30 Reservoirs or lakes for irrigating lands
100 Hospitals,
5 Mausolea,
100 Public baths,
10 Monumental pillars,
10 Public wells,
150 Bridges;

Besides numerous gardens and pleasure-houses. Lands were alienated, at the same time, for the maintenance of these public buildings, in order to keep them in thorough repair.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK, the son of the Prince Futteh Khan, and grandson of Foroze, ascended the throne in the palace of Ferozabad, on the death of his grandfather; and, according to custom, directed the Khootba to be read, and the currency to be struck, in his own name. Mullik Feroze Ally, the son of Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, became vizier, and received the title of Khan Jehan, while one Gheias-ood-Deen received charge of the armoury; and Mullik Mofurra, with the title of Furhut-ool-Moolk, was confirmed in the office of governor of Guzerat. The King, soon after, sent an army under the Vizier and Mahomed Tahir, to expel his uncle, the Prince Mahomed, from Surmore. On the approach of the royal army this prince fled to the mountains, and there took possession of a strong post, and securing the wives and children of his adherents, waited to give the royalists battle. He was, however, driven from one position to another, till he arrived at Nagrakote, and shut himself up in that place. That fortress being very strong, his enemies did not think proper to besiege it, but left him in quiet possession, and returned to Delhy (A.H. 790, (A.D. 1388).

The King, meanwhile, giving loose to his youthful passions, and neglecting the affairs of state, vice, luxury, and oppression arose on every side. He confined, and treated with great cruelty, his own brother Salar, and his cousin Aboo Bukr, the son of Zuffur Khan, the third son of Feroze. These princes, having reason to dread his resentment, fled the court, and, in order to secure themselves, raised troops. The leaders of this revolt consisted of Mullik Rookn-ood-Deen, the Vizier's deputy, and several other chiefs of high rank, together with the household troops. When the plot was ripe for execution, the conspirators, rushing into the palace, assassinated Mullik Moobarik Kubeer, the Ameer-ool-Omra. Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, thus surprised, fled with the Vizier by the Jumna gate. Mullik Rookn-ood-Deen pursued him; and the King and his minister being overtaken, were immediately put to death. This event happened on the 21st of Suffur, in the year A.H. 791 (Feb. 18, A.D. 1389). Thus ended the reign of Gheias-ood-Deen Toghluk, which continued only five months and a few days.

ABOO BUKR TOGHLUK

THE conspirators having assassinated the King, raised Aboo Bukr, the grandson of the late Feroze (third son of the Prince Zuffur Khan), to the throne. Mullik Rookn-ood-Deen was appointed vizier, and took the reins of government into his own hands; but his ambition prompted him to attempt to cut off the new King, and to usurp the throne. Aboo Bukr, having timely information of his intentions, ordered him and many of the household troops, who were concerned in the conspiracy, to be put to death.

Meanwhile, the Ameer Judeeda of Samana assassinated their leader, Mullik Sooltan, the firm friend of the King, and sent his head to the Prince Mahomed at Nagrakote, whom they earnestly solicited to come and assert his rights. The Prince Mahomed, accordingly, having collected forces, advanced by the route of Jalundur to Samana, proclaimed himself king, and proceeded with an army towards Dehly. After some repulses, he in the end proved victorious, and made Aboo Bukr prisoner, on the 20th of Zeehuj, in the year A.H. 792 (Nov. 27, A.D. 1389), after a reign of one year and six months.

NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHOMED TOGHLUK, first ascended the throne, in his father's lifetime, in the year 789 (A.D. 1387), and we have seen how he was deposed and expelled by Baha-ood-Deen, and the other chiefs in confederacy with the Mogul officers of Guzerat and the household troops. We have also given a narrative of his transactions till he shut himself up in the fort of Nagrakote. The Ameer Judeeda having assassinated the late king's minister, Mullik Sooltan, who was also governor of Samana, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, according to their invitation, marched from Nagrakote towards Dehly, where finding himself at the head of 20,000 horse, he advanced towards the capital, and on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 792 (February 21, A.D. 1390), entered it at the head of 50,000 men, and occupied the palace of Jehan Nooma. The Prince Aboo Bukr was then in the opposite quarter of the city, called Ferozabad, and prepared for battle.

On the 2nd of Jumad-ool-Awul (April 18), the two parties engaged in the streets of Ferozabad. At this time Bahadur Nahir of Mewat, with a strong reinforcement, arrived, and joining Aboo Bukr, he marched out of Ferozabad next morning, and drove Nasir-ood-Deed Mahomed, with great slaughter, quite out of Dehly. The latter retreated with 2000 horse only, across the Jumna into the Dooab, and despatched his son Hoomayoon, and several omras, to Samana to recruit his army, himself remaining in the town of Jalesur, on the banks of the Ganges. Having experienced throughout these transactions that the household troops of Feroze were his worst enemies, Nasir-ood-Deen gave orders to plunder all their estates in the neighbouring country, and to slay them wherever they might be found; in consequence of which, the zemindars attacked and killed some thousands of those persons, who had possessions in other parts of the kingdom; and the very cultivators, disgusted with the government of Aboo Bukr, withheld their rents, and enlisted under the banners of his rival.

In the mean time, Mullik Survur, the controller of the elephant stables, Mullik Nuseer-ool-Moolk, governor of Mooltan, Khowas-ool-Moolk, governor of Behar, as also Ray Survur and other rays (Hindoos), joined the Prince Mahomed with their forces, so that he collected, in a few days, another army of 50,000

horse A.H. 792 (A.D. 1389). In this state of affairs, he appointed Mullik Survur his vizier, with the appellation of Khwaja Jehan; Mullik Nuseer-ool-Moolk became Ameer-ool-Omra, under the title of Khowas Khan; and Ray Survur received the title of Ray Rayan, after which Mahomed advanced a second time towards Dehly. Aboo Bukr drew out his army at the village of Koondly; and the Prince Mahomed having sustained a second defeat, was compelled to retreat again to Jalesur in the Dooab.

Hoomayoon, the son of the Prince Mahomed not many days after this event, appeared before Dehly, with the troops he had raised at Samana, and made an unsuccessful attempt on the capital, and being eventually overthrown at Paniput, fled to Samana. Notwithstanding these successes on the part of Aboo Bukr, he did not dare to quit the capital, being suspicious of a faction in the city in favour of his rival. Having at length punished some of the most disaffected, he ventured to march about 40 miles towards Jalesur, where his uncle Mahomed was again collecting an army. The latter, having by this time concerted secret measures with the kotwal of Dehly, and other officers in the city, left his army with all his baggage at Jalesur, and advanced with 4000 chosen horse towards Aboo Bukr, but, avoiding an action, the Prince Mahomed made a rapid movement to the left, and passing the enemy's line, pushed forward to the capital. He there engaged the troops who guarded the walls, and having set fire to the Budaoon gate, forced his way into the city when he had entered the palace, he was joyfully received by the citizens, who flocked to pay him their respects. Aboo Bukr closely pursued him, and arrived at Dehly on the same day, when forcing the guards which had been placed at the gates, he attacked the palace, expelled his rival, and recovered the town. The Prince Mahomed again fled to Jalesur, having lost the greater part of his army in this expedition.

Some time elapsed without any decisive action occurring, when Moobushir Hajib, commander of the household troops (known by the appellation of Islam Khan), revolted from Aboo Bukr, and wrote to the Prince, Mahomed Khan, promising that if he would make another attempt, he would support him with the greatest part of the household troops. Aboo Bukr, hearing that his rival was again in motion, and having also discovered the disaffection of the household troops and others in his army,

left Dehly and fled, with a small retinue to Bahadur Nahir of Mewat. The Prince Mahomed in the month of Rumzan, A.H. 793 (August, A.D. 1390), entered Dehly, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed. He conferred the office of vizier on Islam Khan, to whom he owed his restoration. On finding himself firmly established, he ordered all the elephants which had been seized by the household troops of Feroze to be taken from them, and converted to his own use. Most of these troops, provoked at this circumstance, left the city that night, and hastened to join Aboo Bukr. On the following morning, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed ordered those persons of the household guard, who still remained in the city, to quit it in three days on pain of death, and never to appear there again. Notwithstanding this decree, many of them, unwilling to leave their families, concealed themselves. A search was instituted, and such as were found were put to death. Many persons, taken up on suspicion, declared they were Indians, and not foreigners, of which the household troops consisted. The King directed, that all such as could not pronounce certain words, viz. Kuhry Kuhry, or Goora Goory,[112] should be put to death; and it is said many foreigners having no connection with the household troops suffered on this occasion.

The new King, having recruited his army, deputed his son, Hoomayoon, with a considerable force to attack the ex-King, Aboo Bukr. This Prince, aided by Bahadur Nahir, attempted to surprise the Prince Hoomayoon's camp at Kotla; but Hoomayoon by his own exertions, and those of the Vizier, Islam Khan, drove Aboo Bukr, after the most strenuous efforts, from the field. The new King reached Mewat about this time; and Aboo Bukr being reduced to surrender, was sent prisoner to the fort of Meerut, where he died some years after.

In the year A.H. 793 (A.D. 1390) on the King's return to Dehly, he received advices that Furhut-ool Moolk, governor of Guzerat, had rebelled. Zuffur Khan,[113] the son of Wujee-ool-

112. The aspirated *h* and the *r* pronounced as at Newcastle, and frequently at Paris, are peculiar, in the East, to the inhabitants of Hindoostan, and are not only difficult to be acquired by foreigners, if not children, but frequently altogether unattainable. This difficulty can hardly be understood but by those persons who have heard the sounds, and made the attempt to imitate them.

113. This officer, in the subsequent reign, established his independ-

Moolk, was accordingly despatched with an army to suppress the insurrection; but for the details of this expedition the reader is referred to the History of Guzerat, which forms a part of this work.

In the year A.H. 794 (A.D. 1391), Nursing Bhan and Sirvodhun, chiefs of the Rahtore Rajpoots, and Bheer Bhan, chief of the Byse Rajpoots, having thrown off their allegiance, the Vizier, Islam Khan, marched with a considerable force against Nursing Bhan, the most powerful of them. He was defeated, made peace, and attended the conqueror to Dehly; and the other two chiefs submitted without a struggle. At this period, the zemindars of Etawa rose in arms, and ravage Bilgiram and the adjacent districts. Nasir-ood-Deen marched against them in person, and having chastised them, levelled the fort of Etawa with the ground, after which, having proceeded by the route of Kunowj to Jalesur, he built a fort there, which he called Mahomedabad.

Advices were now received from Dehly, that the Vizier, Islam Khan, having made preparations to retire to Lahore and Mooltan, intended to create a revolt, in those provinces. The King hastened to the capital, and charged him with his treasonable designs. The Vizier was condemned to death on the evidence of his own nephew, Hajoo, a Hindoo, who swore falsely against him.[114] Khwaja Jehan, who was thought to have promoted the Vizier's fall, was advanced to his office, and Mullik Mookurrib-ool-Moolk, who makes a figure in the next reign, was at the same time appointed governor of Mahomedabad.

In the year A.H. 795 (A.D. 1392), Sirvodhun Rahtore, and Bheer Bhan Byse, appeared in arms, and Mookurrib-ool-Moolk was ordered to march with the troops, then at Mahomedabad against them. The King, also in this year, marched to Mewat, to quell some disturbances in that place. On his return to Mahomedabad, being taken ill of a fever, he became occasionally delirious for some days. While in this feeble state of body news

ence in Guzerat, and, at the same time, the governors of Malwa and Kandeish following his example, their governments became, also, independent kingdoms, and remained so till the reign of Akbur.

114. The Vizier must have been a converted Hindoo. He is called Moobushir, and entitled Islam, both Mahomedan terms; but it is stated, his nephew, Hajoo, was a Hindoo, which is apparent from his name; and as the Hindoos do not receive converts, it is evident Islam Khan must have been born in that faith.

arrived, that Bahadur Nahir had plundered the country to the gates of Dehly : the King, though far from recovered, hastened to Mewat, attacked Bahadur Nahir at Kotla, and totally defeated him, and compelled him to fly to Jhirka. After this victory, he returned to Mahomedabad, in the month of Rubbee-oos-Sany, of the year A.H. 796 (February, A.D. 1394), and sent his son Hoomayoon to crush Sheikha Gukkur, who had rebelled and occupied Lahore. But before the Prince left Dehly, news was brought of his father's decease; for the King having had a relapse of his fever, expired on the 17th of Rubbee-oos-Sany A.H. 796, (February 19, A.D. 1394), at Mahomedabad. He reigned about six years and seven months; and his body was deposited at Dehly, in the same vault with that of his father. Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed Toghluk was succeeded by his son Hoomayoon, who, on ascending the throne, assumed the name of Sikundur. He confirmed all his father's ministers in their offices; but being in a few days taken ill of a violent disorder, he was suddenly cut off, after a short reign of only 45 days.

MAHMOOD TOGHLUK

HOOMAYOON having yielded to the power of fate, violent disputes arose among the nobles regarding the succession. They at length fixed on Mahmood a youth, the son of the late King, Nasir-ood-Deen Mahomed, whom they placed on the throne. Khwaja Jehan retained the office of vizier; Mookurrib-ool Moolk, having received the title of Mookurrib Khan, became Vukeel-oos-Sultanut, and was created Ameer-ool-Omra; Sadut Khan was appointed Barbik; Sarung Khan was made governor of Depalpoor, and Dowlat Khan was nominated to the office of chief secretary.

The apparent weakness of the government arising out of the King's minority and the dissensions of the nobles, encouraged the surrounding chiefs to revolt. For instance, Khwaja Jehan, the minister, having assumed the title of Mullik-oos-Shurk, founded an independent kingdom at Joonpoor,[115] and even forced the King

115. This dynasty was called Shurkeea, incontradistinction to that of Bengal, whose capital was at Lucknowty, and was called Poorbeea: the terms both signify eastern.

of Bengal to pay him tribute. In the opposite direction, Sarung Khan, governor of Depalpore, collected the troops of the province of Mooltan, and the north-west divisions of the state, and advanced against the Gukkurs, who waited for him at Ajoodhun, about 24 miles from Lahore. A battle ensued, and the Gukkurs being defeated, their chief, Sheikha, took refuse among the mountains of Jummoo. Sarung Khan, after this victory, left his younger brother, Adil Khan in Lahore, and returned himself to Depalpore, where he established his head-quarters. In the year A.H. 796 (A.D. 1394), the King, leaving Dehly in charge of Moo-kurrib Khan, marched towards Gualiar and Byana, accompanied by Sadut Khan Barbik, and many other chiefs. Having arrived in the neighbourhood of Gualiar, Moobarik Khan, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, the brother of Sarung Khan, and Mullik Alla-ood-Deen Dharwala, conspired against the life of Sadut Khan, who having timely information of the plot, slew Moobarik Khan and Alla-ood-Deen, but Mulloo Yekbal Khan escaped to Dehly. Though this conspiracy was thus checked for the time, the contentions which arose in consequence oblige Sadut Khan to return to the capital. On his approach, Mookurrib Khan, the Ameer-ool-Omra, had prepared to come out to pay his respects; but learning that Sadut Khan had sworn vengeance against him for affording protection to Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he returned to the city, and shutting the gates, prepared to make a resolute defence. The city was now besieged for three months, till the King's party, convinced that the war not only originated, but was prosecuted solely on account of Sadut Khan, accommodated matters with Mookurrib Khan, and in the month of Mohurrum A.H. 797 (October, A.D. 1394), the King was admitted into Dehly.

Mookurrib Khan, encouraged by this event, marched out the next day with all his force against Sadut Khan, but was defeated with great loss. The rains having set in, and it being impossible for Sadut Khan to keep the field, he struck his tents, and marched into Ferozabad. He then sent for Noosrut Khan, the son of the Prince Futteh Khan, the eldest son of the late Feroze Toghluk, from Mewat, and set him up in opposition to Mahomood Toghluk, under the title of Noosrut Shah. But a new faction breaking out in Mewat disconcerted his measures. The household troops of the late Feroze Toghluk had joined Sadut Khan; but incensed at his conduct towards them, they prevailed on the

keepers of the elephants to join them and having seized the Prince Noosrat, placed him on an elephant, and advanced against Sadut Khan, and expelled him from the city of Ferozabad. Being thus deserted by his followers, Sadut Khan sought protection with Mookurrib Khan, by whom he was put to death (A.H. 797, A.D. 1394). The misfortunes of the state daily increased. The omras of Ferozabad, and some of the provinces, espoused the cause of Noosrut Shah. Those of Dehly and other places supported the title of Mahmood Toghluk. The government fell into anarchy: civil war raged every where; and a scene was exhibited, unheard of before, of two kings in arms against each other residing in the same capital. Tartar Khan, the son of Zuffur Khan of Guzerat, and Fuzl-oola Bulkhy, entitled Kootloogh Khan, joined the Prince Noosrut at Ferozabad. Mookurrib Khan and other chiefs espoused the cause of Mahmood Toghluk; while Bahadur Nahir and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, with a strong body of troops, occupied the fort of Siry,[116] and remained neuter, but were prepared to join either party according to circumstances. Affairs remained in this state for three years, with astonishing equality; for if one monarch's party had at any time the superiority, the balance was soon restored by the neutral chiefs.

The warfare thus continued as if it were one battle between the two cities, wherein thousands were sometimes killed in a day, and the casualties occasioned by the slain were supplied by fresh reinforcements from different parts. Some of the governors of the provinces took little share in these civil dissensions, hoping to make advantage of them, by becoming independent in the end.

In the year A.H. 798 (A.D. 1395), Sarung Khan, the governor of Depalpoor, having some differences with Khizr Khan, governor of Mooltan, made war against him. After several engagements with various success, victory declared for Sarung Khan, who, seizing on Mooltan, aggrandised his power, and in the following year advanced to the capital, and reduced Samana. Noosrut Shah directed Tartar Khan, then governor of Paniput, and Almus beg, to oppose him. They engaged and defeated Sarung Khan, on the 1st of Mohurrum, A.H. 799 (Oct. 4, A.D. 1396), and compelled him to fly to Mooltan.

On his arrival in that city, intelligence reached him that

116. This appears to have been the name given to the citadel of Dehly.

the Prince Peer Mahomed Jehangeer, the grandson of Teimoor, having laid a bridge of boats over the Indus, had crossed, and invested Oocha. Sarung Khan instantly despatched his deputy, Mullik Taj-ood-Deen, and the greater portion of his troops, to reinforce Mullik Ally, the governor of Oocha. Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer, hearing of this movement, advanced to the Beea, and falling on the Mooltanies by surprise, just as they crossed the river, defeated and drove them into the stream, so that more were drowned, perhaps, than fell by the sword. A few of the discomfited army only made good their retreat to Mooltan. Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer pursued the fugitives, arrived about the same time with them, and obliged Sarung Khan to confine himself to the fort. After a siege of six months, he was reduced, from want of provisions, to surrender at discretion, and Mirza Peer Mahomed took possession of Mooltan; but Sarung Khan, in a few days, found means to effect his escape.

In Dehly, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, having disagreed with Mookurrib Khan, abandoned the cause of Mahomood Toghluk, and sent a message to Noosrut Shah, offering to join his party. This proposal was readily accepted: the parties met, and went to the palace of Siry, where they swore mutual friendship on the Koran, at the tomb of Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Kaky. A quarrel now took place between Mahmood Toghluk and Mookurrib Khan; and about three days after, another rupture occurred between Mulloo Yekbal Khan and Noosrut Shah, when the former, regardless of his oath, formed a conspiracy to seize the latter. Noosrut Shah, informed of the plot, thought it advisable to quit the palace of Siry, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, intercepting his followers in his retreat, took all his elephants, treasure, and baggage; while the unfortunate Prince, being in no condition to keep the field, fled to his vizier, Tartar Khan, at Paniput.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan, having obtained possession of Ferozabad, increased his power, and strove to expel the King, Mahmood, and his partisan Mookurrib Khan, from the old city. At length, by the mediation of some nobles, peace was concluded between the parties; but Mulloo Yekbal Khan, perfidious as he was, and regardless of the sacred oaths of the treaty, attacked Mookurrib Khan in his own house, and slew him. He also seized

Mahmood Toghluk, and deprived him of all but the name of King.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan now marched from Dehly, accompanied by the pageant King, Mahmood, against Noosrut Shah and Tartar Khan at Paniput. Tartar Khan, leaving his elephants and baggage in the fort, passed by him by forced marches, and avoiding his army, arrived before Dehly, and invested it. Mulloo Yekbal Khan, trusting to the strength of the force he left in the city, besieged Paniput, and carried it by escalade on the third day. He then hastened back to Dehly, whence Tartar Khan, having failed in his attempt, fled to his father Zuffur Khan, in Guzerat, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan entering the city, began to restore the government to some order. Meanwhile, to complete the miseries of this unhappy people, news arrived, that Teimoor Beg had crossed the Indus, with an intention to conquer Hindoostan.

INVASION OF TEIMOOR (OR TAMERLANE)

AMEER TEIMOOR, informed of the commotions and civil wars of India, began his expedition into that country in the eight hundredth year of the Hijra, and on the 12th of Mohurrum, in the following year A.H. 801 (Sept. 12, A.D. 1398), arrived on the banks of the Indus. He crossed that river, and marched to the boundaries of Kole Julaly, so called since Julal-ood-Deen, King of Kabul, left Bungur, and resided at that kole (or fort). At this period, Amer Teimoor despatched Sheikh Noor-ood-Deen to dispossess Shahab-ood-Deen Moobarik Khan, who, on the part of the King of Dehly, had advanced to the Behut, for the defence of the frontier districts. Noor-ood-Deen arrived within a few miles of Moobarik Khan, and required him to submit to his master. The latter occupied a strong post on the bank of the river, around which he had formed a fosse to insulate his position, and resolved to defend it. Noor-ood-Deen, however, found means, in the course of his approaches, to fill up the ditch, but suffered considerable loss from a sally made by the besieged during the night, which, in the end, he repulsed, and forced the assailant to take shelter within their walls. Teimoor, at this time, also advanced with his whole army, and Moobarik Khan, intimidated by his approach, privately embarked with his family and treasures in

200 boats prepared for the purpose, and proceeded down the river, being two days pursued in vain by Noor-ood-Deen, who was detached for that purpose. The Indian garrison, after the departure of their leader, surrendered at discretion.

Teimoor now marched along the river, to the conflux of the Chunab with the Ravy, where was situated the strong fort and town of Toolumba. He caused a bridge to be thrown across the river, by which his army might pass, and pitched his camp outside the town, which he laid under contribution. While the inhabitants were collecting the sum demanded, complaint was made to Teimoor of the scarcity of provisions in his camp, on which orders were issued to seize grain wherever it might be found. The soldiers accordingly proceeded to search the town; but not being content with provisions, a general plunder ensued; and the inhabitants, in endeavouring to oppose the outrage, were massacred without mercy (A.H. 801, A.D. 1397).

To have besieged the fort of Toolumba would only have retarded the progress of Teimoor. He therefore marched, on the following day, to a town called Shahnowaz, where finding more grain than sufficient for his whole army, he caused what could not be carried away to be burnt. At this place, the brother of the chief of the Gukkurs, who had attempted to defend the place with 2000 men, lost his life. Teimoor proceeded on the third day from Shahnowaz, and crossing the Beea, entered a rich and plentiful country. The following is an account of the proceedings of the Prince Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer. After having, as has been already mentioned, taken Mooltan, the rains came on, and destroyed so great a part of his cavalry in the field, that he was under the necessity of withdrawing his army into the city of Mooltan. There he was reduced to much distress by the inhabitants of the country, who closely invested the place, and withheld supplies, so that his cavalry, unable to act or to procure forage, diminished daily. Such was the situation of the Prince when his grandfather invaded India. Teimoor immediately reinforced Mirza Peer Mahomed Jehangeer with a detachment of 30,000 select horse, and soon after joined him with the of rest his army. The Prince complained bitterly of the conduct of the governor of Bhutnere, who had been the chief source of his distresses. To punish him, Teimoor selected 10,000 of his best horse, and marched against him. When the Moguls reached Ajoodhun, Teimoor

was shown the tomb of Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Shukr-Gunj; in respect to whose memory he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place, the greater part having fled to Dehly and Bhutnere.

Teimoor continued his route to Bhutnere, crossing the river at Ajoodhun, and encamped at Chaliskole, from which place, in one day, he marched with his cavalry, 50 coss[117] to Bhutnere. Upon his arrival, the people of Depalpoor and other adjacent places crowded into the town in such numbers, that half of them were driven out, and obliged to take shelter under the walls. They were there attacked on the day of Teimoor's arrival, and some thousands of them were slain. Row Khiljy,[118] the governor of the place, seeing the enemy so few in number, drew out the garrison, and formed without the town in order of battle. The Moguls, however, upon the first onset, drove them back, while Teimoor, in person, pressed so hard upon the rear of the fugitives, that he got possession of the gates, before they could be shut. He then drove the enemy from street to street, and thus became, in a few hours, master of the whole of the town, except the citadel; to reduce which, he ordered it to be undermined.

The garrison now proposed to capitulate; and the governor having had an interview with Teimoor, presented him with 300 Arabian horses, and with many of the curiosities of Hindoostan. Teimoor, in return, presented him with a dress of honour, and sent Sooliman Shah and Ameer Alla-dad to take possession of the gates, commanding them to slay all those who had taken refuge in the place, and who had been before active against his grandson, Mirza Peer Mahomed. The rest, of the prisoners after being plundered, were ordered to be dismissed. In consequence of this order, 500 persons, in a few minutes, were put to death by the

117. The coss varies from one to four miles, but taking it at the smallest computation, the march is of extraordinary length. The Tartars, like the Cossacks, were all mounted.

118. I have consulted several original works, and the translations made by D'Herbelot, Des Guignes, and Petit de la Croix, of the histories of Teimoor, but have been unable to satisfy myself of the true reading of this name. All my MSS. of Ferishta, who copied from Shureef-ood-Deen Ally (Teimoor's secretary), have something like Row Khiljy; and the translators above referred to, as well as Colonel Dow, have some name, which, if written in the Persian character, would read like it; but it is, probably, not correct.

Moguls. Both the Mahomedans and Hindoos, who remained within the fort, struck with horror, and dreading a similar fate, set fire to the place in despair, killed their wives and children, and sought nothing but revenge and death. The scene was awful; and the unfortunate inhabitants, in the end, were cut off to a man, though not before some thousands of the Moguls had fallen by their hands. This conduct so much exasperated Teimoor (the firebrand of the universe), that he caused every soul in Bhutnere to be massacred, and the city to be reduced to ashes.

Teimoor then marched to Soorsutty, and put the inhabitants of that place also to the sword, giving the town up to pillage. Advancing to Futtehabad, he continued his ravages through that district, and the adjacent towns of Rajpoor, Ahroony, and Toohana. From thence he detached Hukeem Eraky towards Sumana, with 5000 horse, while he himself scoured the country, and cut off a body of Juts, who had lived for some years by plunder. His army, in the mean time, being now divided under different chiefs, carried fire and sword through the provinces of Mooltan and Lahore; but when they advanced near the capital, he ordered a general rendezvous at Keithul, within 10 miles of Sumana.

Here Teimoor joined his army, and having regulated the order of his march, advanced towards Dehly. When he reached Paniput, he directed his soldiers to put on their armour; and that he might be the better supplied with forage, crossed the Jumna, into the Dooab, and took the fort of Lony by assault, putting the garrison to the sword. The Mogul army continued its route along the river, and encamped opposite to the city of Dehly, posting guards at the fords leading into the Dooab from the capital. Teimoor then detached Sooliman Khan and Jehan Khan to scour the country to the south and south-east of the city, whilst he himself, on the day of his arrival, with 700 horse only, crossed the river to reconnoitre Dehly. The King of Dehly, and his minister, Mulloo Yekbal Khan, seeing so few troops in the retinue of Teimoor, sallied out with 5000 horse and foot, and 27 elephants. A skirmish took place, in which the Dehly troops were repulsed; and Mahood Seif Beg, a Dehly officer of rank who led the attack, was taken prisoner. Teimoor ordered him to be instantly beheaded; and after having made the observations which he wished, repassed the river, and joined his army. On

the next morning, he moved his position more to the eastward. On this occasion it was reported to him, that there were above 100,000 prisoners in his camp, who had been taken since he crossed the Indus; that they had on the day before expressed great joy when they saw him attacked, which rendered it extremely probable, that on a day of battle they would join their countrymen against him. Teimoor having ascertained that most of them were idolaters, gave orders to put all above the age of fifteen to the sword; so that upon that day nearly 100,000 men were massacred in cold blood (A. H. 801, A. D. 1398).

On the 5th of Jumad-ool-awul (Jan. 13), Teimoor forded the river without opposition, and encamped on the plain of Ferozabad, one of the suburbs of Dehly, where he entrenched himself. He caused numbers of buffaloes to be picketed in the ditch, with their heads fronting the enemy, placing, at the same time, strong parties of troops at proper distances behind them. Though the astrologers pronounced the senventh an unlucky day (Jumad-ool awul 7, Jan. 15), Teimoor marched out of his lines, and drew up his army in order of battle. Mahmood Toghluk, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, with the Dehly troops, and 120 elephants, covered with armour, marched forth to oppose the Moguls. But at the first charge, most of the elephants' drivers were dismounted; and these unwieldy animals, deprived of their guides, fled to the rear, and communicated confusion to their own ranks. The veteran troops of Teimoor, who had already conquered half the world, availed themselves of this advantage, and the Indians were, in a short time, totally routed, without making one brave effort to save their country, their lives, or their property. The conqueror pursued them with great slaughter to the very gates of Dehly, near to which he fixed his head quarters. The consternation of the fugitives was so great, that, not trusting to their walls, Mahmood Toghluk and his minister deserted the capital during the night, the former flying to Guzerat, the latter taking the route of Birun. Teimoor, gaining intelligence of their escape, detached parties after them; one of which came up with Mulloo Yekbal Khan, killed a great number of his retinue, and took his two infant sons, (Seif-ood-Deen and Khoodadad) prisoners. Teimoor received the submission of all the chief men of the city, who crowded to his camp, and were promised protection, on condition of paying a contribution. On the Friday following, Teimoor caused himself

to be proclaimed Emperor, and the usual titles to be read in his name in all the mosques.

On the 16th of the same month (Jumad-ool-awul 16, A.H. 801, Jan. 14, A.D. 1398), having placed guards at the gates, he appointed the chiefs and magistrates of the city to regulate the contribution, according to the wealth and rank of the inhabitants. Information was in the mean time brought that several nobles, and some rich merchants, had shut themselves up in their houses, with their dependents, and refused to pay their share of the ransom. This induced Teimoor to send troops into the city, at the instance of the magistrates, to enforce their authority; a step eventually productive of the most fatal consequences. The arrival of the Mogul soldiers created confusion; plundering ensued, which could not be restrained by the officers, and they durst not acquaint Teimoor with the state of affairs.

Teimoor, according to his custom after success, was then busy in his camp celebrating a grand festival on account of his victory, so that it was five days before he received any intelligence of the proceedings in the town. The first intimation be obtained was from the city being in flames; for the Hindoos, according to custom, seeing their females disgraced, and their wealth seized by the soldiery, shut the gates, set fire to their houses, murdered their wives and children, and rushed out on their enemies. This led to a general massacre, some streets were rendered impassable, by the heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described. The desperate courage of the Dehlyans was at length cooled in their own blood, and throwing down their weapons, they at last submitted themselves like sheep to slaughter; in some instances, permitting one man to drive a hundred of them, prisoners, before him. The city yielded an enormous booty. The historians have gone into some details of the amount of the silver, the gold, and the jewels, captured on this occasion, particularly rubies and diamonds; but their account so far exceeds all belief, that I have refrained from mentioning it. Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud, however, relates these circumstances differently in his history. He states, that the persons appointed to realise the contribution on the part of Teimoor having used great violence, by torture and other means, to obtain money, the citizens rose and killed some of the Moguls. This being reported

to Teimoor, he ordered a general pillage. This is the first instance on record of the Moguls having plundered Dehly.

Teimoor now entered the city, and seized for himself 120 elephants, 12 rhinoceroses and a number of curious animals that had been collected by Feroze Toghluk. The fine mosque built by that Prince, on the stones of which he had inscribed the history of his reign, was so much admired by Teimoor, that he carried the same architects and masons from Dehly to Samarkand to build one on a similar plan. After having halted 15 days at Dehly, Teimoor commenced his retreat, to his own country, and marched out to Ferozabad, whither Bahadur Nahir of Mewat sent him two white parrots as curiosities, with professions of submission. Teimoor sent Syud Shums-ood-Deen Toormoozy to invite him to the presence; and Khizr Khan, who had been concealed in the hills of Mewat, also came with him, and was graciously received.

From Ferozabad, Teimoor marched to Paniput, from whence he detached Ameer Shah Mullik to besiege Meerut, a strong fort, situated about 60 miles from Dehly. When Ameer Shah Mullik had reconnoitred its strength, and found the garrison determined to defend it, he reported its condition; and he, moreover, stated, that the garrison had reproached him from the walls, by saying he could succeed no better than Toormooshreen Khan, the Mogul general who had formerly failed in an attempt to take the place. Teimoor immediately marched in person against Meerut, and without delay began to construct mines, and carry on his approaches under ground, advancing at the rate of 15 yards every 24 hours. Khwaja Elias Ajoodhuny, the son of Mowlana Ahmud Tahnesury, and Mullik Suffy Kubeer, defended the place with great resolution; but the Moguls, having filled up the ditch, placed their scaling-ladders and fastened their hook-ropes to the wall, in spite of all opposition, and without waiting for a breach by means of the mines stormed the place, and put every soul to the sword.

The mines, however, being finished, the King ordered them to be fired, and the walls were thrown down.[119]

Teimoor continued his march to the skirts of the mountains

119. Teimoor made use of mines in several sieges, also, in Asia Minor; they were constructed according to the usual mode of the ancients. Galleries were carried under the part of the wall to be breached, which was supported by wooden frames, while the excava-

of Sewalik, marking his way with fire and sword. He then crossed the Ganges, and subdued the country as far as where the river issues from the mountains. On his return from thence, he repassed the river and marched through the hills, where he was opposed by an Indian zemindar, whom he defeated and plundered. He then continued his route, taking several small forts on his way till he arrived at Jummoogur, the raja of which place being wounded and taken prisoner, was compelled to embrace the faith. Jusrut, the brother of Sheikha Gukkur, who had fled after being defeated by Teimoor, had been reproved by his brother for opposing the Moguls, which being represented to Teimoor, Sheikha was admitted to his presence, and became a favourite. But when Teimoor marched on to Dehly, Sheikha took advantage of his absence, and got possession of Lahore, and when the King reached Jummoo, he refused to submit to his authority. Ameer Teimoor accordingly detached part of his army to besiege Lahore, which was taken in a few days (A.H. 801, A.D. 1397). Sheikha was brought prisoner to the King, who ordered him to be instantly beheaded. While at Jummoo, Teimoor appointed Khizr Khan viceroy of Mooltan, Lahore, and Depalpoor, and returned to Samarkand by the route of Kabul.

The city of Dehly remained in a state of anarchy for the space of two months after the departure of Teimoor, during which time famine and pestilence prevailed. It was then taken possession of by the Prince Noosrut Shah with only 2000 horse from Meerut, where he was joined by Adil Khan with his own troops and four elephants. Shahab-Khan and Mullik Almas from Mewat, with their troops and 10 elephants, joined him soon after. Noosrut Shah now sent Shahab-Khan, with his troops, towards Birun, against Mulloo Yekbal-Khan, who had taken up his residence in that town; but Shahab-Khan, being attacked in the night, on his march, by the zemindars in the interest of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, was slain, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, following up his advantage, took all the baggage of Shahab Khan's army. This success raising the reputation of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, in a few days he thought himself in a condition to make an attempt on the capital. At his approach, Noosrut Shah retired to Meerut;

tion was in progress; when, after having formed a sufficiently large cavity, the wooden frames were set on fire, and being no longer capable of supporting the wall, it fell in, and caused the breach.

and Mulloo Yekbal Khan resumed the administration of affairs in the ruined city. The inhabitants, who had fled, now began to return to their homes; and Dehly, in a short time, put on the appearance of populousness, especially that quarter called the New City.

Mulloo Yekbal Khan, soon after, obtained possession of the country between the two rivers; which, with a small district round the city, was all that remained dependent on the capital. The governors of provinces no longer acknokledged allegiance to the throne, having established their independence during the late civil war. Guzerat was held by Moozuffur Khan; Malwa by Dilawur Khan; Kunowj, Oude, Kurra, and Joonpoor, by Khwaja Jehan, commonly called Shah Shurk; Lahore, Depalpoor, and Mooltan, by Khizr Khan; Samana by Ghalib Khan; Byana by Shums Khan Ahdy; Kalpy and Mahoba by Mahomed Khan, the son of Mullik-zada Feroze; all of whom styled themselves Kings.

In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 803 (December, A.D. 1400), Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched with an army from Dehly towards Byana, defeated Shums Khan, and was joined by his troops. He then proceeded to Kutehr, and after having levied contributions in the territory of Nursing Ray, he returned to Dehly. Intelligence was there brought him of the death of Khwaja Jehan, at Joonpoor, and also that his adopted son, Mullik Wasil, had assumed the title of Moobarik Shah, and had succeeded to the government. Mulloo Yekbal Khan having become reconciled to Shums Khan, governor of Byana, and having gained over Moobarik, the son of Bahadur Nahir Mewat-ty, to his interest, marched the same year, in conjunction with these chiefs, against Mullik Wasil. When he reached the village of Puttyaly, on the Ganges, the Ray of Serinugur, (the ancient name for Bilgaram, which was at that time a principality,) together with zemindars of that tract, opposed him, but were defeated with great slaughter. After this victory, Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched to Kunowj, intending to proceed to Joonpoor and Lucknowty. On his route, however, he was opposed by Mullik Wasil, in his attempt to cross the Ganges, with such vigour, that, after repeated efforts for two months, he was forced to abandon the undertaking, and to return to Dehly. During this campaign, Mullo Yekbal Khan, entertaining suspicions of Shums Khan and Moobarik Khan, assassinated them both on their way back to their own governments.

In the year A.H. 804 (A.D. 1401), the ex-King, Mahmood Toghluk, offended with the behaviour of Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, to whose court he had retired, left him and went to Malwa. Soon after, by the invitation of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he returned to Dehly, where he was content to receive a pension, fearing that any interference on his part, in the affairs of the government might prove fatal to him. Advices were now received of the death of Mullik Wasil, who styled himself Moobarik Shah, Shurky of Joonpoor. Yekbal Khan, accordingly, accompanied by the King Mahmood, marched towards Kunowj, where Ibrahim Shah Shurky, brother of Moobarik Shah, who had succeeded to the throne, advanced with the troops of Joonpoor to oppose him.

While the armies were encamped near each other Mahmood Toghluk, dissatisfied with his situation, and imagining that Ibrahim Shah would acknowledge him King, and abdicate the throne of the Shurky provinces in his favour, left the camp while on a hunting excursion, and repaired to the army of Ibrahim Shah. When that Prince discovered the expectations of his guest, he even withheld from him the necessaries of life, and intimated to him to quit the camp. Mahmood returned in great distress to Kunowj, and was left by Mulloo Yekbal Khan in the government of that city, having previously expelled the governor, who occupied it on the part of Ibrahim Shah. Ibrahim Shah Shurky did not resent this insult, but permitted Mahmood Toghluk to occupy Kunowj, and himself returned to Joonpoor, while Mulloo Yekbal Khan retreated to Dehly.

In the year A.H. 805 (A.D. 1402), Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched against Gualiar, which had fallen into the hands of Nursing Ray during the invasion of Teimoor, and which had lately on Nursing Ray's death descended to his son, Brahma Dew. The fort being strong, he found he could effect nothing against it at that time, except plundering the districts around. He accordingly returned to Dehly, from whence, however, he again came back with a view of reducing the place. Brahma Dew sallied out of the garrison, and made an unsuccessful attack on Mulloo Yekbal Khan; but the latter was eventually obliged to raise the siege, and content himself with devastating the country, and returned to Dehly.

In the year A.H. 807 (A.D. 1404), Mulloo Yekbal Khan marched the army to Etawa, where the Rajas of Serinugur,

Gualiar, and Jalwur had formed a confederacy, and united their forces. They were attacked and defeated by Yekbal Khan, who consented to their retreat being unmolested, only on condition of their paying a large sum into his coffers. After this victory, in violation of every tie of gratitude, and of common justice, he marched against the King, Mahmood Toghluk, then residing at Kunowj. Mahmood shut himself up in the city; and Mulloo Yekbal Khan, unable to reduce it, raised the siege, and marched towards Samana, in the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 808 (June, A.D. 1405), Beiram Khan, a descendant of one of the Toorky slaves of Feroze Toghluk, had long occupied Samana. On the approach of Mulloo Yekbal Khan, he fled to the hills, closely pursued by his enemy. On this occasion, Syud Alum-ood-Deen, grandson of the famous Syud Julal Bokhary, came to mediate between the contending parties. He succeeded in reconciling them; after which they united their forces, and marched towards Mooltan, against Khizr Khan. At Toolumba, they were opposed by Ray Dawood,[120] Kumal Khan Mye, and Ray Hubboo, the son of Ray Rutty, chiefs in the northern provinces, who were defeated, and taken prisoners. On arriving near Ajoodhun, Khizr Khan opposed Mulloo Yekbal Khan, with the troops of Mooltan, Punjab, and Depalpoor; and on the 19th of Jumad-ood-Awul A.H. 808 (Nov. 18, A.D. 1405), the two armies engaged, and Mulloo Yekbal Khan was slain.

When Dowlut Khan Lody, and Yekhtyar Khan, who commanded in Dehly, were informed of this event, they invited Mahmood Toghluk, from Kunowj, who came with a small retinue and reascended the throne. He laid aside any further efforts to reduce Mooltan, and sent Dowlut Khan Lody, with an army against Beiram Khan of Samana. The King himself returned, in the mean time, to Kunowj; but Ibrahim Shah Shurky marched to recover that place, and after some skirmishes, compelled Mahmood to retreat to Dehly. Mahmood Toghluk's imbecile conduct lost him the affections of his troops, and they accordingly, with one consent, dispersed. Ibrahim Shah Shurky on receiving intelligence of this circumstance, crossed the Ganges, and marched towards Dehly with great expedition. When he reached the banks of the Jumna, he heard that Moozuffur Shah

120. I am unable to discover how this admixture of Hindoo and Mahomedan names comes to take place.

of Guzerat had defeated and taken prisoner Alp Khan, commonly called Sooltan Hooshung, and having occupied the country of Malwa, was then on his march towards Joonpoor. In consequence of this intelligence, Ibrahim Shah Shurky was induced to retreat to secure his own capital.

In the month of Rujub, A.H. 810 (Dec., A.D. 1407), Dowlut Khan Lody and Beiram Khan engaged each other near Samana. Beiram Khan was defeated, and surrendered himself to Dowlut Khan Lody; but nearly at the same time that part of the country fell into the hands of Khizr Khan.

In the month of Zeekada, of the same year A.H. 810 (April, A.D. 1408), Mahmood Toghluk marched against Mullik Meer Zeea, who, on the part of Ibrahim Shah Shurky, was governor of Birun. Mullik Meer Zeea opposed him without the walls, but was defeated, and compelled to retire within the walls. The King's troops followed the fugitives so closely, that they entered the place together, and Mullik Meer Zeea fell in the assault. From Birun the King marched to Sumbhul; but Tartar Khan fled at his approach, and went to Kunowj. The King, leaving Assud Khan Lody a tSumbhul, returned to Dehly. In the year A.H. 811 (A.D. 1408), Mahmood Toghluk marched against Kowam Khan, who occupied Hissar Feroza, on the part of Khizr Khan. The King, after levying contributions, returned; but Khizr Khan, on hearing what had occurred, marched, by the route of Rohtuk, against Dehly. Mahmood, deficient both in sense and courage, allowed himself to be patiently besieged in that part of the city known by the name of Ferozabad. Khizr Khan, however, being in want of forage and grain, was soon obliged to raise the siege, and retire to Futtehpoor, but in the beginning of the year A.H. 814 (A.D. 1411), he returned by the route of Rohtuk to Futtehpoor. This place was then in possession of two of Mahmood Toghluk's officers, Mullik Idrees and Moobariz Khan, who declined hostilities, and submitted. Khizr Khan, having plundered the town of Narnoul, again advanced to Dehly. On this occasion, Mahmood shut himself up in the old citadel of Siry, to which Khizr Khan laid siege. Yekhtyar Khan, who commanded in Ferozabad, seeing the desperate condition of the King's affairs, Joined Khizr Khan, and admitted him into the fort. Having united their troops, they occupied all the Dehly possessions in the Dooab, and prevented supplies from reaching the capital. A great draught had

occasioned, at this time, a scarcity of grain and forage, both in the Dooab and in the vicinity of Dehly, insomuch that Khizr Khan was a second time forced to raise the siege and retire to Futtehpoor. Mahmood Toghluk, being delivered from this imminent danger, took the diversion of hunting in the neighbourhood of Kyetuhl, where he contracted a fever, and died in the month of Zeekada A.H. 814 (February, A.D. 1412). With him fell the Kingdom of Dehly from the race of Toorks, the adopted slaves of the Emperor Shahab-ood-Deen Ghoory, who were of the second dynasty of the Mahomedan princes of India.

The disastrous and inglorious reign of Mahmood Toghluk continued, from first to last, 20 years and two months.

The nobles, soon after his death, elected, in his stead, Dowlut Khan Lody, an Afghan by birth, originally a private secretary, who, after passing through various offices, was raised by Mahmood Toghluk, and attained the title of Azeez-i-Moomalik. Dowlut Khan Lody ascended the throne in the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 815 (April, A.D. 1412), and began his reign, as usual, by striking the currency in his own name.

Two chiefs of power and reputation, Mullik Idrees and Moobariz Khan, who had been in the interest of Khizr Khan, abandoned that chief, and joined Dowlut Khan Lody. A few days after his accession, he marched towards Kutehr; and was met by Nursing Ray, and other zemindars of those districts, who acknowledged his title. On his arrival at the town of Bisowly, Mohabut Khan of Budaoon also came to meet him, and pay him obedience. Advices at this time arrived, that Ibrahim Shah Surky was besieging Kalpy, then held by Kadur Khan, the son of Mahomed Khan; but as Dowlut Khan Lody had not sufficient force to march to his relief, he returned to Dehly to recruit his army. Meanwhile Khizr Khan, who had been preparing to invade the capital, advanced in the month of Zeehuj A.H. 816 (March, A.D. 1414), with 60,000 horse, and a third time invested the citadel of Siry, to which Dowlut Khan had retired. After a siege of four months, Khizr Khan obliged Dowlut Khan Lody, on the 15th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 817 (June 4, A.D. 1416), to surrender. He was instantly confined in Hissar Feroza, where he died, after a nominal reign of one year and three months.

FOURTH DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

ENTITLED SADAT.

1
Syud Khizr Khan.
|
2
Syud Moobarik.
|
3
Syud Mahomed.
|
4
Syud Alla-ood-Deen.

SYUD KHIZR KHAN

In the year A.H. 817 (A.D. 1414), both the authors of the Tubkat Mahmood Shahy and of the Towareekh Moobarik Shahy trace the family of Khizr Khan to that of the prophet, and they accordingly style him Syud. His fahter, Mullik Sooliman, a person of respectability, was the adopted son of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, a noble of distinction, and governor of the province of Mooltan, in the reign of Feroze Toghluk. Mullik Murdan Dowlut, at his death, was succeeded in his government by his own son. Mullik Sheikh, and on his death, Mullik Sooliman, who professed to be a Syud, was appointed viceroy of Mooltan, an office which descended to his son, Khizr Khan. When Khizr Khan was defeated, as we have already observed, by Sarung Khan, and driven from his country, he waited on Teimoor, after the conquest of Dehly, gained his favour, and was reinstated in his former government, to which Teimoor added Punjab and Depalpoor. This accession of power enabled him, eventually, to pave his way to the throne.

As the author of the Towareekh Moobabik Shahy has produced two distinct and (what he calls) strong proofs of Khizr Khan being really a descendant of the Prophet, it seems proper here to notice them, in order that his pretensions to that honour may be examined. The first reason given is, "that on one occasion, when Khizr Khan's father, Mullik Sooliman, brought an ewer and basin, in common with the other servants of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, at a feast given by him to Syud Julal Bokhary, the latter, on perceiving it, said to his host, 'Why do you employ this fine Syud youth in so humble an office ?' Such an observation from the mouth of that venerable, holy man (says the author) ought to satisfy us that the youth was really a Syud." The second proof adduced it, "that Khizr Khan possessed the qualities of charity, courage, mercy, benevolence, virtue, abstinence, truth, and kindness, in a degree which rendered him like the Prophet himself." These are the evidences which the author of the Towareekh Moobarik Shahy has produced to prove the noble origin of Khizr Khan. Suffice it for us to know, that after his accession, Khizr Khan conferred honours upon Mullik Tohfa, entitled Taj-ool-Moolk, and made him vizier, and conferred dignities on Abd-ool-Raheem, the adopted son of his father, Mullik Sooliman. He also gave him the government of Futtehpoor and Mooltan, together with the title of Mullik Alla-

ool-Moolk. But while he distributed his favours among his own officers, he refrained from assuming royal titles, and gave out that he held the government for Tiemoor, in whose name he caused the coin to be struck, and the Khootba to be read. After the death of Teimoor, the Khootba was read in the name of his successor, Shahrokh Mirza; to whom he sometimes even sent tribute at his capital of Samarkand.[121]

In the first year of his government, Khizr Khan deputed Mullik Tohfa with an army towards Kutehr, which place he reduced. Nursing Ray was driven to the mountains; but upon paying a ransom, was again put in possession of his country. Mohabut Khan, governor of Budaoon, at the same time came to meet Mullik Tohfa, and professed allegiance. The Vizier now marched towards Gunpoor, Kampilla, and Chundwar, to levy the revenue which had been due for some years; and after recovering Jalesur out of the hands of the Rajpoots of Chundwar, he marched to Etawa, and having reduced it, returned to Dehly.

In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, of the year A.H. 817 (July, A.D. 1414), a band of Toorks, the adherents of Beiram Khan, assassinated Mullik Ladho, governor of Surhind, and took possession of his country, Khizr Khan sent Zeeruk Khan and Mullik Dawood with an army against them. On their approach, the Toorks crossed the Sutlooj, and retreated to the hills. Zeeruk Khan pursued them; but as the mountains, which are a continuation of those of Nagrakote, were then in possession of independent zemindars, who assisted the Toorks, he effected nothing against them, and in the end was obliged to withdraw his troops.

In the year A.H. 819 (A.D. 1416), Ahmud Shah, King of Guzerat, advanced to Bagore. Khizr Khan led an army to oppose him; and the King of Guzerat withdrew in the direction of Malwa. When Khizr Khan reached Jalwur,[122] Elias Khan,

121. It is not difficult to imagine the causes which induced Khizr Khan to refrain from calling himself king. By this measure, he disarmed the jealousy which the nobles of the late regal government would have felt towards him, and which might have prevented them from submitting to his authority.

122. I have some doubt as to the true name: it is differently written in my various MSS.

governor of the new city, (to which the name of "Bride of the Universe," had been given by Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, who built it,) came out to meet him. Khizr Khan proceeded from thence to Gualiar, where he levied tribute from the Raja, and then proceeded to Dehly by the route of Byana, where he exacted, as a fee, a considerable sum from Kurreem-ool-Moolk, brother of the late Shums Khan Ahdy, to whose estates he had lately succeeded.

In the year A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417), Mullik Toghan, chief of those Toorks who had assassinated Mullik Ladho, besieged Surhind with a considerable army. Zeeruk Khan, governor of Samana, being again ordered against him, Toghan retreated to the hills; but Zeeruk Khan overtook him at the village of Pail, compelled him to pay a heavy fine, and to give up his son as a hostage for his future conduct, as well as to expel the murderers of Mullik Ladho from his camp. After these arrangements, Mullik Toghan was allowed to retain possession of Jalendur; and Zeeruk Khan having returned to Samana, sent both the hostage and the amount realised from Mullik Toghan to the presence.

In the year A.H. 821 (A.D. 1418), Khizr Khan having sent his minister against Nursing Ray, the Raja of Kutehr, he plundered and laid waste that district, and proceeding to Budaoon, crossed the river at Etawa, on which place he imposed a contribution, and returned to Dehly. Khizr Khan subsequently marched in person to Kutehr, and on his route he attacked and defeated a formidable band of plunderers at Kole; he then crossed the Ganges, and having laid waste the country of Sumbhul and Kutehr, returned to his capital. After remaining at Dehly only a few days, he move towards Budaoon, Mohabut Khan, governor of Budaoon, alarmed at his approach, shut himself up in the fort, to which the King laid siege for six months. In the course of the operations, Khizr Khan discovered that Kowam Khan, Yekhtyar Khan Lody, and several of the old friends of the late King, Mahmood Toghluk, had formed a conspiracy against his life. This circumstance induced him to raise the siege of Budaoon, and to retire to Dehly, where on the 20th of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 822 (July 18, A.D. 1419), having assembled the conspirators, he caused the household torops to fall upon them, and put them to death.

About this time, also, the King understood that an impostor had appeared near Machiwara, assuming the name of Sarung Khan, and had collected a body of insurgents, though it was well known that Sarung Khan died during the time of Teimoor's invasion. To suppress this insurrection, Khizr Khan ordered Mullik Sooltan Shah Lody, entitled Islam Khan, at that time governor of Surhind, against the impostor, who being defeated fled to the hills, pursued by the joint forces of Mullik Toghan, governor of Jalendur, Zeeruk Khan, governor of Samana, and Mullik Kheir-ood-Deen, governor of Dooab. The impostor's army shortly after deserted him, each man withdrawing privately to his own home, and the Dehly forces, also separating, returned to their respective stations. In the following year the impostor appeared again, and joined Mullik Toghan, who had again gone into rebellion. Mullik Toghan, however, on discovering that his colleague possessed a large quantity of jewels, caused him to be assassinated; and marching to Surhind, he ravaged the country of Munsoorpoor and Pail on his route. The Dehly army, having attacked the insurgents, under Toghan, gave them a total defeat, and drove them entirely out of the kingdom.

In the year A.H. 824 (A.D. 1421), Khizr Khan marched towards Mewat, taking and destroying the fort of Kotla. In this year, also, the Vizier dying, that office was conferred on his son, Mullik Sikundur Tohfa. From Kotla, Khizr Khan marched towards Gualiar, where he raised contributions and returned to Etawa, exacting tribute from the son of Soomur Ray. Khizr Khan, falling sick during this campaign, returned to Dehly, where he died on the 17th of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 824 (May 20, A.D. 1421), after a reign of seven years and a few months.

Khizr Khan was esteemed a just, a generous, and a benevolent prince, for the age in which he lived, on which account his death was much lamented by his subjects; and as a token of their respect for his memory the inhabitants of Dehly, by common consent, wore black for three days.[123]

After this the nobles,[124] having assembled, consented to elevate Moobarik, the son of Khizr Khan, to the throne.

123. It is worthy of remark, that the Mahomedans assume black garments as the garb of grief.

124. The circumstance of Khizr Khan not having assumed the

WHEN Khizr Khan perceived, from the nature of his disorder, all hopes of recovery were at an end, he nominated his eldest son to succeed him. Accordingly, three days after his death, Moobarik ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Moiz-ood-Deen, Abool Futteh Mobarik. He raised his cousin, Mullik Budr, to high honours, and nominated Mullik Rujub to the government of Depalpoor and Punjab.

In the month of Jumad-ool-Awul A.H. 824 (May, A.D. 1421), he received advices that Jusrut, the brother of Sheikha Gukkur, (who had the preceding year defeated and made captive Ally Shah, King of Kashmeer,[125] on his return from an expedition against Tutta,) presuming on his success, had come to the resolution to attempt the throne of Dehly. For this purpose Jusrut Gukkur invited Mullik Toghan, who had fled to the mountains, to join him, and he appointed him Ameer-ool-Omra, or general in-chief of his troops. Their first operations were directed against Punjab; and having seized Lahore, they secured the person of Zeeruk Khan, governor of Jalendur, which they also took, and subsequently besieged Islam Khan in the fort of Surhind.

Syud Moobarik, in spite of the rainy season, which was then at its height, marched from Dehly; but on his approaching Surhind he found Jusrut Gukkur had raised the siege and retreated to Lodhana. Here Zeeruk Khan contrived to effect his escape, and joined the King. The Dehly army now advanced towards Lodhana, where they perceived Jusrut Gukkur encamped on the opposite bank. He had secured all the boats on the river, a circumstance which obliged the King to halt at Kubboolpoor till the stream became fordable. On the 11th of Shuval A.H. 824 (October 8, A.D. 1421), Mullik Sikundur (the Vizier), Zeeruk Khan, Mahmood Hussun, Mullik Kaloo, and other chiefs, forded the river; and the King himself following with the main body of the army, Jusrut Gukkur and his troops

title of King, and the fact of the nobles assembling to elect his son Moobarik to the throne, at once bespeak the power to which aristocracy had attained over despotism, and proves by how precarious a tenour the prince held his throne.

125. The kings of Kashmeer are the only Mahomedan monarches of India who are unconnected with the Dehly empire, their history forms a separate chapter in this work.

were thrown into confusion, and eventually put to flight. The King's forces pursued the enemy closely, slaying vast numbers, and capturing all their baggage.

After this defeat, Jusrut, having crossed the Chunab, took refuge in the mountains, and Ray Bheem, Raja of Jummoo, directing the King's army to Beesul, a strong fort into which Jusrut Gukkur had thrown himself, the latter again fled; but his followers were pursued with great slaughter. Meanwhile, in the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 825 (January, A.D. 1422), the King, having marched to Lahore, ordered the ruined palaces and fortifications to be repaired, and appointing Mahmood Hussun governor, returned to Dehly. He had scarcely reached his capital when Jusrut, collecting his scattered forces, took the field again, and invested Lahore for five months; but failing in his attempt, he raised the siege, retired to Kallanore, and attacked Ray Bheem, Raja of Jummoo, for having betrayed his retreat to the King. On this occasion, Jusrut Gukkur, being unsuccessful, retired to the banks of the Beea, in order to refresh and to recruit his army. Meanwhile, Mullik Sikundur, the Vizier, having been sent to reinforce Lahore, was joined by Mullik Rujub, governor of Depalpoor, and by Islam Khan, governor of Surhind. With these troops the Vizier marched against Jusrut, and compelled him to recross the Ravy and Chunab, and to take shelter again among the mountains. The Vizier marched along the Ravy to Kallanore; and being joined on the frontiers of Jummoo by Ray Bheem, that Prince acted as guide to the Dehly troops, so that many of the Gukkurs, who were concealed, were discovered, and put to the sword; after which the Vizier returned to Lahore.

These successes induced the King to appoint the Vizier, Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, viceroy of Lahore, and to recall Mahmood Hussun. In the year A.H. 826 (A.D. 1422), the King deprived Mullik Sikundur of the office of Vizier, and conferred it on Survur-ool-Moolk, whom he sent with an army against the Hindoos of Kutehr, in order to compel them to pay the usual tribute. The King, at this time, effected an accommodation with Mohabut Khan, governor of Budaoon, and intrusted him with a commission against the tribe of Rahtore Rajpoots, whose country was plundered, and some of whom were made prisoners. The Raja of Etawa, alarmed at these measures, withdrew sud-

denly from the royal camp. Moobarik pursued, and besieged the Raja in Etawa; but at length terms were concluded with him, and the Raja's son was delivered as a hostage for his father's future good conduct into the King's hands, after which he returned to Dehly.

Mahmood Hussun, about this time, was appointed Bukhshy of the forces, which office in those days was styled *Avizy*. Jusrut Gukkur, unsubdued by his misfortunes again appeared in the field; and having defeated and slain Ray Bheem of Jummoo, raised an army of nearly 12,000 Gukkurs with which he again made war on the kingdom of Dehly. In the year A.H. 827 (A.D. 1423), he ravaged the countries of Lahore and Depalpoor, and acquired considerable booty: Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, the governor, advanced against him; but rather than risk a battle, Jusrut retired with his spoils to the hills, where he continued to recruit his army for another campaign. Meanwhile Jusrut Gukkur formed an alliance with Ameer Sheikh Ally, a Mogul chieftain in the service of Sharokh Mirza, governor of Kabul; and prevailed on him to make an incursion into the territories of Seestan, Bhukkur, and Tatta, by way of creating a diversion, in order that, by drawing off the King's forces from the capital, for the defence of Sind, his own views on Dehly might be facilitated. Mullik Alla-ool-Moolk, governor of Mooltan, dying about the same time that the news of Ameer Sheikh Ally's incursion was received, the King detached Mullik Mahmood Hussun with the army to Mooltan. Sooltan Hooshung, King of Malwa, also in the same year invested Gualiar, so that the King was obliged to send all his troops to his frontiers. The King marched in person into Malwa, levying contributions, on his route, from Ameer Khan, the son of Wahid Khan, governor of Byana.

Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa secured the usual fords of the Chumbul; but the King, having discovered others, crossed the river, and attacking Sooltan Hooshung in his camp, defeated his army, took many prisoners, and a part of his baggage. The prisoners, being chiefly Mahomedans, were released; and Sooltan Hooshung, thinking it advisable to compound matters by paying a sum of money to the King of Dehly, was permitted to withdraw without molestation towards Dhar. The King of Dehly remained for some time in the vicinity of Gualiar to levy

contributions upon the neighbouring Hindoo chiefs, and returned in the month of Rujub, A.H. 827 (June, A.D. 1423), to his capital.

Next year A.H. 828 (A.D. 1424), the King moved towards Kutehr, and was met by Nursing Ray, who came to the banks of the Ganges to pay his respects; but as he had not settled the revenues of his territory for three years, he was detained in camp for a few days, till his accounts were adjusted, and then released. The King, having crossed the Ganges, reduced some factious tributary chiefs, and returned to Dehly; but not remaining there many days, he marched towards Mewat, from whence he expelled some insurgents, and ravaging their country, returned to his capital; when having permitted his officers to retire to their estates with their troops, he abandoned himself to dissipation. The Mewatties, rendered desperate by the King's conduct towards them, took revenge on the neighbouring districts.

In the year A.H. 829 (A.D. 1425), therefore, the King, collecting troops, marched to punish them. On his approach, Julloo and Kudroo,[126] the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir Mewatty, retreated to the hills of Alwur, and defended the passes with much obstinacy; but being eventually reduced to great distress, they surrendered, and were imprisoned.

The repeated attacks on the Mewatties did not render them peaceable. In the year A.H. 830 (A.D. 1426), the King, after a lapse of four months, was again obliged to send troops against them, who carried fire and sword through their whole country. The King now proceeded as far as Byana, where he found that Ameer Khan, the governor, was dead; and that his brother Mahomed Khan, assuming independence, had shut himself up in the town. The King laid siege to Byana for sixteen days, but on the desertion of part of the garrison, Mahomed Khan surrendered at discretion, and with a rope about his neck was led into the royal presence. The King delivered over the charge of the city to Mokbil Khan, and sent Mahomed Khan and his family to Dehly. After which, making Mullik Kheir-ood-Deen Tohfa governor of Seekry (known now by the name of Futtehpoor), the King marched to Gualiar, and received the tribute from the Raja. At this time Mullik Mahmood Hussun was recalled from Mooltan, and

126. These are familiar appellations for Julal and Kuddur, to which the title of Khan was usually affixed.

placed in charge of Hissar Feroza, while Mullik Rujub Nadiry succeeded to the charge of Mooltan.

Meanwhile Mahomed Khan of Byana effected his escape with his family to Mewat, and collecting a considerable force, recovered the city of Byana, in the absence of the King's governor, Mokbil Khan, who had gone on an expedition to Mahawun. Mullik Moobariz was now appointed to Byana, with orders to expel Mahomed Khan. The latter retiring into the fort, Mullik Moobariz took possession of the country, but after a few days' siege, Mahomed Khan, intrusting the defence of the place to some trusty followers, escaped, and joined Ibrahim Shah Shurky of Joonpoor, who was then advancing with an army against Kalpy.

Kadir Khan, the ruler of Kalpy, on this occasion, sent expresses to Dehly for succours, and the King took the field in person. On reaching Atraoly, he detached Mullik Mahmood Hussun, with 10,000 horse, to intercept Mokhlis Khan, the brother of Ibrahim Shah Shurky, who was on his march to reduce Etawa. This detachment, encountering Mokhlis Khan, compelled him to fall back on his brother, and Mullik Mahmood Hussun rejoined the Dehly army. Ibrahim Shah Shurky, meanwhile, advanced along the banks of the Kaly-Nye[127] to Boorhanabad, from thence to the village of Rabery, while the King, Moobarik, moved by Atraoly to Malykota. The two armies marched parallel to each other till they arrived on the banks of the river. The King of Dehly, having crossed the Jumna near Chundwara, encamped within ten miles of the enemy. Both armies remained in their trenches for the space of 22 days, during which time slight skirmishes only took place. Ibrahim Shah Shurky, however, upon the 7th of Jumad-oos-Sany (March 21), marched out of his camp, and offered battle. The King of Dehly declined exposing his own person, but put his troops under the command of his vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, who, with Syud Salim, Syud-oos-Sadat, was directed to engage the enemy. The action commenced with great fury at noon, and night only parted the combatants, both armies retiring to their respective encampments. Ibrahim Shah, however, marching off on the next morning towards Joonpoor, left Moobarik to claim the victory. The latter, satisfied with this nominal advantage, moved towards Gualiar, having crossed the Chumbul at Hulkant. After receiving the usual tribute, he moved in the

127. Caly-Nudee of Arrowsmith.

direction of Byana, into which place Mahomed Khan Ahdy had again thrown himself after the battle. On this occasion, Mahomed Khan made a brave defence, but was obliged to capitulate, and had leave to go whithersoever he chose. Mullik Mahmood Hussun was left in the government of Byana, and, on the 15th of Shaban, A.H. 831 (May 29, A.D. 1427), Moobarik returned to Dehly. He there seized Mullik Kudroo Mewatty, who had joined Ibrahim Shah Shurky in the late war, and ordered him to be put to death, and Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk was sent to occupy Mewat; but the inhabitants, deserting the towns, fled to the mountains. Julal[128] Khan Mewatty, the brother of Mullik Kudroo, together with Ahmud Khan, and Mullik Fukhr-ood-Deen collected a force within the fort of Alwur, and defended it so bravely, that Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk was content to receive a contribution from them, and to return to Dehly.

In the month of Zeekad, A.H. 831 (Sept., A.D. 1427), the King received advices, that Jusrut Gukkur had besieged Kallanore, and had, moreover, defeated Mullik Sikundur in the field, and compelled him to fall back on Lahore. Orders were accordingly sent to Zeeruk Khan, governor of Samana, and to Islam Khan, governor of Surhind, to reinforce Mullik Sikundur; but before their arrival, the latter had obtained assistance from the Raja of Kallanore, and not only defeated Jusrut Gukkur in turn, but deprived him of all the plunder he had acquired in that province.

In the month of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 832 (Feb., A.D. 1428), the King marched to Mewat, and entirely subdued that country, obliging the inhabitants to pay him tribute. Advices at this time reached Dehly of the death of Mullik Rujub Nadiry, governor of Mooltan, when the title of Imad-ool-Moolk was conferred on Mullik Mahmood Hussun (who had settled the affairs of Byana), and he was nominated to the government of Mooltan. The King, in the following year A.H. 833 (A.D. 1429), proceeded towards Gualiar, on the route to which place he required the payment of tribute from the Raja of Hulkant, who, unable to satisfy the demand, fled to the mountains, while his country was laid waste, and his subjects carried off as prisoners and slaves to Dehly. The King then led his army towards Rabery, and having wrested that country from the son of Hoossein Khan Mewatty, gave it over in charge to Mullik Humza. Syud Salim dying on the march

128. Vide note 126, page 301.

back to Dehly, his eldest son received the title of Syud Khan, and the youngest that of Shoojaa-ool-Moolk. They were allowed also to retain the wealth their father had collected during 30 years of power, amounting to a sum supposed to be equal to the private coffers of the King himself, and which, according to the custom of Hindoostan, might have become the property of the crown. These indulgences, however, did not secure the fidelity of the sons of Syud Salim, who sent one Folad, a Toorky slave, to Surhind, to stir up an insurrection, privately, in their name. They had formed hopes, it seems, that they might be sent with a force to suppress the rebellion, and thus have an opportunity to join the insurgents; but the plot being discovered, both these chiefs were imprisoned, and Mullik Yoosoof and Ray Hubboo were sent to Surhind, to resume their estates, and to suppress, the disturbances.

Folad, entering into negotaition with the Dehly chiefs, lulled them into security, and sallying one night from his fort, attempted to surprise their camp. He was so warmly received by the King's troops, that the attack altogether failed; but this circumstance did not deter Folad from making another attack on the following night, supported by a heavy fire from the works; on which occasion, the Dehly troops fled panic-struck, leaving their camp standing. On receiving intimation of this disaster, the King marched from Dehly in person. The rebel daily gathered strength; and the King in the year A.H. 833 (A.D. 1429), was induced to direct Imad-ool-Moolk from Mooltan, and several other governors, to proceed to Surhind. The reinforcements having joined, the King remained on the Soorsutty river, and detached the greatest part of his army to invest the fort of Surhind. The rebel Folad now sent a message to the King, saying, that if Imad-ool-Moolk were sent to him, with a promise of pardon, he would deliver up the place. This measure was acceded to on the King's part; and Folad having met Imad-ool-Moolk without the gate was assured of the King's pardon, and promised, on his part, to surrender the fort of Surhind on the next day. One of Imad-ool-Moolk's attendants, being acquainted with Folad, hinted to him privately, that though Imad-ool-Moolk was a man of honour, and would certainly adhere to his promise, yet the King might not be so scrupulous. Folad's suspicions were raised, and having abundance both of money and supplies in the place, he determined to hold out to the last.

The King, finding the reduction of the place would occupy time, and thinking so large an army unnecessary for the siege, permitted Imad-ool-Moolk to return to his government of Mooltan; and leaving Islam Khan Lody, Kaly Khan, and Ray Feroze, with some Ameer Judeeda, to conduct the siege, the King retired to Dehly. (A.H. 833, A.D. 1429). Folad held out six months : he was greatly distressed; and saw no means of extricating himself but by an alliance with Ameer Sheikh Ally, governor of Kabul, on the part of Sharokh Mirza. He accordingly despatched messengers to him, soliciting his assistance. The King had taken no pains to keep on good terms with the neighbouring Mogul, who was induced to quit Kabul to aid Folad. He was joined by the Gukkurs on crossing the Beea, and ravaged the country of those chiefs who held estates in the Punjab, and who were conducting the siege of Surhind. Ameer Sheikh Ally advanced to Surhind, and compelled the royal army to decamp. Folad remunerated his ally with a sum equal to two laks of tunkas, and made him presents besides. He also placed in his hands his family, and by strengthening the fortifications of Surhind, and laying in provisions and ammunition, prepared for another siege. Ameer Sheikh Ally, recrossing the Sutlooj, committed vast depredations in the Punjab, realising by plunder one hundred-fold beyond the value of what he had received from Folad. On reaching Lahore, he imposed a contribution of one year's revenue on Mullik Sikundur Tohfa. From Lahore he proceeded towards Depalpoor, desolating that country also; insomuch that 40,000 Hindoos were computed to have been massacred, besides a great number carried away prisoners. Imad-ool-Moolk, the governor, posted himself in ambush to surprise Ameer Sheikh Ally at Toolumba, but he avoided the ambuscade by going to Khuteebpoor: meanwhile Imad-ool-Moolk received the King's orders to return, for the protection of Mooltan. This movement encouraged the enemy to march along the Ravy, and to lay waste the country to within two coss of the city of Mooltan; where Ameer Sheikh Ally defeated Imad-ool-Moolk, who endeavoured to arrest his progress. From thence the Moguls advanced to Khyrabad, within six miles of Mooltan, and on the next day, being the 4th of Rumzan A.H. 833 (May 29, A.D. 1430), made an unsuccessful assault on the place; but they continued the siege, and committed daily depredations, putting all whom they met to the sword.

The King, informed of these transactions, sent Futteh Khan, son of Moozuffur Khan Guzeratty, with other nobles of distinction, to reinforce Imad-ool-Moolk, on which he marched out, and offered battle to Ameer Sheikh Ally. A sanguinary engagement ensued, in the commencement of which the Moguls gained some advantage; but after the death of Futteh Khan of Guzerat, the King's troops, inspired with revenge, fought more desperately, and gained the victory. Ameer Sheikh Ally was totally defeated; and having lost all his plunder, escaped with a few attendants only to Kabul; his whole army being either killed or drowned in the Jheelum in their attempt to escape. Imad-ool-Moolk pursued the fugitives to Shewur, and returned to Mooltan, while the nobles who had come to his aid repaired, by the King's orders, to Dehly. Soon after this event, the King becoming jealous of the popularity of Imad-ool-Moolk at Mooltan, recalled him to court. Jusrut Gukkur taking advantage of his absence, crossed the Jheelum, the Ravy, and the Beea; and attacked Mullik Sikundur Tohfa near Jalendur, whom he defeated and made prisoner, together with all his treasure and baggage. Jusrut Gukkur now advanced and laid siege to Lahore. Ameer Sheikh Ally was also instgiated by Jusrut to make another incursion into Mooltan, and having taken Toolumba by capitulation, he broke his pledge, plundered the place, and put to death all the men able to bear arms; he also burned the town, and carried the wives and children of the inhabitants into captivity.

Folad of Surhind, taking advantage of these events, marched out of his fort, and invading the country of Ray Feroze, defeated and slew him. On the 1st of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 835 (Jan. 3, A.D. 1432), the King, therefore, took the route of Lahore. Mullik-Survur-ool-Moolk was a second time appointed governor, and received the command of the advance guard of his army. The Vizier arriving at Samana, Jusrut raised the siege of Lahore, and retreated to the hills: Ameer Sheikh Ally fell back on Kabul; and Folad again shut himself up in Surhind. The King deprived the Vizier of the government of Lahore a second time, and nominated Noosrut Khan Goorgandaz[129] to the office, himself encamping near Paniput, on the banks of the Jumna. From hence he sent Imad-ool-Moolk, with a part of the army, to suppress some insur-

129. This epithet was given to this chief, probably, from his having personally got the better of a wolf.

rections about Gualiar, while the Vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, being left to besiege Surhind, the King returned to Dehly.

In the month of Zeehuj (August) Jusrut Gukkur advanced again to Lahore; and having commenced hostilities against Noosrut Khan, the King was induced, in the year A.H. 836 (A.D. 1433), to march from Dehly as far as Samana. Intelligence was brought to him at that place of the death of his mother, Mukdooma Jehan, when he immediately returned with a few attendants to the capital, and after performing the funeral obsequies rejoined his army. After his arrival in the camp he suddenly marched towards Mewat, conferring the government of Lahore upon Mullik Alla-dad-Lody, who promised to expel Jusrut. The Gukkur chief on hearing of the King's return, and being joined by a large body of his tribe, was enabled to defeat Alla-dad-Lody before he reached Lahore.

In the year A.H. 836 (A.D. 1433), the King having received the news of this disaster, and also that Ameer Sheikh Ally was coming towards Surhind, again took the route of Punjab, sending before him Imad-ool-Moolk to reinforce the army besieging Surhind. On the approach of Imad-ool-Moolk, Ameer Sheikh Ally, who had formerly sustained a defeat from him, laid aside his intentions of coming to Surhind, and retreated by forced marches towards Lahore, which he surprised. Hearing, however, the King had reached Toolumba, Ameer Sheikh Ally left a garrison of 2000 men in Lahore, and retreated to Kabul, ravaging the country on his route, and leaving his nephew Moozuffur Khan in the fort of Shewur. Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, who had procured his release out of the hands of Jusrut Gukkur, by the payment of a large sum of money, was reinstated by the King in the government of Lahore, Depalpoor, and Jalendur; upon which he advanced and laid siege to Lahore, which surrendered by capitulation, and the garrison was permitted to retire to Kabul. The King now crossed the Ravy near Toolumba, and invested Shewur. Muzuffur Khan defended the place for a whole month; but being hard pressed, he capitulated, and, moreover, gave his daughter to the King, and paid a large ransom for his liberty. The King left a part of his army at Depalpoor, and with a select body proceeded in person to Mooltan, where he visited the tombs of the saints. From thence he returned in a few days to his camp. At this time he divested Mullik Sikundur Tohfa of the government of Lahore, and giving it to Imad-ool-Moolk, returned to Dehly. Being jealous of the

power of the Vizier, Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk, the King united Kaly Khan with him in the office of vizier and the latter being a man of superior abilities soon gained the favour of his sovereign and the good will of the people.

Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk, dissatisfied with this arrangement, gained over Sudanund, the son of Gungoo Kutry, Meeran Sudr, deputy to the chief secretary, Kazy Abd-oos-Sumud, and others, who watched an opportunity for assassinating the King. At this time (Rubbee-ool-oola 17, A.H. 839, Oct. 10, A.D. 1435), the King ordered a city to be founded on the banks of the Jumna, and called it Moobarikabad, and made an excursion towards Surhind, in order to take the diversion of the chase. On the way, he received advice that Surhind was taken, and the head of the rebel Folad was presented to him, after which the King returned to the new city. Here he gained intelligence that war had broken out between Ibrahim Shah Shurky and Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, whose armies were then near Kalpy. This information promised to afford the King an opportunity of expelling Ibrahim Shah Shurky from his dominions; he accordingly gave orders to collect his army, and caused his tents to be pitched outside the city of Dehly. A few days elapsed in the necessary organisation of his forces, during which time the King continued to visit the new works: he was, however, little apprehensive of the event which soon after took place, never having given offence to his nobility, except in changing or removing them from their governments when they misbehaved.

On the 9th of the month of Rujub, in the year A.H. 839 (Jan. 28, A.D. 1435), according to custom, he went to worship at a mosque lately built in the new city, with only a few attendants. On which occasion, Meeran Sudr, and Kazy Abd-oos-Sumud, with a band of Hindoos clothed in armour, entered the mosque; while Sudanund, the son of Gungoo Kutry, with another party of Hindoos, kept guard without, to prevent people from either going in or coming out. Although the King perceived the conspirators were in armour, he took no immediate notice of them; till at length Sidpal, one of the Hindoos, drawing his sword, rushed on him, and the rest following his example, they basely murdered this worthy and excellent Prince. Meeran Sudr, instantly quitting the spot, repaired to the house of the Vizier, and acquainted him, according to agreement, with what had happened; and Survur-

ool-Moolk, who had previously arranged matters with Mahomed, one of the grandsons of Khizr Khan, raised that Prince to the throne.

Syud Moobarik reigned 13 years, three months, and 16 days. He was esteemed a man of good talents, and on most occasions just and benevolent. His temper was so equal, that it is notorious he never spoke in anger to any person during his life. The Towareekh Moobarik Shahy was written to commemorate the events of his reign.

SYUD MAHOMED

ACCORDING to the practice of the universe, which cannot subsist without order; on the same day which gave to Moobarik his death-wound, his son, the Prince Mahomed, was seated on the throne. The ungrateful assassin, Survur-ool-Moolk, vizier, received the title of Khan Jehan; and having secured the King's treasure, the regalia, and other effects, he dismissed all the old ministers from office, and appointed new ones, more suited to his views.

In the year A.H. 839 (A.D. 1435), Kaly Khan, the deputy-vizier, and other chiefs in the camp, called a council, on hearing of the King's death, and resolved, rather than incur the horrors of civil war, for the present to submit to the new King, and to wait for a more favourable opportunity of taking revenge on the conspirators; so they accordingly came into the city, and paid their respects to Syud Mahomed. The first preferment which was made, in order to promote the Vizier's views, was the elevation of the Hindoo conspirators. Sudanund and Sidpal were raised to the government of Byana, Amroha, Narnoul, and Kohram, and other pergunas in the Dooab. Meeran Sudr was dignified with the title of Moyin-ool-Moolk, and received a considerable jagier. The son of Syud Salim was ennabled by the title of Khan-Azim Syeed Khan, and the government of several districts was assigned to him; while the officers of the late King were persecuted, and some even lost their lives under false pretences.

On the 12th of Rujub, A.H. 839 (Jan. 31, A.D. 1435), one Ranoo, a slave of the Vizier, being nominated collector of the revenues of Byana, endeavoured to obtain possession of the Fort, but Yoosoof Khan Lody opposed, and slew him. At the same time, also, some of the nobles of the late reign, who had served

under Khizr Khan, perceived a design to deprive them of their jageers; and the following chiefs. Mullik Joomun, governor of Budaoon; Mullik Alla-dad Lody, governor of Sumbhul; Meer Ally Goozeratty, and Ameer Khan Toork, combined, and went into open rebellion. Mullik Survur-ool-Moolk, deceived by the behavior of his deputy, Kaly Khan, intrusted him with the command of the army to suppress the revolt, and Syeed Khan, Sudanund, and the Vizier's son, Yoosoof-Khan, went along with him. On arriving at the village of Birrun, Kaly Khan, who had resolved to take revenge on Sudanund, and Yoosoof Khan, for the murder of the King, informed Mullik Alla-dad-Lody of his intention. The latter, therefore, made no movement to oppose the royalists. Kaly Khan's design, however, became known to the Vizier, who sent Mullik Hooshyar, one of his own slaves, with an additional force, as if to reinforce Kaly Khan, but in reality with secret instructions to watch his motions (A.H. 839, A.D. 1435). Kaly Khan, however, united his forces with those of Mullik Alla-dad-Lody previously to the arrival of Mullik Hooshyar, who was in consequence deterred from approaching, and Yoosoof Khan and Sudanund fled to Dehly. Kaly Khan, together with the malcontents, now marched to Dehly, which they reached on the last day of Rumzan (Rumzan 30, April, 15).

In this dilemma, the Vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, took post in the citadel of Siry, wherein he stood a siege for three months; but the party of Kaly Khan daily gaining new partisans, the Vizier was reduced to the last distress. The King also perceiving that his own affairs would be ruined if he adhered to the Vizier, opened negotiations with the besiegers, and only waited an opportunity either of making his escape, or of cutting off his minister. The Vizier, discovered the plot, and determined to anticipate the King's intentions; accordingly, on the 8th of Mohurrum, A.H. 840 (July 23, A.D. 1436), Survur-ool-Moolk, aided by the sons of Meeran Sudr, and some of his followers, broke into the royal apartments with drawn swords, in order to put the King to death. The latter, having intimation of their design, placed a guard in readiness to counteract their project, which, on a concerted signal, rushed out on the conspirators, who took to flight. The Vizier, Survur-ool-Moolk, was cut to pieces as he was passing the door; and the sons of Meeran Sudr, with the rest of the assassins, being afterwards taken, were also slain, while Mullik Hooshyar, and

Mullik Moobarik, who were concerned in the plot, were publicly executed. The Kutries, and other adherents of the Vizier, apprehensive of the King's vengeance, rose in arms, and compelled him to defend the palace. Thus situated, he caused the Bagdad gate to be thrown open to the besiegers, who rushing in, committed a dreadful slaughter on the rebels, till they were entirely subdued; while such as were taken alive were bound hands and feet and sacrificed at the tomb of the late Syud Moobarik. Kaly Khan and the other chiefs took the oath of allegiance on the next day, a second time, to Syud Mahomed, when the office of vizier was conferred on Kaly Khan, with the title of Kumal Khan; and Mullik Joomun, receiving the title of Ghazy Mullik, was gratified with a jageer. Mullik Alla-dad-Lody refused a title for himself, but begged that that of Duria Khan might be conferred on his brother; and the rest of the nobles were confirmed in their several offices. Peace being restored at Dehly, the King, by the advice of his counsellors, made a campaign towards Mooltan, and encamping near Moobarikabad, gave orders to collect his army from all the neighbouring provinces. Many of the chiefs being intimidated, delayed to repair to head-quarters, till Imad-ool-Moolk, arriving from Mooltan, aided by his power and influence the royal authority, and shortly after the other provincial governors joined the camp, and were honoured with dresses, and other marks of favour. The king now proceeded towards Mooltan; and marching for some time at the head of his troops, visited the tombs of the saints at Ajoodhun, and returned to his capital.

In the same year (A.H. 840) the King marched towards Samana, and detached a portion of the army against Jusrut Gukkur, whose country was given over to plunder, after which the King returned to Dehly. There he abandoned himself to pleasure, and totally neglected the affairs of his government. This conduct soon affected the administration of affairs, discontent pervaded every quarter, and an insurrection broke out in Mooltan among the Afghans, called Lunga. At this time, also, Bheilole Lody, who after the death of his uncle, Islam Khan Lody, had usurped the government of Surhind, took possession of Lahore, Depalpoor, and all the country as far south as Paniput. The King receiving intelligence of these events, sent his whole army against Bheilole, who was driven into the hills, and many chiefs of distinction fell in their retreat. Bheilole Lody, however, recruit-

ing his army after the royal forces had withdrawn, retook possession of the countries from whence he had been expelled. The King, on this occasion, sent Hissam Khan, the Vizier's deputy, against him; but he was defeated, and compelled to retreat to Dehly; on which Bheilole Lody wrote to the King, that if he would put Hissam Khan to death, who by his intrigues had been the cause of his rebellion, he would lay down his arms.

The King was so weak as to listen to this arrogant proposal, and accordingly gave orders for the death of Hissam Khan. He also deprived Kumal-ool-Moolk of the office of vizier, and conferring it on Humeed Khan, appointed a deputy with the title of Hissam Khan. The governors of the provinces, perceiving the King's imbecile conduct, predicted his downfall, and endeavoured to secure their own independence. The farmers and zemindars, foreseeing the convulsions that were likely to ensue, wtihheld the revenues, in hopes of retaining them in the general confusion. The state of affairs was favourable for the encroachments of the neighbouring princes; and Ibrahim Shah Shurky accordingly seized on several districts adjoining to his dominions, while Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, King of Malwa, making an attempt on Dehly, in the year A.H. 844 (A.D. 1440), advanced within two coss of the city. Syud Mahomed, panic-struck, sent an embassy to Bheilole Lody, entreating his assistance; and he accordingly marched to the capital with 20,000 horsemen arrayed in armour. Though the King's army was greatly superior to the enemy, he refused to take the field; but giving over the charge of it to his officers, himself remained in the palace.

Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, on understanding that the King of Dehly was not present with his army, thought his absence was intended as an affront, and in order to resent it he gave the command of his own troops to his sons Gheias-ood-Deen, and Kuddur Khan. The armies of Dehly and Malwa having engaged, the troops of the former gave way, leaving Bheilole Khan Lody's division alone to dispute the field, which he maintained with determined resolution, till the fugitives, ashamed of their conduct, returned to the action. Night, however, coming on, the victory remained undecided. It is stated that Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy was alarmed by a dream on that night, and hearing on the following morning that Ahmud Shah Guzeratty was advancing against Mando, became desirous of concluding a peace, though

shame prevented him from making the first overtures. At the same time, Syud Mahomed, with less reason, and contrary to the advice of his ministers, gave himself up to fear, and sent ambassadors with presents to his rival proposing terms.

Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, overjoyed at these overtures, hastened the accommodation, and quitting Dehly left the field. Bheilole Lody, whose contempt for his sovereign was now complete, boldly aspired to the throne, and marching out of the city with his own troops in pursuit of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, attacked and defeated him, and took all his baggage: for which service Syud Mahomed, unsuspicious of his designs, conferred on him the title of Khan Jehan, and even adopted him as his son.

In the year A.H. 845 (A.D. 1441), the King marched to Samana, and confirming Bheilole Lody in the government of Lahore and Depalpoor, which he had usurped, authorised him to attack Jusrut Gukkur. These substantial marks of the King's favour strengthened the hands of Bheilole, who having added considerably to his army by numerous bodies of Afghans, instead of attacking Jusrut Gukkur, gained him over to his views, and seized several of the King's districts. At length, marching his army against Dehly, he besieged it for some months, but for the present was obliged to abandon his enterprise.

The King's power decaying rapidly, the zemindars of Byana placed themselves under the government of Sooltan Mahomed Khiljy of Malwa; and Syud Mahomed falling sick, he died a natural death in the year A.H. 849 (A.D. 1445), leaving behind him the character of a weak and dissolute prince. He reigned 12 years and some months, and his son Alla-ood-Deen succeeded him on the throne.

SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN

ALLA-OOD-DEEN, the son of Syud Mahomed, ascended the throne on the demise of his father, and all the chieftains, excepting Bheilole Lody, took the oath of allegiance. The new King, however, was in no condition to resent this mark of contempt; but having collected an army in the beginning of the year A.H. 850 (A.D. 1446), he marched to recover Byana. While on his route, he received advices that Ibrahim Shah Shurky was advancing

towards Dehly, which, though false, brought the King back to his capital. Humeed Khan, the Vizier, ventured to remonstrate on his acting on so vague a report; but the observation brought upon the Vizier the displeasure of his master.

This step at once proved fatal to the King's reputation; and the meanest of the people did not hesitate to say publicly, that he was a weaker man than his father. On the following year (A.H. 851, A.D. 1447), he marched to Budaoon, where he remained some time employed in laying out gardens, building pleasure houses, and making entertainments. Fancying the air of Budaoon agreed better with his health, he expressed an inclination to make that city his residence, from which the Vizier endeavoured in vain to divert him.

Hindoostan was, at this period, divided into separate principalities. The Deccan, Guzerat, Malwa, Joonpoor, and Bengal, had each its independent king. Punjab, Depalpoor, and Surhind, as far south as Paniput, formed the territory of Bheilole Khan Lody; Mehrowly and the country within seven coss of Dehly, as far as the Seray Lado, was in the hands of Ahmud Khan Mewatty; Sumbhul, even to the suburbs of Dehly, was occupied by Duria Khan Lody; Kole Jalesur, in the Dooab, by Eesa Khan Toork, and Rabery and its dependencies by Kootub Khan Afghan; Kampila and Pattialy by Raja Purtab Sing, and Byana by Dawood Khan Lody; so that the city of Dehly, with a very small tract of country, alone belonged to the King.[130]

Bheilole Lody, about this time, made another attempt upon the capital, but was not more successful than before. The King, as soon as relieved from this danger, began to consider of the means to recover part of his lost empire, and held a consultation with Kootub Khan, Eesa Khan, and Purtab Ray. These chiefs, desirous to weaken him still more, told him that the nobles were disgusted with his vizier, Humeed Khan; and that if he were removed from office, and imprisoned, they were ready to support him, and did not doubt that the affairs of his government would assume a more favourable aspect. Syud Alla-ood-Deen, becoming the dupe of those traitors, imprisoned and disgraced the minister, and immediately ordered preparations for

130. This description of the territorial divisions is extremely useful : besides these, Kandeish, Sind, and Mooltan had each its separate Mahomedan king.

removing the court to Budaoon; from which not all the remonstrances of his best friends could restrain him, though they represented, in a strong light, how impolitic it was, at such a juncture, to quit Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, accordingly, in the year A.H. 852 (A.D. 1448), marched to Budaoon, leaving Hissam Khan in the government of Dehly. When he arrived at his new capital, Kootub Khan and Purtab Ray, waiting on the King, represented that as long as the Vizier was alive, the chiefs could not be induced to trust themselves at court. The King was thus prevailed on to order the Vizier's death; but the Vizier's brother, having discovered his intention, found means, with the assistance of some of his friends, to release Humeed Khan, who escaped to Dehly. There he took possession of all the King's effects, and sent the females of the royal household out of the city.

Alla-ood-Deen deferring, by frivolous delays and excuses of weather and unlucky days, his march to Dehly, allowed time for the Vizier to invite Bheilole Lody to assume the government. Bheilole, seizing the opportunity, amused the King by writing to him that he was on his march to chastise the Vizier; but having arrived, he quietly took possession of the capital, and was proclaimed King.

This event occurred in the year A.H. 854 (A.D. 1450); though the name of Alla-ood-Deen was, for form's sake, allowed to be read in the Khootba as usual. Bheilole, leaving his son, Khwaja Bayezeed, in Dehly, marched in person to Depalpoor, to organise, at his convenience, his Afghan army. While thus engaged, he wrote to Alla-ood-Deen, that his only motive for securing the capital was to expel the Vizier. To this letter he received for answer, that the King having adopted Bheilole as his son, he (Alla-ood-Deen) should ever esteem him as his brother; and formally abdicated the throne in his favour, on condition of his being permitted to reside quietly in possession of Budaoon. Bheilole Lody from that hour rejected the name of Syud Alla-ood-Deen from the Khootba, and publicly assumed all the insignia of royalty. Alla-ood-Deen remained at Budaoon unmolested till his death, which happened in the year 883 (A.D. 1478): his reign in Dehly being seven years, and his retirement at Budaoon nearly 28.

FIFTH DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY,

AND FIRST OF THE RACE OF AFGHANS, ENTITLED LODY.

1
Bheilole Lody.

Bayezeed. **Barbik.** 4 **Alla-ood-Deen.** 2 **Sikundur.** **Jumal.** **Yakoob.** **Futteh.** **Moosa.** **Julal.**

(Children of Sikundur:)

Azim Hoomayoon. **Julal.** 3 **Ibrahim.** **Ismael.** **Hoossein.** **Mahmood.**

BHEILOLE LODY AFGHAN

It is related that in early times the tribe of Afghans, forming themselves into a commercial community, carried on trade between Persia and Hindoostan.

In the time of Feroze Toghluk, Mullik Beiram Lody, the grandfather of Bheilole, being possessed of wealth, separated from his elder brother; and entering the service of Mullik Murdan Dowlut, raised himself to the government of Mooltan. Mullik Beiram[131] had five sons, viz. Mullik Sooltan, Mullik Kaly, Mullik Feroze, Mullik Mahomed, and Mullik Khwaja, all of whom, on the death of their father, remained in Mooltan.

When Khizr Khan was appointed to the government of Mooltan, Mullik Sooltan received the command of his Afghan troops. In the action which Khizr Khan fought with Mulloo Yekbal Khan, Mullik Sooltan had the good fortune to slay Yekbal Khan with his own hand; on which account he became a favourite with Khizr Khan, and was appointed governor of Surhind, with the title of Islam Khan, while his brothers participated also in his good fortune. One of these, Mullik Kaly, the father of Bheilole, whose proper name is Bulloo, had a district bestowed on him by his brother. The wife of Kaly Khan, his own cousin, was smothered by the fall of her house when pregnant. Her husband caused her to be instantly opened, and saved the life of the infant, who was called Bulloo. Mullik Kaly having subsequently been killed in an action with the Neeazy Afghans, Mullik Bheilole joined his uncle Islam Khan, at Surhind; and, being much distinguished in battle, he received the hand of Islam Khan's daughter in marriage. Islam Khan was a chief of such consequence, that he retained 12,000 Afghans, mostly of his own tribe, in his service. At his death, though he had full-grown children of his own, Islam Khan made Bheilole his heir, and he succeeded to the command of the troops. On this occasion the Afghans divided into three parties; one of which adhered to Mullik Bheilole; one to Mullik Feroze, the brother of Islam Khan, an officer in the service of the

131. The Afghans claim to be of Jewish origin; and though many of their customs favour this belief, the proofs are incomplete. Among other Hebrew peculiarities, is that of calling their chiefs Mullik.

King of Dehly, and the other to Mullik Kootub Khan, the son of Islam Khan: Bheilole, having most talent, found means to weaken his rivals, and gradually to strengthen his own party.

Mullik Kootub Khan, stung with envy, repaired to Dehly, and acquainted the King, Syud Mahomed, that the Afghans at Surhind were establishing a power, which, unless soon checked, would subvert his throne. The Vizier, Mullik Sikundur Tohfa, was accordingly directed to repair, with an army, to that quarter, and to require the Afghan chiefs to appear at court, in failure of which he was authorised to expel them from Surhind. Jusrut Gukkur also was instigated to take arms against them; so that in the end they were driven to the hills. Subsequent to this, Mullik Feroze Lody, leaving his son Shaheen Khan, and his nephew Mullik Bheilole, with his army, proceeded with some attendants to the camp of Mullik Sikundur Tohfa and Jusrut Gukkur, under the most solemn assurances of good faith; but at the instigation of his nephew Kootub Khan, Mullik Feroze was seized, and his attendants cut off. After this event a part of the army was detached to reduce Mullik Bheilole; but he having retreated into the hills with the women and children, ensured his own safety, though Shaheen Khan was overtaken and slain, and a great part of his tribe destroyed.

After the death of Shaheen Khan, his head was cut off and carried to Jusrut Gukkur, and placed before his father, Mullik Feroze, to recognise. The latter at first denied his son; but after hearing from those who attended of the gallant manner in which he had behaved, he burst into tears, and said, "Yes, it is my son; but I would not recognise his countenance till convinced he had done honour to his tribe." He observed, at the same time, "My nephew Bheilole could not have been in the battle, or he would have been slain also. But he lives; and if so, he will revenge the death of my boy."[132]

When Jusrut Gukkur retired to Punjab, Mullik Bheilole collected the remainder of his tribe, and began to levy contributions; being extremely liberal in dividing the spoil among his troops, he became very popular, and his followers increased. Some time after, Mullik Feroze made his escape, and joined Mullik Bheilole;

132. Afghan revenge has become proverbial in India. It is said, a man is never safe from the revenge of an elephant, a nag (the cobra de capello snake), or an Afghan.

while Kootub Khan, repenting of his former conduct, became reconciled to his relations, and joining the Afghans, Mullik Bheilole headed the party which subsequently invaded Surhind, and occupied that province. On receiving intelligence of this event, the King detached Hissam Khan, his vizier, against the Afghans; but Mullik Bheilole gave him battle, and defeated him. They relate, that when Mullik Bheilole was a youth, he was permitted to pay his respects to a celebrated Dervish of Samana, whose name was Sheida. While sitting in a respectful posture before the Dervish, the latter called out aloud, in an enthusiastic manner, "who will give 2,000 rupees for the kingdom of Dehly?" Bheilole told him he had only 1,600 rupees in the world; which he ordered his servant to bring immediately, and present to the Dervish. Having accepted the money, the Dervish laid his hands on Bheilole's head, and said, "Shah-Bash Beta,"[133] literally, "Be thou king, my son." The companions of Bheilole ridiculed him much for this action; but he replied, "That if the thing came to pass, he had made a cheap purchase; if not, the blessing of a holy man could do no harm." After Mullik Bheilole had defeated the Vizier, he wrote to the King, as has been before related, ascribing the whole blame of his rebellion to the minister's conduct towards the Afghans; on which the King, as has been shown, basely cut off the Vizier, and permitted Mullik Bheilole according to his promise, to visit him. This meeting enabled Bheilole to carry on his intrigues at court, where he managed his affairs so well, that he was confirmed in the government of Surhind, together with some other districts in its vicinity.

When Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa brought an army against Dehly, Mullik Bheilole being called on to join the King, he appeared at the head of 20,000 Afghan cavalry, with which he pursued Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy on his retreat, and plundered his army on the day after he quitted Dehly, for which service he obtained the title of Khan Khanan. On that occasion, Bheilole returned to Surhind, and instantly began to lay hands on the King's districts, contiguous to his own estates, such as Lahore, Depalpoor, and Soonam; not content with which, he marched his army boldly against the King himself. On reaching Dehly, he

133. This is the ordinary mode of expressing great approbation in India, both to men and animals; and according to the idiom of the language, may be simply rendered by our expression, "Well done."

laid siege to it, but being foiled in his attempt, he was induced to retire to Surhind. Meanwhile, the King dying suddenly, his son, Alla-ood-Deen, ascended the throne. After some years, as has been related, Humeed Khan, the Vizier, seeing the declining state of public affairs, invited Bheilole Lody from Surhind, who ascended the throne, and assumed the title of king.

At the time of his accession, Bheilole had nine sons, whose names were Bayezeed, Nizam (who afterwards ascended the throne under the title of Sikundur), Barbik, Alum (who also became king under the appellation of Alla-ood-Deen), Jumal, Yakoob,[134] Futteh, Moosa, and Julal. Among the chiefs of distinction in the state no fewer than thirty-six persons were either blood-relations, or intimately connected with the new King.

Humeed Khan, the Vizier, who conferred the government upon him, still possessed great influence. Bheilole treated him for some time with much respect; but being one day in Humeed Khan's house, at an entertainment, he ordered the Afghans, whom he carried with him, to assume the manners of ill-bred persons, and act the part of clowns, in order that the Vizier might be less on his guard against them. When they came into company, some of them tied their shoes to their girdles, and others put them up in the recesses of the apartment; and on Humeed Khan's asking them the reason, they replied, that they were afraid of having them stolen. When they had taken their seats, one of them began to praise the flowers of the carpet, and the brightness of their colours, saying he would like extremely to have such a carpet, to send home, and make caps for his boys. Humeed Khan laughed, and told him, he would give him velvet or brocade for the purpose. When the plates and boxes of perfumes were laid before them, some began to besmear their whole body with the finest otto of roses; others to lick it up; and and others devoured whole garlands of flowers; while the *pan* leaf was eagerly scrambled for, and greedily eaten up. Some having swallowed large pieces of lime with their pan, burned their mouths, made wry faces, and vociferated aloud. This conduct astonished the servants and the

134. The Hebrew names of Dawood, Moose, Yakoob, (David, Moses, Jacob) and others, which frequently occur among the Afghans, is a circumstance in favour of their Jewish origin. A fact the more remarkable, if the reader should take the trouble of observing how seldom these names occur among the Moslems of any nations unconnected with the Afghans.

guests, who ascribed it to their ignorance as foreigners, that had never lived at court; while the King and the Vizier were convulsed with laughter.[135]

The Vizier imagined that this scene proceeded from the King's humour, who, in bringing such people with him, had resolved to make merry in his house, but had no suspicion it originated from design. The next visit the King paid to Humeed Khan, a great number of his attendants were admitted; but as Humeed Khan had a still greater number of his own friends within the court-yard, it became necessary for the King to gain admission for more of his people, who were stopped without by the guards. The King having before instructed them how to proceed, they began to wrangle loudly with the guards, and threw out bitter invectives against the King, for permitting them to be excluded, swearing that they respected their friend the Vizier, and would see him.

Humeed Khan, on hearing the noise, ordered the gates of the court-yard to be thrown open, and directed as many of the Afghans as could conveniently be admitted to be allowed to come in. This point being gained, the King gave the signal, and his people, drawing their swords, told Humeed Khan's servants to remain quiet, and they should suffer no injury: on which, two or three seizing the Vizier, bound him fast. The King then told him, that gratitude was a security for his life; but it was necessary he should withdraw from business, and spend the rest of his days in retirement.

The same year,[136] being the 855th of the Hijra (A.D. 1451), having intrusted Dehly to the charge of his eldest son, Bayezeed Khan, the King marched towards Mooltan, both to employ his army, and to regulate the affairs of the western provinces. Some of his officers, dissatisfied with him, deserted and joined Mahmood Shah Shurky, King of Joonpoor; who, during the absence of Bheilole Padshah, in the beginning of the year A.H. 856 (A.D. 1452), advanced and laid siege to Dehly; but Bheilole, hastening from

135. No one but a person intimately acquainted with the ceremonious decorum of a Mahomedan party of rank and fashion can enter into the absurdity of the scene which Ferishta has described, nor would such a person even feel its full force who had not seen the extravagant mistakes committed by Afghans of the present day, even when first coming to India from Pishawur.

136. In the contests described in this reign, the reader will do well to consult a good map of the Dooab.

Depalpoor, did not halt till he reached Perah, within thirty miles of his capital.

Mahmood Shah Shurky detached 30,000 horse, and 30 elephants, under the command of Futteh Khan Hirvy to oppose him. An action ensued, in which Kootub Khan Lody, the son of Islam Khan, who excelled in archery, shot an arrow into the forehead of one of Futteh Khan Hirvy's elephants. The animal, becoming outrageous, broke the line; and Kootub Khan, coming in contact with Duria Khan Lody, one of the malecontent chiefs who had joined Mahmood Shah Shurky, thus addressed him: "For shame, Duria Khan; where is your honour, thus to wage war against your own kindred, and to lay siege to the city of Dehly, which contains your family, when you ought rather to defend it against your natural enemies?"—"Pursue me not," said Duria Khan, "and I am gone:" he immediately wheeled off, followed by all the Afghans in Futteh Khan Hirvy's army. The other troops, thus deserted, gave way, and Futteh Khan was taken prisoner; but this chief, with his own hand, had just killed Pritvy Ray, the brother of Kurun Ray; the latter, therefore, struck off Futteh Khan's head out of revenge, and sent it to Bheilole. The news of this defeat induced Mahmood Shah Shurky to raise the siege of Dehly, and to retreat with precipitation to Joonpoor.

The power of Bheilole Lody being once firmly established, he began to think of conquests. His first movement was towards Mewat; where Ahmud Khan Mewatty, submitting to his authority, seven purgunas were wrested from him, but he was permitted to hold the remainder as tributary. From Mewat the King marched to Birun; where Duria Khan Lody, governor of Sumbhul, presented him with seven handsome elephants, and acknowledged his supremacy. From Birun, the King proceeded to Kole; and confirming Eesa Khan in the government of that district, he continued his route to Boorhanabad, the management of which was intrusted to Moobarik Khan Lohany, while Meinpoory Bhooigam was delivered over to Purtab Ray. On reaching Rabery, Kootub Khan, the son of Hoossein Khan Afghan, shut the gates of the fort, and at first refused the King admittance; but shortly after, having made his submission, he was reinstated in his authority, and Bheilole marching from thence to Etawa, confirmed the former governor of that district also in his office. At this time an officer called Joona Khan, quitting the court in disgust, joined

Mahmood Shah Shurky, from whom he received the government of Shumsabad; and having instigated his new master to make another attempt on Dehly, Mahmood Shah Shurky advanced to Etawa, where the Dehly army was encamped. On the first day both kings sent out parties to reconnoitre, but no engagement took place; and on the next day, they began to retreat, having agreed, in the mean time, that Bheilole Lody should keep possession of all the countries belonging to Dehly, in the reign of Syud Moobarik, and that Mahmood Shah Shurky should retain all the possessions held by Ibrahim Shah Shurky; that Bheilole should, on the one hand, restore all the elephants taken in the action with Futteh Khan Hirvy, and that Mahmood Shah Shurky should dismiss Joona Khan from his government and service.

Mahmood Shah Shurky, immediately after his treaty, returned to Joonpoor, and Bheilole proceeded to take possession of Shumsabad. Mahmood Shah Shurky, incensed at this proceeding, returned to Shumsabad, where two parties from the Dehly army, under Kootub Khan Lody and Duria Khan Lody surprised the Shurky camp in the night. During this operation, Kootub Khan's[137] horse, having trodden upon a tent-peg, threw his master, who was taken prisoner, but his division retreated without molestation to the Dehly lines. Bheilole Lody drew out his army on the following morning; but on receiving advice that Mahmood Shah Shurky had just expired, and that his ministers had set up his son Mahomed Shah Shurky, a treaty was concluded through the mediation of Beeby Rajy, the young King's mother. Mahomed Shah Shurky accordingly returned to Joonpoor, and Bheilole took the route of Dehly (A.H. 856, A.D. 1452).

Before Bheilole arrived at the capital, he received a letter from Shums Khatoon, the sister of Kootub Khan, entreating him not to suffer her brother to remain in the hands of Mahomed Shah Shurky, a circumstance which induce Bheilole to break the peace and to return towards Joonpoor; on which occasion Mahomed Shah Shurky met him near Sasny. At this place, Hoossein Khan, the younger brother of Mahomed Shah Shurky, apprehensive of his brother, withdrew with all his adherents to

137. From the context it appears that this person was not the same who held the government of Rabery, but some other military leader in Bheilole's army.

Kunowj, and Julal Khan Shurky, his other brother, followed his example. Bheilole availed himself of these events to detach a force to seize Hoossein Khan, in which object it failed, but overtaking Julal Khan, he was taken prisoner; and Bheilole determined to detain him as a hostage till the release of Kootub Khan by the King of Joonpoor.

Meanwhile the Shurky officers conspiring against Mahomed Shah put him to death, and recalling Hoossein Khan, who had fled to Kunowj, placed him on the throne. Bheilole now agreed to a truce for four years, on condition that both Kootub Khan and Julal Khan should be released. Bheilole forthwith returned towards Shumsabad, where Nursing Ray, the son of Purtab Ray, came to pay his respects. It appears the latter chief had formerly taken a standard and a pair of drums from Duria Khan Lody in action; and that chief, in order to revenge himself, assassinated Nursing Ray, in spite of the opposition of Kootub Khan, the son of Hoossein Khan. Moobarik Khan, apprehensive of Duria Khan's influence at court, fled to Hoossein Shah Shurky. Bheilole returned to Dehly; and his attention being shortly after excited by the rebellion of the viceroy of Mooltan, and by the disorders in Punjab, he proceeded in that direction. On his march he learned that Hoossein Shah Shurky, taking advantage of his absence, was approaching Dehly for the purpose of besieging that city: he was induced to countermarch, and leaving the city in charge of Kootub Khan[138] and Jehan Khan, Bheilole marched direct towards the enemy. The two armies met at the village of Chundwar, where they skirmished without much effect for seven days, when a truce was concluded for the term of three years; at the expiration of which period Hoossein Shah investing Etawa took it, and gained over Ahmud Khan Mewatty and Eesa Khan of Kole to his interest. Ahmud Khan Julwany, also, the governor of Byana, went so far as to coin money and read the Khootba in the name of the Shurky monarch, who now advanced with an army of 100,000 horse and 1000 elephants from Etawa towards Dehly. Bheilole, undismayed by the superiority of Hoossein Shah Shurky's force, marched out boldly to oppose the invader. The two armies, however, after remaining encamped for some time in sight of each other at Bhutwara, engaged only in partial skirmishes, in which no advan-

138. The same person alluded to in a former note.

tage was obtained by either party, and a hollow truce was again concluded. This pacification was not of long duration; for Hoossein Shah Shurky, having advanced again towards Dehly some months after, was opposed at the village of Sunkur, and obliged to fall back without attaining any object.

At this time, Beeby Rajy, the mother of Hoossein Shah Shurky, dying at Etawa, the Raja of Gualiar, and Kootub Khan, the son of Hoossein Khan, Afghan of Rabery, went to condole with him. During his visit, Kootub Khan, perceiving the rooted enmity of Hoossein Shah Shurky towards Bheilole, took occasion to observe that the King was nothing more than one of the dependents of Dehly, and could not hope to contend long with him, descended from a race of kings; concluding his speech by saying, "If I do not put you in possession of Dehly, look on my words as nothing." Having taken his leave from Hoossein Shah's court, Kootub Khan proceeded to Dehly, where he stated that he had escaped with much difficulty from the hands of Hoossein Shah Shurky, who was meditating a fresh attack on Bheilole. About this time, the ex-monarch, Syud Alla-ood-Deen, who had abdicated the throne of Dehly, dying at Budaoon, Hoossein Shah Shurky proceeded thither, and after performing the funeral ceremonies, seized that district from the children of Alla-ood-Deen. From thence, marching to Sumbhul, he imprisoned Moobarik Khan, governor of that province; and proceeding towards Dehly in the year A.H. 883 (A.D. 1478), he crossed the river Jumna near the Kutcha-Ghât. Bheilole Lody was at Surhind when he received intelligence of this invasion; and returning with expedition to his capital, several slight actions ensued, in which Hoossein Shah Shurky had in general the advantage. Another treaty was however brought about through Kootub Khan, in which it was agreed that Bheilole should relinquish all the territory eastward of the Ganges on condition of his retaining possession of all the districts on the west bank of that river. These terms being concluded, Hoossein Shah retreated towards Joonpoor; but Bheilole broke his faith, and pursuing Hoossein Shah, attacked him on his march, killing vast numbers of his troops, and taking forty officers of rank prisoners, besides part of his treasure and equipage. Bheilole followed up his success, occupied several districts belonging to Hoossein Shah Shurky, such as Kampila, Puttyaly, Shumsabad, Sukeet, Murhera, Kole,

and Jalesur, and appointed agents for their management. Hoossein Shah Shurky, however, halted at Rampinjun, and gave battle, in which both parties claimed the victory; after which peace was once more concluded, leaving the village of Dopamow as the boundary between the kingdoms when Hoossein Shah proceeded to Rabery, and Bheilole to Dehly.

Hossein Shah could not, however, forgive the perfidy of Bheilole; and having recruited his army, he again waged war, but was defeated at the village of Sirsar, after an obstinate battle, with the loss of all his treasure and baggage, an event which greatly added to Bheilole's reputation. In the year A.H. 883 (A.D. 1478), Hoossein Shah Shurky fell back on Rabery, but was followed closely by Bheilole, and totally overthrown in a second engagement. After this battle Hoossein Shah retreated towards Gualiar, where the Raja supplied him with several lacks of rupees, and with elephants, horses, camels, and a handsome suit of camp-equipage, and accompanied him to Kalpy. Bheilole, in the mean time, marched to Etawa, then occupied by Ibrahim, the brother of Hoossein Shah Shurky, which place surrendered by capitulation. Ibrahim Khan Lohany, one of the Dehly officers, being left in charge of Etawa, the King proceeded to Kalpy, where he found Hoossein Shah Surkey encamped. The river intervening, both armies remained for some months inactive, till at length Ray Tilloke Chund of Kutehr, having come over to Bheilole, pointed out to him a ford, by which he crossed. He attacked Hoossein Shah Shurky, and defeating him, compelled him to fly in the direction of Joonpoor. At Kunowj, Hoossein Shah Shurky again opposed Bheilole, on the banks of the Kaly Nudy, but having now acquired a habit of retreating, he was, as usual, defeated: his regalia and equipage were taken, and also the chief lady of his seraglio, Beeby Khonza. She was the daughter of the late ex-monarch, Syud Alla-ood-Deen, and was treated with great respect by Bheilole, who after this victory retreated to Dehly.

Having recruited his troops, Bheilole advanced towards Joonpoor, and having entirely subdued the country, made over the charge of it to Moobarik Khan Lohany, leaving Kootub Khan Lody, together with Khan Jehan, and other chiefs, at Bisowly. The King now marched to Budaoon, where he heard of Kootub Khan's death. Khan Jehan, Moobarik Khan, and many other officers, though they outwardly professed allegiance.

no sooner heard of the death of Kootub Khan than they concerted measures to acquire independence. Bheilole, apprised of their intentions, marched towards Joonpoor, and having expelled Hoossein Shah Shurky, who had made an attempt to recover his kingdom, placed Barbik, one of his own sons, on the throne of Joonpoor. From thence he proceeded to Kalpy, which having reduced, he conferred the government on his grandson, Azim Hoomaioon, the son of his eldest son, Bayezeed Khan. The King then marched to Dholpoor, levying tribute on the raja of that place; from thence he proceeded to Ruttunpoor, a place situated in the district of Runtunbhore, where having committed great devastations, he returned to Dehly.

Bheilole being now old, and infirmities daily increasing on him, divided his dominions among his sons. Joonpoor was conferred on Barbik Khan; Kurra and Manikpoor on Alum Khan; Bhyraich on his nephew Sheikhzada Mahomed Firmully, known by the name of Kala P'har (the Black Rock), Lucknow and Kalpy on Azum Hoomayoon, whose father Bayezeed Khan, was assassinated by one of his own servants. Budaoon was allotted to Khan Jehan, a relation and one of his oldest officers, and Dehly, with several districts in the Dooab, were conferred on his son, the Prince Nizam Khan, known afterwards by the name of Sikundur, whom he now declared his heir and successor.

Some time after this, the King proceeded to Gualiar, and raising a tribute of 80 lacks of tunkas from the Rája, came to Etawa, from whence having expelled Sungut Singh, he returned towards Dehly. Falling sick on his march, many of the nobles were desirous that he should alter his former will, with respect to the succession, which, they said, was the undoubted right of Azim Hoomayoon, his grandson by his eldest son. The Queen, hearing this, wrote to her son, Nizam Khan, (who, having intimation of his father's illness, was about to quit Dehly,) by no means to come, lest he might be imprisoned by the nobles. At the same time, the King, by the advice of his officers, caused letters to be written, to hasten his arrival in the camp in order to see him before his death. Nizam Khan was greatly perplexed how to act. He at length conferred with Kootloogh Khan, the vizier of Hoossein Shah Shurky, who was then a prisoner at Dehly. This chief recommended him to pitch his tents outside of the city, and to proceed by slow

journies towards the camp. Meanwhile, the King's disease increasing, he died at Badowly, in the district of Sukeet, in the year A.H. 894 (A.D. 1488) after a reign of 38 years, eight months, and seven days.

Bheilole Lody was esteemed a virtuous and a mild prince, executing justice to the utmost of his knowledge, and treating his countries rather as companions than subjects. When he obtained the crown, he divided the public treasure among his friends, and could be seldom prevailed on to ascend the throne: saying, "That it was enough "for him that the world knew he was king, without his making a display of royalty." He was extremely temperate in his diet, and seldom ate at home. Though a man of no great literary acquirement himself, he was fond of the company of learned men, whom he rewarded according to their merit. He placed great reliance on the courage of his Mogul troops, on which account they met with such encouragement among his relations and courtiers, that it is estimated there were nearly 20,000 Moguls in the service of the government during his reign. He was a wise and brave prince, and personally well acquainted with Mahomedan law. He also studied the best institutes for maintaining order in his government, which he invariably adopted. He was prudent, and, above all things, deprecated hurry in matters of state; and, indeed, his conduct throughout life sufficiently evinced how much he practised this quality.

SIKUNDUR LODY AFGHAN

IMMEDIATELY on the death of Bheilole, the nobles met together, and consulted whom they should elevate to the throne. Some were disposed towards Azim Hoomayoon, the grandson, and others, towards Barbik Khan, the eldest surviving son of the late king. While they were debating on this point, the mother of Sikundur Khan (whose name was Zeina, the daughter of a goldsmith, but raised to the King's bed owing to her beauty) addressed the assembly from behind a curtain in favour of her son. Upon which, Eesa Khan, the nephew of Bheilole, tauntingly observed, "What business have goldsmiths' sons with the reins of government, since it is proverbial that 'monkeys make but bad carpenters.' " Khan Khany Lohany, one of the officers present,

took him up sharply, saying, "The King is yet scracely cold in his grave, and it ill becomes us at such a time to cast reflections on any of his progency." Eesa Khan desired him to hold his tongue; observing, he was nothing but a servant, and had no right to interfere in family affairs. Khan Khanan now rising, instantly declared himself a servant of Sikundur Lody, and said that he would maintain his right against all who durst oppose it; when having left the council, and being followed by all his party, he carried the body of the deceased King to the town of Jellaly, where, being met by Sikundur, the latter ascended his father's throne at that place. Sikundur now sent the crops of his father to Dehly, and instantly marched against Eesa Khan. Having defeated this chief he afterwards forgave him, and, returning to the capital, followed the example of his father, by conferring favours on all his kindred.

At the time of his accession, Sikundur Lody had six sons; viz. Ibrahim, Julal, Ismael, Hoossein, Mahmood, and Azim Hoomayoon, besides whom were 44 officers of distinction; such as Khan Jehan Lody.

Ahmud Khan, grandson of Khan Khanan Firmully.
Sheikzada Firmully.
Khan Khanan Lohany.
Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany.
Duria Khan Lody.
Julal Khan Lody, Naib[139] of Kalpy.
Sheer Khan Lody.
Moobarik Khan Mowjy.
Khuleel Khan Lody.
Ahmud Khan Lody, Naib of Etawa.
Ibrahim Khan Sheerwany.
Mahomed Shah Lody.
Baboo Khan Sheerwany.
Hossein Khan Firmully, Naib of Saharun.
Sooliman Khan Firmully.

139. The word Naib, for lieutenant-governor of a province, seems to have been first introduced by the Toghluk dynasty : it prevailed afterwards for several ages, till, in the refinement of Hindoostany phraseology, wherein every person of rank is magnified by being spoken of in the plural number, as the kings of Europe say *We*, instead of *I*, the word Naib became Nawab, and we have become familiar with it as Nabob.

Syeed Khan Lody.
Ismael Khan Lohany.
Tartar Khan Firmully.
Sheikh Khan Lody.
Sheikzada Mahomed Firmully (called also Kala P'har).
Sheik Jumal Firmully.
Sheikh Othman Firmully.
Sheikh Ahmud Firmully.
Adam Khan Lody.
Hoossein Khan Lody.
Kubeer Khan Lody.
Nuseer Khan Lohany.
Ghazy Khan Lody.
Tartar Khan, governor of Tijara.
Khwaja Nush-oolla.
Mobarik Khan.
Yekbal Khan, Naib of Bary.
Asghur, the son of Kowam-ool-Moolk.
Sheer Khan Lohany.
Imad-ool-Moolk Kumboh.
Alum Khan Lody.
Kubeer Khan Lody.
Bhikun Khan Lody.
Zaheer Khan Lody.
Oomr Khan Sheerwany.
Jubbar Khan Sheerwany.
Alum Khan Julwany.

Sufdur Khan Julwany.
Meean Joomun Kumboh,
Mujd-ood-Deen,
Sheikh Ibrahim,
Sheikh Othman,
Sheikh Oomar,
Sheikh Siddeek,
Kazy Abdool, Wahab of Kabul,
Meean Bhoory,

Lords of the bed-chamber.

Sometime after his accession, Sikundur Lody marched towards Rabery and thence to the fort of Chundwar, in which place his brother, the Prince Alum Khan, had declared his independence. On the King's approach, Alum Khan, abandon-

ing the town, fled to Eesa Khan Lody at Pattialy. Sikundur having conferred the district of Rabery on Khan Khanan Firmully, proceeded to Etawa, where he received the submission of his brother Alum Khan, and pardoned him; he also conefrred Etawa upon him as his estate. Thence the King proceeded to Pattiary, where Eesa Khan being attacked was wounded, and threw himself on the King's mercy. He was pardoned, but soon after died of his wounds.

Sikundur Lody now deputed a mission to wait on the Prince Barbik, his brother, who assumed the title of King of Joonpoor, requiring him to do homage, and to cause the name of Sikundur to be read first in the Khootba. Barbik,[140] however, rejecting this proposal, Sikundur Lody marched against him. Barbik, and his general Kala P'har, drew out in order of battle to meet his brother, and an action ensued, in which Kala P'har was taken prisoner. Sikundur Lody, on seeing him, alighted from his horse, and embracing him, said he esteemed him as his father, and begged he would look on him as his son. Kala P'har, overcome by this unexpected honour, replied, that except his life, he had nothing to offer in return, and trusted that he might be employed, and have an opportunity of evincing his gratitude: he was accordingly mounted on one of the King's own horses, and instantly led a charge of cavalry against the party whose cause he had before espoused, which in a great measure led to the King's success (A.H. 894, A.D. 1488). The troops of Barbik seeing Kala P'har charging them, and imagining that all his division had also gone over to the enemy, took to flight. The Prince Barbik behaved with great bravery, but being deserted by his troops, fled to Budaoon. His son, Moobarik Khan, however, was made prisoner in the action. Sikundur Lody pursued his brother to Budaoon, and laid siege to it; but Barbik soon after capitulating, he was received with great kindness, and treated with respect. The King now returned to Joonpoor, and finding that Hoossein Shah Shurky, the exiled king of the Shurky provinces, was still in force in Behar, he thought it advisable to permit his brother Barbik to retain the government of Joonpoor in order to check Hoossein Shah Shurky in any attempt he might make on Dehly. At the same time, also, he

140. It will be recollected, that Barbik was Sikundur's elder brother.

left some trusty friends of his own with the Prince, on whom he bestowed estates, in order to retain them steady to his interest.

Sikundur Lody, now proceeding to Kalpy, resumed the government from Azim Hoomayoon, and conferred it on Mahomed Khan Lody. From thence he marched to Bhurayee,[141] where Tartar Khan the governor, after doing homage, confirmed in his estate. The King thence marched in the direction of Gualiar, whither he sent one of his officers, Khwaja Mahomed Firmully, with an honorary dress to Raja Man Sing, who despatched his nephew with presents to meet the King at Byana. Sooltan Shurf, the governor of Byana, also paid his respects to the King, who removed him from that district, but nominated him governor of Jalesur, Chundwara, Marhera, and Sukeet. Sooltan Surf was accompanied by Oomr Khan Sheerwany, to whom he was directed to make over the fort of Byana; but when he had got within the walls, Sooltan Shurf shut the gates, and prepared to defend himself. The King, however, choosing to overlook the circumstance, went to Agra, where Heibut Khan Julwany, who held that fort under Sooltan Shurf, also shut the gates. This insult so enraged Sikundur Lody, that leaving part of his army to besiege Agra, he returned in person towards Byana, to which he laid siege. Sooltan Shurf, in the end, was obliged to capitulate, and in the year A.H. 897 (A.D. 1491), his government was given to Khan Khanan Firmully, and he was banished for the present to Gualiar. The fort of Agra falling about the same time, Sikundur returned to Dehly, where in a few days after he received advices of an insurrection at Joonpoor among the zemindars, who had raised an army, consisting of 100,000 horse and foot, and had slain Sheer Khan, the brother of Moobarik Khan Lohany, governor of Kurra. Moobarik Khan himself was driven from Kurra, and taken prisoner, while in the act of crossing the Ganges, by Saha Dew Raja of Kutra. The Prince Barbik had aslo been obliged to fly to Byraich to solicit the assistance of Kala P'har, so that the King, after only 24 days rest at Dehly was under the necessity of returning towards Joonpoor. When he arrived at Dulmow he was joined by the Prince Barbik; and Raja Saha Dew, hearing of his approach, released Moobarik Khan Lohany.

141. A large town of this name exists at the confluence of the Chumbul and the Jumna.

The King proceeded to Katgur, where the zemindars had assembled in force; but they were defeated, and much property fell into the hands of the Moslems. The King, having marched to Joonpoor and reinstated the Prince Barbik, himself remained a month in that vicinity. Here he received intelligence that the zemindars, having been again driven to excesses, had besieged Barbik in Joonpoor; on which Sikundur ordered Kala P'har, Hoomayoon Khan Sheerwany, and Khan Khanan Lohany, from Oude, and Moobarik Khan from Kurra, to unite and march against them. He also directed them to send the Prince Barbik to the presence, where he was made over, as a state-prisoner, to the charge of Heibut Khan and Oomur Khan Sheerwany.

After this events the King marched towards Chunar, then in possession of Hoossein Shah Shurky. On his approach, the garrison made a sally, but were repulsed. On reconnoitring the place, however, and being unwilling to incur the risk of failure, he proceeded to Kootumba,[142] a place dependent on Patna. Bulbhudur Ray, Raja of Kootumba, came forth to meet the King, and submitted to his authority. From thence the King marched to Arele, accompanied by Bulbhudur Ray. But the Raja suspecting treachery, left his retinue, and fled one night from the camp to Patna. Sikundur Lody permitted the Raja's followers to quit the camp, next day, with his private property, but he allowed his own troops to plunder the country on their route to Arele. On crossing the Ganges at Kurra, the King went to Dulmow, where he married the widow of Sheer Khan, the late governor of that place. From Dulmow, Sikundur marched to Shumsabad, where, having halted for six months, he proceeded to Sumbhul; but returning from thence in a few days to Shumsabad, he plundered the town of Dewnary, where a banditti had taken post. The King spent the rainy season at Shumsabad, and in the year A.H. 900 (A.D. 1494), he again marched in the direction of Patna. He was there opposed by Nursing Ray, the son of Bulbhudur Ray, at the Hundia Ghat, who being defeated, retired within the walls of Patna. On the King's approach, Bulbhudur Ray fled, taking the route of Surgooja, and died on the journey. After this event the King proceeded to Sahsdewar; but provisions becoming scarce in his

142. Doubtful.

camp, he was obliged to return to Joonpoor, having in this march lost most of his cavalry, owing to the bad roads and want of forage. Nursing Ray, the son of Bulbhudur, and other zemindars, taking advantage of this circumstance, wrote to Hoossein Shah Shurky, then in possession of the province of Behar, that the cavalry of Sikundur Lody was now in so wretched a condition, that a favouarble opportunity presented itself for him to take revenge. Hoossein Shah Shurky accordingly put his army in motion, and marched against the King. Sikundur, on hearing of his intentions, crossed the Ganges to meet him; and the two armies came in sight of each other at a spot distant 18 coss (27 miles) from Benares. An obstinate battle ensued, in which Hoossein Shah Shurky was defeated and fled to Patna. Sikundur Lody, according to the most authentic accounts, pursued the fugitives of several days, with 100,000 horse; but hearing that his enemy had fled to Behar, he halted on the ninth day, till the whole of his army joined, with which he marched towards Behar. Hoossein Shah left Mullik Kundoo to protect Behar, and fled himself to Koolgam, in the district of Luknowty. Alla-ood-deen Shah Poorby, King of Bengal, received the fugitive at his court with the utmost courtesy. Here he passed the remainder of his days in obscurity; and the royal race of Joonpoor became extinct in his person.

Sikundur Lody, having returned to Dewnary, detached a division of his army against Mullik Kundoor, who fled, leaving the country open to the King of Dehly, who appointed Heibut Khan to remain with a force in Behar. The King now proceed towards Tirhoot, the raja of which country consented to pay an annual tribute. Moobarik Khan Lohany was directed to receive it, while the King went to Dervishpoor, and visited the tomb of Sheikh Shurf Munery; on which occasion he distributed presents to the holy persons who resided at that shrine. It was at this time, also, that Khan Jehan, the son of Khan Khanan Firmully, died, and his son, Ahmud Khan, received the title of Azim Hoomayoon. The King now marched his army towards Bengal, and reaching Kootlooghpoor, Alla-ood-Deen Shah Poorby sent his son Daniel to oppose him. On the part of the King of Dehly, Mahmood Khan Lody and Moobarik Khan Mowjy were detached to meet Daniel. The opposing armies encamped close to each other at the village of Barra, but instead of fighting, a peace was concluded; when it was agreed that

both parties should cease to molest each other, or to afford protection to their mutual enemies. On the return of the army towards Dehly, Moobarik Khan Mowjy died at Patna, and at Dervishpoor, Moobarik Khan Lohany also died suddenly. The duty of collecting the tribute of Tirhoot was now intrusted to Azim Hoomayoon, the son of Khan Jehan, while the government of Behar was conferred upon Duria Khan, the son of the late Moobarik Khan Lohany. There happened, at this time, a great dearth in the country; but the transit customs on grain being relinquished, that calamity was in some measure averted, nor were the duties again imposed during that reign. Sikundur, meanwhile, reducing the districts of Saharun, then in the hands of the zemindars, gave the lands in jageers to several of his officers. He then returned to Joonpoor, where he resided six months.

Some time previously to this event, the King having asked the daughter of Salivahn, Raja of Punna, in marriage, the Raja refused to comply with his request; in consequence of which, the King put his army in motion, and in the year A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498), marched to Punna, and sacked the country as far as Banda, after which he returned to Joonpoor, where he spent some time. At this period the accounts of Moobarik Khan Lody being inspected, for the period of his administration in Joonpoor, and great defalcation being discovered, the King ordered the balances to be realised from him. This circumstance gave umbrage to many Afghan officers, which evinced itself in the factions that arose in favour of the defaulter. One day, while the King and his court were playing at chowgan,[143] the bat of Heibut Khan Sheerwany, by accident, came in contact with the head of Sooliman, the son of Duria Khan Lody, who received a severe blow. This was resented on the spot by Khizr Khan, the brother of Sooliman, who gallopnig up to Heibut Khan, struck him violently over the skull. In a few minutes both sides joined in the quarrel, and the field was in uproar and confusion. Mahmood Khan Lody and Khan Khanan Lody interposing, endeavoured to pacify Heibut Khan, and succeeded in persuading him to go quietly home with them. The King, apprehensive of conspiracy, retired immediately to the palace, but nothing more transpiring, he made another party

143. The game of Chowgan has before been described; vide note 20, p. 113.

at the same game a few days after. On the road to the play-ground, Shums Khan, a relation of Heibut Khan Sheerwany, perceiving Khizr Khan, the brother of Sooliman Khan Lody, instantly attacked him with his bat, and knocked him off his horse. The King abused Shums Khan grossly, and returned to his palace; and could not be persuaded but that there was some plot in agitation. He accordingly ordered his guards to be selected, and to be more than usually vigilant. The King's jealousies were not groundless; for at that time Heibut Khan Sheerwany and two other chiefs had proposed to the Prince Futteh Khan, the King's brother, to cut him off, declaring that he was now universally disliked, and they offered to place Futteh Khan on the throne. The Prince, desiring some time to consider of the project, consulted Sheikh Tahir Kabully and his mother, who both strongly dissuaded him from lending himself to the conspiracy; and lest the affair should by any other means transpire, they recommended him to acquaint the King instantly of what had been proposed to him. On this, the conspirators being detached on different services, to a distance were cut off in detail.

In the year A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499), the King marched to Sumbhul, where he spent four years, partly in pleasure, and partly in transacting civil affairs. While thus employed, he heard heavy complaints from the Afghans against Asghur Khan, the governor of Dehly. On this he ordered Khuvas Khan, governor of Machiwara, to proceed to Dehly, and to send Asghur Khan prisoner to court. Asghur Khan, receiving advice of this intention, quitted the capital, and threw himself at the King's feet; but not being able to frame sufficient excuse for his conduct, he was ordered into confinement. It is mentioned that about this period a brahmin, whose name was Boodhun, and inhabitant of Kataen, near Luknow, being upbraided by some Mahomedans on account of his faith, maintained "that the religions both of the Moslems and Hindoos, if acted on with sincerity, were equally acceptable to God."

As this opinion had been supported with some ingenuity, and much argument, by the brahmin, the subject came to be discussed publicly before the kazies of Luknow, and the brahmin was ordered to appear. On this occasion, Kazy Peeala and Sheikh Budr, both residing at Luknow, had different opinions; and the arguments of the brahmin having made some stir in

the city. Azim Hoomayoon, the governor, thought fit to send all the parties to court at Sumbhul, where the King, who was fond of hearing disputations on religious subjects, directed the most learned men in his empire to assemble and argue the point of faith with the brahmin. The following persons were accordingly brought together:—

Meean Kadir Bin Sheikh Rajoo.
Meean Abdool Elias, and
Meean Allahdad of Toolumba.
Syud Mahomed, Bin Syud Khan of Dehly.
Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen, and
Moolla Allahdad Saleh from Surhind.
Syud Aman.
Syud Boorhan, and
Syud Ahsun from Kunowj.

Besides which were the learned men who usually attended the court; such as,

Syud Sudur-ood-Deen of Kunowj.
Meean Abdool Rahman of Seekry.
Meean Azeez-oolla of Sumbhul.

All these persons were present at this disputation. After many arguments, the learned men were of opinion, that unless the infidel, who had maintained the Hindoo worship to be equally acceptable to God as that of the true faith, should renounce his error, and adopt the Mahomedan religion, he ought to suffer death. The Hindoo refused to apostatise, and was accordingly executed, while the Mussulmen doctors were rewarded with gifts, and returned to their respective homes.

When Khuvas Khan, whom we have already mentioned, entered Dehly, he found an order from the King to proceed to court. Syud Khan Lody was also recalled from Lahore, and being suspected of disaffection, he, together with Tartar Khan Firmully, and Mahomed Shah Lody, were banished to Guzerat.

In the same year (A.H. 907, A.D. 1501), Man-Singh Ray of Gualiar sent one of his eunuchs, named Nehal, to the King, with rich presents, as ambassador; but this person having given offence at court, was ordered to quit it suddenly, without obtaining an audience. At this time, information was received of the death of Khan Khanan Firmully, governor of Byana. The

management of Byana devolved on his sons; but as the government fell into disorder in their hands, the King conferred the office of governor on Khuvas Khan, while Ahmud and Sooliman, the sons of the late Khan Khanan, received the estates of Shumsabad, Jalesur, Kampila, and Shahabad. Sudr Khan was deputed at the same time with a force to reduce Agra, then dependent on Byana, and which had revolted. Another detachment also sent to besiege Dholpoor, which was in possession of Raja Vinaik Dew, who had begun to make warlike preparations. Khwaja Bubun, the officer employed on this latter duty, being killed, the King was so vexed, that he marched from Sumbhul towards Dholpoor on Friday the sixth of Jumad-ool-Awul of the same year, A.H. 907 (November 17, A.D. 1501). On his approach, Vinaik Dew, leaving a deputy in the fort, fled towards Gualiar; and the garrison on the next night evacuated the place, and enabled the King to take possession. He remained there about a month, and having laid waste the country, proceeded to Gualiar. The Raja of Gualiar sued for terms, and delivered up Syeed Khan Sheerwany, Babookhan Sheerwany, and Ray Gunesh, who had, at different times, fled from the court and found protection with him. At the same time, he deputed the Raja's own son Vikramajeet, with costly offerings, to propitiate the King's favour.

Sikundur Lody, having returned to Dholpoor, reinstated the Raja Vinaik Dew, and then marching to Agra, he resolved to make that city his capital. He stayed in Agra during the rains, but in the year A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504), marched towards Mundril. Having taken that place, he destroyed the Hindoo temples, and caused mosques to be built in their stead. From thence returning to Dholpoor, he took the fort from the Raja Vinaik Dew, and conferred the command of it on Sheikh Kumr-ood-Deen. Thence returning to Agra, the King permitted his officers to return to their respective estates.

In the following year, on Sunday, the 3d of Suffur, A.H. 911 (July 5, A.D. 1505), a violent earthquake occurred in Agra, so that the mountains shook to their broad bases, and lofty buildings were levelled with the ground. Several thousand inhabitants were burried under the ruins. No such earthquake has ever been experienced in India, either before or since. In the same year, the King proceeded towards Gualiar. He remained some

months at Dholpoor, where having left his family and heavy baggage, he proceeded, with an unincumbered army of horse, to the hills, to plunder some Hindoo rajas, from whom he took great spoils. Finding the supplies in his camp fail suddenly, owing to the free intercourse with the Bunjaras[144] being cut off, he detached Azim Hoomayoon, Ahmud Khan, and Mujahid Khan, with their divisions, to afford these merchants convoy, which they effected at great risk, owing to the vigorous efforts of the inhabitants in the vicinity of Gualiar. Shortly after, while the army was passing near the town of Chinoor, a dependency of Gualiar, it was attacked in an ambuscade, and saved only by the bravery of Dawood Khan, and by Ahmud Khan, the son of Khan Jehan, grandson of Khan Khanan Firmully: the Hindoos were at length repulsed, and a number of Rajpoots fell by the sword.

Having returned to Agra, the King proceeded in the year A.H. 912 (A.D. 1506) towards the fort of Hunwuntgur, despairing of reducing Gualiar. Hunwuntgur fell in a short time, and the Rajpoot garrison was put to the sword, the temples were destroyed, and mosques ordered to be built in their stead. Bhikun Khan, the son of Mujahid Khan, was left in charge; but the King, having afterwards received information that Mujahid Khan had taken a bribe from the Raja of Hunwuntgur, in order to divert the King from attacking that place, Mujahid Khan was imprisoned at Dholpoor, and the King returned towards Agra. On the road, the army halted one day on a spot where there was little water. The distress in consequence was so severe, that, independently of the loss of baggage cattle, no fewer than 800 human beings perished, before they could obtain relief; and till evening, a small cup of water sold for fifteen tunkas throughout the camp. In the following year (A.H. 913, A.D. 1506), the king marched against Nurwur, a strong fort in the district of Malwa, then in possession of the Hindoos. The Prince Julal Khan

144. This is the first mention we have of this useful class in the Mahomedan history. The Bunjaras from a very ancient Hindoo mercantil ecommunity, and reside always in their tents. They have laws of their own, and do not intermarry with inhabitants of towns. The men are remarkable for their courage, their integrity, and enterprise; and the women are reputed for their chastity. An account of this race, in the Deccan, will be found in the first volume of the Bombay Literary Transactions.

governor of Kalpy,[145] was directed to advance and invest the place; and should the Hindoos resist, he was required to inform the King. On the King's arrival before Nurwur, Julal Khan drew up his army, out of respect, to receive him; but this circumstance creating distrust in the mind of Sikundur, he determined on his ruin. Nurwur, which was eight coss in circumference was invested; but the operations were protracted for eight months; when it appearing that a clandestine correspondence was maintained with the garrison, and suspicions falling on the Prince Julal Khan Lody, and Sheer Khan Lohany, they were both imprisoned in the fort of Hunwuntgur. The garrison soon after capitulated, being in want both of water and provisions. The King remained for the space of six months at Nurwur, breaking down temples, and building mosques. He also established a college there, and placed therein many holy and learned men. It was at this period, that Shahab-ood-Deen, the son of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen, King of Malwa, being discontented with his father, proposed a conference with the King of Dehly. A meeting took place on the Seepry, where Sikundur Lody promised him his support, if he would make over Chundery to him.

In the month of Shaban, A.H. 914 (Dec., A.D. 1508), the King marched from Nurwur; but after proceeding some distance along the Sind river, he resolved to surround Nurwur with another wall, which was ordered to be immediately commenced. The King now marched to the town of Yehar, where he halted during a whole month. At this place, Niamut Khatoon, the wife of Kootub Khan Lody, and the wet nurse of the young Prince Julul Khan, paid her respects to the King, and the district of Kalpy was made over in Jageer to the Prince. The King now returned towards the capital. On arriving at Hulkant, he sent a detachment against some rebels in that neighbourhood, and destroyed all their habitations, small posts being established at proper distances to overawe them. About this time, advices were received, that Ahmud Khan, the son of Moobarik Khan Lody, governor of Lucknow, had become a convert to the Hindoo

145. There were two princes of the same name: that now mentioned was the King's brother; he who succeeded him as governor of Kalpy was the King's son.

doctrines;[146] on which, orders were despatched to his brother, Mahomed Khan, to send him prisoner to court, and his second brother, Syud Khan, was directed to take the administration of affairs into his hands. In the same year, also, Mahomed Khan, the grandson of Soołtan-Nasir-ood-Deen of Malwa, having fled from the wrath of his grandfather, sought an asylum at the Dehly court. The King desired him to remain quietly in his jageer of Chundery, and directed that the Prince Julul Khan of Kalpy should take care to protect him from the power of the King of Malwa. At this time (A.H. 915, A.D. 1509), the King having marched to Dholpoor, ordered caravanserai to be built at every stage. It was in this year, also, Mahomed Khan Nagoory defeated Ally Khan and Aba Bukr, who had conspired against him, and they fled to Sikundur Lody for protection. Mahomed Khan, dreading the King's resentment, sent presents to propitiate his good will, and, moreover, caused the Khootba of Nagoor to be read in the name of the King of Dehly. The King, on his part, pleased with this instance of voluntary submission, returned him a dress, and confirmed his authority.

While the King was encamped at Dholpoor, he ordered Sooliman Khan, the son of Khan Jehan Firmully, to march to the aid of Hoossein Khan of Hunwuntgur. Sooliman Khan having excused himself, by saying he preferred being about the King's person, the latter became incensed, and frothwith dismissed him from his service, directing him to quit the camp by next morning at daylight; at the same time, he conferred the revenue of Birun on him for his future maintenance.

At this time, Bohjut Khan, governor of Chundery, on the part of the King of Malwa, perceiving the imbecility of his master, Sooltan Mahmood, made overtures to place himself under the Dehly government. Sikundur Lody accordingly deputed Imad-ool-Moolk to assist Bhojut Khan in his revolt;

146. It is difficult to believe that any one, brought up in the simple creed of Islam, should himself become an idolater: he could not, according to Hindoo usage, have been received as a convert; yet it is quite natural, that, viewing the moral practice of the Hindoos, he should have ceased to persecute them, or to believe that they must, necessarily, be damned, because they did not embrace the Moslem faith. A conviction of this nature, and an expressoin of such a sentiment, might, under Sikundur Lody, have subjected the true believer to the imputation of downright apostasy from the true faith.

soon after which, the King issued a proclamation, announcing the acquisition of Chundery to his dominions. Deeming it desirable, also, to make some alterations among the public officers of that province, the King deputed Syud Khan Lody, Sheikh Jumal Firmully, and Ray Oogur-Sein Kuchwaha, together with Khizr Khan and Khwaja Ahmud, to proceed to Chundery; and these officers succeeded in occupying effectually that district for the government of Dehly. Mahomed Khan, the Prince of Malwa, although considered ostensibly the chief of Chundery, was in fact dispossessed of all authority and confined to the city, while the supremacy of Bohjut Khan, the Malwa Governor, being usurped by the Dehly officers, he left his government and come to court. At this period, the King having reason to suspect the conduct of Hoossein Khan Firmully, Naib of Saharun, he deputed Hajy Sarung with some troops into that quarter, with orders to gain over the Naib's troops, and to seize his person. Hoossein Khan became acquainted with the King's intentions; and contriving his escape, sought an asylum with Alla-ood-Deen Shah Poorby, King of Bengal.

In the year A.H. 922 (A.D. 1516), Ally Khan Nagoory, governor of Suisapoor, entered into a plot with the Prince Dowlut Khan of Malwa, governor of Runtunbhore, who promised to deliver that fortress to the King of Dehly, if he should come in person to take possession. Sikundur Lody, overjoyed at this intelligence, proceeded towards Byana, to which place the governor of Runtunbhore came to meet him, and was honourably received; but Ally Khan Nagoory, disappointed in the attainment of some objects on which he had calculated as a reward for bringing this affair to bear, resolved to prevent its accomplishment, and used his influence with the governor to retract his promise. The King, ascertaining the true cause of this change, disgraced Ally Nagoory, and deprived him of his government of Suisapoor, which he conferred on his brother, Aba Bukr; and Sikundur Lody was obliged to return to Agra without obtaining possession of Runtunbhore. In the year 923, the King summoned all the distant nobles to Agra, with a determination to reduce Gualiar; and was in the midst of his preparations, when, being taken ill of a quinsy, he died on Sunday, the 7th of Zeekada, A.H. 923 (Dec. 14, A.D. 1517).

Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud states in his work, that the authors who have written this reign have filled their history with co-

pious details of the great qualities of this Prince; but he observes, that he has considerably abridged their accounts, and confined himself only to such facts as appeared to him to merti particular notice. The authors alluded to have given a description of his person, which was remarkable for its beauty and comeliness, as was his mind for the store of learning and good sense which it contained. During his reign, all the articles of life were cheap and abundant, and peace pervaded his dominions. He never omitted to devote a certain time to bear complaints in public, and he has been frequently known to sit at business the whole day long, even after his appointed time for meals and rest. He was in the habit of praying regularly five times daily. He was strictly just in his administration, and seldom known to be actuated by private feelings. He was as remarkable for his fear of God as for his benevolence towards his people. One day, while advancing against his brother Barbik, in the early part of his reign, a kullundur met him, and said, "God send you victory!" on which the King said, "Pray that the victory may be his who will best promote the good of his subjects." He had numerous pensioners among the holy men of the empire, to whom he sent their stipends twice a year, and a suit of clothes once. He ordered alms and food to be distributed on Fridays to all who chose to partake in town or camp wheresoever he might be. He encouraged charity of all descriptions; and did not fail to commend his nobles for any generous acts which reached his ears, and thus promoted a disposition to do good among his public officers; saying, "You have laid a foundation of virtue; you will never repent it." He was firmly attached to the Mahomedan religion, and made a point of destroying all Hindoo temples. In the city of Mutra he caused musjids and bazars to be built opposite the bathing-stairs leading to the river, and ordered that no Hindoos should be allowed to bathe there. He forbade the barbers to shave the beards and heads of the inhabitants, in order to prevent the Hindoos following their usual practices at such pilgrimages. He also prohibited the procession of the spear, which took place annually in commemoration of the deeds of Salar Musaood, and put a stop to the custom of females going abroad, and making offering at Mahomedan shrines. Before he ascended the throne he had once a quarrel with a holy man, woh maintained that it was highly improper for a king to interfere with the religion

of his subjects, or to prevent them bathing at places to which they had been accustomed to resort for ages. The Prince drew his sword, and said, "Wretch! do you maintain the propriety of the Hindoo religion?" The holy man replied, "By no means: I speak from authority: kings should not persecute their subjects on any account." This answer pacified him. He reformed and new-modelled the establishments of all the mosques throughout his dominions, and gave great encouragement to learning, so that almost all his military officers were well educated men; and even Hindoos, who had hitherto never learned Persian, commenced in this reign to study Mahomedan literature. The profession of arms assumed under his government a new character. He made a point of ascertaining the qualities of every officer who was promoted, and particularly enquired into his origin and education. He established horse-posts throughout his country, and received accounts daily from every military detachment of his army in motion. Whenever it was necessary to issue proclamations, persons were sent in all directions to read them at the time of public devotion in the mosques. Reports of the armies, of the court, and of the principal cities, were drawn up by authority, and read to the King daily, which enabled him to rectify at once any deviation from his orders. He very frequently went into long and tedious enquiries on intricate cases of law, and settled them in person. There are many wonderful stories related of his quick penetration and sound judgment. Among others, is the following:—There were two brothers, private soldiers, who had porcured some booty at Gualiar during the siege; among other articles of plunder were two large rubies, but of different shapes. One of the brothers determined to quit the service and return to his family at Dehly, while the other resolved to continue in the army; but he made over charge of his share of the booty to his brother, telling him to give it together with *his ruby* to his wife. After the war, on his return to Dehly, the soldier learned from his wife that she had never seen the ruby. The brother declared he had given it to her, and the parties were broguht up before the Kazy Meean Bhoory. The Judge asked the man who had quitted the service, who saw him give the ruby to his brother's wife? he replied, several persons knew she had it, and he produced some brahmins of notoriously bad characters as witnesses, who, having been instructed what to say, gave evidence

against the woman, who was told to go home and give the ruby to her husband. Owing to the ill treatment she received at home, she determined to lay her case before the King in person. He listened very attentively to the whole story, and then sending for the witnesses, all the parties acknowledged that they recollected perfectly the shape and size of the ruby given to the soldier's wife: a piece of wax was accordingly given to each witness, and being separated, they were directed to make models of the gem. Those of the two brothers corresponded; but the models of the witnesses being dissimilar, the King concluded they could never have seen it; and having thus convicted them of perjury, they were induced to tell the truth, and the woman's innocence was proved. Sikundur Lody was himself a poet, and highly appreciated literary merit. During his reign many works were composed both in prose and verse; among others, is the Furhung Sikundry, whose author informs us this Prince reigned 28 years and five months.

IBRAHIM LODY AFGHAN

SIKUNDUR LODY dying at Agra, his son Ibrahim succeeded to the throne. At a very early period, contrary to the custom of his father and grandfather, he made no distinction among his officers, whether of his own tribe or otherwise, and said publicly, that kings should have no relations nor clansmen, but that all should be considered as subjects and servants of the state; and the Afghan chiefs, who had hitherto been allowed to sit in the presence, were constrained to stand in front of the throne, with their hands crossed before them.

In the year A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517), shortly after his accession a conspiracy was formed by the Lody chiefs, by whom is was agreed to leave Ibrahim in quiet possesssion of Dehly and a few dependent provinces, and to raise the Prince, Julul Khan,[147] his brother, to the throne at Joonpoor. The Prince, accordingly, marching from Kalpy, in conjunction with the disaffected chiefs, ascended the throne of Joonpoor. He appointed his cousin, Futteh Khan, his vizier, who gained over all the officers of the eastern

147. It will be recollected, that this prince was made governor of Kalpy by his father.

provinces to his interest. Khan Jehan Lohany was at this time proceeding from Rabery to congratulate Ibrahim on his accession; when falling in with the disaffected nobles, he blamed them severely for causing divisions in the kingdom, which, he said, would be attended with fatal consequences to the family of Lody. The chiefs, admitting the impropriety of their conduct, determined, as the Prince Julal Khan could not be yet well established, to divest him of his newly-assumed dignity; and accordingly they sent Heibut Khan Julwany, with letters, to recall him before he reached Joonpoor. Heibut Khan, however, having overacted his part, the Prince, Julal Khan, suspected some plot, and excused himself from coming. The chiefs, unaware that he suspected them, deputed Sheikh Mahomed Firmully and others to enforce their request; but the Prince proceeded to Joonpur. Finding all endeavours to reclaim the Prince had failed, Ibrahim Lody issued a proclamation, declaring every officer who should adhere to his brother the Prince Julal a traitor to the state; at the same time he sent presents and deputations to all his principal officers, which had the effect of detaching the nobles from the pretender, and by degrees bringing them over to the King's interest. The affairs of the Prince rapidly declining, he conceived that nothing but desperate measures could retrieve them. Accordingly he marched to Kalpy, and placing his family in security in that fort, he collected all his troops, and assumed the title of King, under the title of Julal-ood-Deen. At the same time, he sent a trusty person to Azim Hoomayoon, who was at the time besieging Kalunjur, to join him. Azim Hoomayoon did so; but recommended the Prince, in the first instance, to establish himself firmly at Joonpoor. The Prince accordingly marched against the son of Moobarik Khan Lody, governor of Oude, and compelled him to retreat to Lucknow.

Ibrahim Lody, hearing of these proceedings, marched his army to that quarter, and confined his other brothers in the fort of Hansy, where they remained for life. This event took place on Thursday the 24th of Zeehuj, A.H. 923 (February 6, A.D. 1518). On his march towards Oude, the King was informed that Azim Hoomayoon, having deserted the Prince Julal, was now on his way to join him, on which the King sent some chiefs to escort him to his camp, where he was favourably received. A number

of other officers also joined Ibrahim, and, he despatched the greatest part of his army, under the command of Azim Hoomayoon Lody,[148] against the Prince. But before the King's troops could come up with him, he threw a garrison into Kalpy, and marched with 30,000 chosen horse, by forced marches, to Agra, while Azim Hoomayoon Lody was content to lay siege to Kalpy. Julal Khan had it now in his power either to take possession of Agra, or to plunder the treasury; but the governor, Adam Khan, in order to save the place and the country, entered into negotiations with the Prince, and went so far as to promise him, on the part of the King, the independent possession of Kalpy, and other advantages, for which he had no authority. Adam Khan sent notice of the whole transaction to Ibrahim; but the King having taken Kalpy, and the treaty having been concluded without his knowledge, he took no notice of it, but marched against the Prince, Julal Khan, who now deserted by his army, was obliged to fly to Gualiar, and solicit the protection of the raja of that place. Ibrahim Lody came to Agra, where he remained in order to regulate the affairs of the government, which, since the death of his father, had fallen into disorder. Two nobles, Kurreem Dad Toork, and Dowlut Khan, were sent to take charge of Dehly, and Sheikhzada Mahomed Firmully was deputed to Chundery, to remain with Mahomed Khan, the Prince of Malwa.

About this time the King, without assigning any reason, caused Meean Bhoory, formerly vizier to his father Sikundur Lody, to be put in chains, conferring at the same time great honours on his son. The Prince, Julal Khan, found refuge in Gualiar, and it was deemed necessary, therefore, to attack that fortress; for which purpose Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany marched from Kurra with 30,000 horse, and 300 elephants; and seven other chiefs, with armies, were also sent to join in the siege. The Prince, Julal Khan, despairing of holding out with success, fled to the court of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy of Malwa. The Dehly army, arriving before Gualiar, invested the place, and, in a few days, Raja Man-Sing, a prince of great valour and capacity, dying, his son Vikramajeet succeeded him. After the siege had been carried on for some months, the army of Ibrahim Lody

148. It is necessary to keep in mind the distinction between Azim Hoomayoon Lody and Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany.

at length got possession of an outwork at the foot of the hill, on which stood the fort of Badilgur. They found in that place a brazen bull, which had been for a long time an object of worship, and sent it to Agra, from whence it was afterwards conveyed to Dehly, and thrown down before the Bagdad gate (A.H. 924, A.D. 1518).

The Prince, Julal Khan, not being well received by Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, fled to the Raja of Gurrakota; but being intercepted on the road by a body of Gonds,[149] he was sent prisoner to the King's camp. Ibrahim Lody sent him to Hansy, but gave private orders for his assasination on the road. What charms can there be in power, which can induce a man to shed the blood of his own brother? Nor was Ibrahim satisfied with with the death of his brother Julal alone, he also imbrued his hands in the blood of several of his officers at the same time. Having recalled Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany from the siege of Gualiar, when just on the point of taking the place, he imprisoned him, and his son Futteh Khan, and also removed his other son, Islam Khan, from the government of Kurra. Islam Khan, hearing of the fate of his father and brother, and of the disgrace reserved for himself, rebelled, and defeated Ahmud Khan, who was sent to assume his government. The King now receiving advices of the reduction of Gualiar, which had been for a hundred years in the hands of the Hindoos, he had leisure to turn his thoughts towards the insurrection at Kurra. Azim Hoomayoon and Syeed Khan, after the fall of Gualiar, were permitted to go to their jageers, from whence, uniting with Islam Khan, they added strength to his power. Ibrahim Lody, placing little dependence on the fidelity of the troops about his person, issued orders for those of the distant provinces to repair to his camp; and conferring great honours on Ahmud Khan, the brother of Azim Hoomayoon Lody, gave him the command of the army against Islam Khan. Ahmud Khan, having reached the vicinity of Kunowj, was attacked by Yekbal Khan, a dependent of Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany, who, rushing out from an ambuscade with 5000 horse, cut off a number of the royal troops, and made good his retreat. The King was greatly exasperated against Ahmud Khan, on receiving intelligence of this defeat, and wrote to him not to expect his favour, if he

149. The inhabitants of the country called Gondwara.

did not quickly exterminate the rebels, at the same time he sent another detachment of troops to his support. The army of the insurgents now amounted to 40,000 cavalry, 500 elephants, and a large body of infantry with which they proceeded to oppose the royalists under Ahmud Khan (A.H. 925, A.D. 1519). The two armies came in sight of each other, but did not engage, for Sheikh Rajoo Bokhary, a holy man, highly esteemed in that age, was in hopes of bringing affairs to an accommodation. Overtures being made, the insurgents agreed to disband their troops the moment that Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany should be set at liberty. The Duria Khan Lohany, governor of Behar, to Nuseer Khan Lohany, King, however, refusing to accede to these terms, sent orders to the collector of Ghazypoor, and to Sheikhzada Mahomed Firmully, the governor of Oude, to advance against the rebels, who very imprudently permitted themselves to be amused till these armies united, when they were compelled either to fly or to fight on unequal terms. They resolved on the latter alternative, and accordingly drew up in order of battle. Urged by despair, they fought bravely, and were on the point of defeating the royalists, when Islam Khan was killed, and Syeed Khan taken prisoner. These untoward incidents discouraging their followers, they fled in every direction, and all the treasure and baggage of the insurgents fell into the hands of the King's troops. Ibrahim Lody now gave full scope to his hatred and resentment against the nobles of Sikundur Lody's reign, many of whom suffered death. Azim Hoomayoon Sheerwany, Meean Boohry, and others, who were in confinement, were at the same time privately executed. These proceedings creating distrust among the nobles, Duria Khan Lohany, governor of Behar, Khan Jehan Lody, Hoossein Khan Firmully, and many other chiefs, went into open rebellion. The King, receiving intelligence of this defection, sent a private order to some holy men of Chundery to cut off Hoossein Khan Firmully; and he was accordingly assassinated in his bed. This fresh instance of Ibrahim's treachery and cruelty tended only to make him more enemies. Duria Khan Lohany, governor of Behar, dying about this time, his son, Bahadur Khan, assumed the title of King, under the title of Mahomed Shah. He was joined by most of the discontended chiefs in that vicinity, and soon found himself at the head of 100,000 horse, with which he took possession of all the country as far as Sumbhul, defeating the Dehly troops in repeated

engagements. Meanwhile, Ghazy Khan Lody came with the army from Lahore; but having heard of the King's proceedings on the way, he became apprehensive of treachery, and returned to his father, Dowlut Khan Lody, at Lahore. Dowlut Khan, seeing no safety for his family, revolted from the King, and solicited Babur, the Mogul prince who then reigned in Kabul, to attempt the conquest of Hindoostan. The invasion of Babur was preceded by the arrival in India of the Prince Alla-ood-Deen, who had fled from his brother Ibrahim Lody, and was then residing at Kabul. Dowlut Khan supporting him, as a cloak to his own plans, reduced all the country as far south as Dehly; and the Prince Alla-ood-Deen being joined by many officers of distinction, he found himself at the head of an army of 40,000 horse, with which he proceeded to invest Dehly.

Ibrahim resolved to oppose him; but when within six coss (twelve miles) of the Prince's army, Ibrahim's camp was surprised in the night, and, after a tumultuous conflict which lasted till daylight, Ibrahim found himself deserted by most of his officers, who joined Alla-ood-Deen. Observing, however, in the morning, that the troops of Alla-ood-Deen were dispersed in plundering, Ibrahim rallied his soldiers, and, collecting the greater part of his elephants, returned to the attack, and expelled his brother and rival from the field with considerable slaughter. Ibrahim now entered Dehly in triumph; and the Prince Alla-ood-Deen, seeing no hopes of reducing the place, retreated to the Punjab.

Affairs remained in this state till the year A.H. 932 (A.D. 1526), when Zuheer-ood-Deen Mahomed Babur marched against Ibrahim Lody, as will be hereafter shown; and a sanguinary battle was fought between these two kings on the plain of Paniput, where Babur was victorious, and Ibrahim lost his life; an event which transferred the empire of Dehly and Agra to the family of Teimoor. The reign of Ibrahim Lody lasted twenty years.

END OF VOL. I

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF

THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS OF EUROPE AND THOSE CONNECTED WITH THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	TRANSOXANIA	GHIZNY	INDIA
977	ETHELRED, King of England	ABOOL MUNSOOR SAMANY, King	SUBOOKTUGEEN, King	JEIPAL, King of Lahore
979	EDMUND IRONSIDE, King of England	. . . .	First war with the Hindoos	Battle of L[illegible]han
987	HUGH CAPET, King of France			
991	The present arithmetical figures brought into Europe by the Mahomedans			
996	ROBERT I., King of France			
—	Otho III., renders the German empire elective			
997	. . . .	NOOH, King	ISMAEEL, King	
998	. . . .	ABDOOL MULLIK King . . .	MAHMOOD, King	
999	BOLESLAUS, first King of Poland	Samany Dynasty extinguished by Elik Khan. King of Kashghar	. . . .	Battle of Pishawur—Death of Jeipal ANUNDPAL, King of Lahore
1000	Paper first Manufactured in Europe			
1002	Massacre of the Danes in England			
1004	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	Bhatteea taken

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	TRANSOXANIA	GHIZNY	INDIA
1005	...	...	Hirat attacked by Elik Khan	Anundpal defeated in Pishawur
1006	...	Elik Khan expelled from Transoxania by Mahmood		
1008	...	...	...	Anundpal defeated a second time
1009	...	...	...	Mahmood invades Punjab—Bhim taken
1010	...	...	Mahmood invades the province of Ghoor	
1012	...	Mahmood invades Joorjistan	...	— sacks Tahnesur
1013	The Danes get possession of England	— takes Samarkand	...	— invades Kashmeer.—JEIPAL II., King
1014	...	— occupies Khwaruzm and Uzkund	...	— imposes tribute on Kunowj and Merut, and spoils Mutra
1015	Parents in England forbidden by law to sell their children	...	...	...
1017	CANUTE THE DANE, King of England	...	...	...
1020	...	...	...	Mahmood imposes tribute on Kalunjur
1023	...	...	...	— attacks Kalunjur and Gualiar
1024	...	Mahmood conquers and annexes Transoxania to Ghizny	...	— destroys Somnat, in Guzerat
1027	...	The Suljook tooks first invade Transoxania from the north	...	— destroys the Jut fleet on the Indus

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	TRANSOXANIA	GHIZNY	INDIA
1028	. . . .	Mahmood conquers and annexes Persia to Ghizny .		
1030	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Mahmood.—MAHOMED, King	
1031	HENRY I., King of France	. . . .	MUSACOD I., King	
1032	. . . .	Suljook Toorks conquer Transoxania		
1039	Macbeth usurps the Crown of Scotland	. . . .	— is defeated by the Suljook Toorks, and retires to Lahore	
1040	Final expulsion of the Danes from England	. . . .	— is deposed, and killed.—Modood, King	The Hindoos recover all the country east and south of Lahore
1043	. . . .	— conquer Persia		
1048	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .	— again expelled from the Punjab
1049	. . . .	. . . .	MUSAOOD II., King.—ABOOL HUSSUN ALLY, King	
1050	. . . .	. . . .	ABDOOL RUSHEED, King	
1052	. . . .	. . . .	FUROKHZAD, King	
1055	. . . .	— Subvert the Caliphate		
1057	Malcolm III. slays Macbeth			
1058	. . . .	. . . .	IBRAHEEM, King	
1060	PHILIP I., King of France			
1065	Saracens expelled from Jerusalem by the Suljooks, commonly called the Turks	— take Jerusalem		
1066	WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, King of England			

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	TRANSOXANIA	GHIZNY	INDIA
1080	Doomsday book compiled.—Tower of London built			
1087	WILLIAM II., King of England			
1096	The first Crusade to the Holy land			
1098	. . . .	. . . .	MUSAOOD III., King	
1100	HENRY I., King of England			
1108	LOUIS VI., King of France			

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GHIZNY	INDIA
1110	Death of Edgar Atheling, last of the Saxon line		
1115	Knights Templars first established	ARSLAN, King.—BEIRAM, King	
1124	DAVID I., King of Scotland		
1135	STEPHEN, King of England		
1137	LOUIS VII., King of France		
1139	Portugal rescued from the Mahomedans		
1145	. . . .	Beiram expelled by Alla-ood-Deen Ghoory	Beiram makes Lahore his capital
1147	The second Crusade	. . . .	KHOOSROW, King of Lahore
1154	HENRY II., King of England		
1160	London bridge built of stone	. . . .	KHOOSROW MULLIK, King
1173	HENRY II. of England occupies Ireland	Mahomed Ghoory invades India	
1175	. . . .	. . . .	Mahomed Ghoory takes Oocha
1180	PHILIP II., King of France		
1186	. . . .	. . . .	—subvert the race of Ghiznevides
1187	Saladin takes Jerusalem		

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	GHIZNY	INDIA
1189	The third Crusade.—RICHARD I., King of England		
1191	. . . .	. . . .	— carries war into the province of Dehly—takes Ajmeer
1193	. . . .	. . . .	— leaves Kootb-ood-Deen Eibuk as his lieutenant in India
1195	. . . .	. . . .	— returns to India—takes Byana, Gualiar, Kalpy, Budaoon and Kalunjur
——	. . . .	. . . .	— invades Guzerat
1199	JOHN, King of England		
1202	The fourth Crusade		
1206	. . . .	Death of Mahomed Ghoory	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1206	. . . .	KOOTB-OOD-DEEN EIBUK, the first of the Mahomedan Kings of Dehly
1210	. . . .	ARAM, King of Dehly
1211	. . . .	SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ALTMISH, King
1215	King John signs Magna Charta	— defeats and takes prisoner Taj-ood-Deen Yeldooz
1216	HENRY III., King of England	
1217	. . . .	— defeats and slays Nasir-ood-Deen Koobacha, and occupies Mooltan
1225	. . . .	— defeats Gheias-ood-Deen Bukhtyar Khiljy, and occupies Bengal
1231	. . . .	— takes Gualiar from Raja Dewbul
1232	. . . .	— takes Bhilsa and Oojein
1236	. . . .	ROOKN-OOD-DEEN FEROZE, King
1237	The tartars subdue Russia	— deposed by his sister Ruzeea Begum
1239	. . . .	Ruzeea Begum deposed, and put to death
1240	. . . .	MOIZ-OOD-DEEN BEIRAM, King
1241	. . . .	The Moguls invade Punjab.—Beiram deposed
1242	. . . .	ALLA-OOD-DEEN MUSAOOD, King
1244	. . . .	The Moguls invade Bengal from Thibet

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1245	. . . .	NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD, King
1248	The fifth Crusade under St Louis	Gheias-ood-Deen Bulbun, minister
1258	The Saracen empire terminated	Moguls invade Punjab, but are repulsed with great slaughter
1261	Constantinople recovered by the Greek emperors	
1264	Deputies of boroughs first summoned to attend the English Parliament	
1266	. . . .	GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN BULBUN, King
1272	EDWARD I. King of England	
1273	The first of the Austrian family Emperor of Germany	
1279	. . . .	— defeats and slays the ruler of Bengal
1282	The Sicilian Vespers fatal to eight thousand French	
1283	Edward I. of England conquers Wales	Moguls invade Punjab, and are repulsed by the King's son, who is slain
1285	. . . .	Thirteen sovereign princes, refugees from the power of Chungiz Khan, find protection at the Court of Dehly.
1286	. . . .	KEIKOBAD, King
1288	. . . .	JULAL-OOD-DEEN FEROZE KHILJY, King
1291	The Crusades end	Grievous famine in India
1292	. . . .	One hundred thousand Moguls invade India, and are defeated.—Oghloo Khan, and three thousand Moguls, become Mahomedans, and remain in India
1294	. . . .	ALLA-OOD DEEN KHILJY invades the Deccan—returns to Dehly—slays his uncle, the King, and usurps the throne
1296	. . . .	One hundred thousand Moguls again invade India, and are defeated, with the loss of twelve thousand men
1297	. . . .	Guzerat conquered and retained by the king of Dehly.—Moguls again repulsed

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1298	Sir William Wallace defeated at Falkirk	Two hundred thousand Moguls penetrate to Dehly, but are defeated with great slaughter
1299	The turks found the Ottoman empire	
1303	. . . .	Chittoor taken.—Moguls again reach Dehly, but withdraw without fighting
——	. . . .	Prices of all articles fixed at the capital
1304	Wallace betrayed to Edward, and put to death	Forty thousand Moguls invade India, but are repulsed, with the loss of sixteen thousand men.—Malwa conquered and retained
1305	. . . .	Fifty-Seven thousand Moguls penetrate to Dehly, but are annihilated in their retreat
1306	. . . .	The Deccan invaded by a large army from Dehly under Mullik Kafoor
1307	Swiss republics established.—EDWARD II., King of England	
1309	. . . .	Extensive conquests in the Deccan
1311	. . . .	Thirteen thousand Mogul converts massacred in one day by the King's order
1314	Edward II. of England defeated at Banockburne	
1315	. . . .	OOMUR KHILJY, King.—MOOBARIK KHILJY, King
1321	. . . .	GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK I., King
1326	. . . .	Behar and Bengal, as far as Chittagong, conquered by the troops of Dehly
1327	EDWARD III., King of England .	Moguls, under Toormooshreen Khan, invade India
1328	. . . .	Ruinous consequences of making a copper currency to represent the precious metals
1333	Scots defeated at Halidown Hill	
1337	. . . .	An Indian Army attempts to invade China, but is destroyed in the Himalaya mountains
1339	. . . .	The King removes his Court to Dowlutabad, in the Deccan, and compells the inhabitants of Dehly to remove thither
1340	Gunpowder invented in Europe	The Moslem conquests extend to Goa, on the coast, and to the Krishna in the interior of the Deccan

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1342	. . . .	Dehly again becomes the Capital
1343	. . . .	Famine in Hindoostan
1345	. . . .	Revolutions throughout the Kingdom
1346	Battle of Cressy	
1347	. . . .	An independent King in the Deccan
1348	. . . .	An independent King in Bengal
1351	. . . .	FEROZE TOGHLUK
1356	Battle of Poictiers	
1378	RICHARD II., King of England	
1383	Cannon first employed by the English	
1386	Georgia subdued by Tamerlane	
1388	. . . .	Feroze Toghluk dies, after leaving splendid monumental remains of his desire to improve his country
1389	. . . .	GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN TOGHLUK II. King.—ABOO BUKR TOGHLUK, King.—NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD TOGHLUK, King
1398	. . . .	Invasion of India by Teimoor, or Tamerlane, who puts to death one hundred thousand prisoners in one day
1401	HENRY IV., King of England	
1406	JAMES I., King of Scotland . .	The Kingdom of Dehly limited to within a few miles of the city.—Seven independent Mahomedan Kings in India
1414	HENRY V., King of England . .	SYUD KHIZR KHAN ascends the throne as Tamerlane's lieutenant
1415	Battle of Agincourt	— recovers a great part of the Dooab, and establishes a nominal control over the Punjab
1420	Madeira discovered by the Portuguese	
1421	HENRY VI., King of England . .	— dies, and is succeeded by SYUD MOOBARIK
1422	. . . .	Contests with the Gukkurs in Punjab
1423	. . . .	War with the King of Malwa

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1425	Courts of Sessions first established in Scotland	Contests with the Mewattis
1427	. . . .	War with the King of Joonpoor
1428	. . . .	Rebellion in Surhind.—Contests with the Gukkurs and Moguls in the Punjab
1431	The Medici established at Florence	
1432	. . . .	Lahore occupied by the Moguls, but subsequently retaken
1435	. . . .	Death of Syeed Moobarik.—SYUD MAHOMED, King
1436	The French recover Paris from the English	Insurrection in Sumbhul
1440	The Art of printing invented . .	Dehly besieged by the King of Malwa, who is defeated by Bheilole Khan Lody
1446	. . . .	Death of Syud Mahomed.—SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN, King
1447	The Sforza family established in Milan	Thirteen Mahomedan kingdoms, and six principalities, all independent of each other, and of the King of Dehly
1448	. . . .	Syud Alla-ood-Deen makes Budaoon his capital
1450	. . . .	— abdicates the throne in favour of BHEILOLE LODY
1452	. . . .	War with the King of Joonpoor
1453	The Turks take Constantinople	
1455	. . . .	Bheilole unites the six independent principalities with the Kingdom of Dehly
1459	Copper-plate engraving invented	
1461	HENRY VI., King of England	
1472	Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, and the restoration of Edward IV. to the throne	
1474	Portuguese discover the Cape de Verd Islands	
1478	. . . .	War renewed with the Kingdom of Joonpoor, which is conquered and united to Dehly
1479	The Kingdoms of Arragon and Castile united	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1483	The crown of England usurped by RICHARD III.	
1485	Battle of Bosworth, and accession of HENRY VII.	
1488	. . . .	Bheilole Lody dies, and is succeeded by SIKUNDUR LODY
1490	. . . .	Contests with the Afghan chiefs
1491	The end of the dominion of the Moors in Spain	
1492	Columbus discovered Hispaniola and Cuba	
1494	— discovers the continent of America	The exiled King of Joonpoor makes an effort to recover his dominions, but is driven into Bengal
1495	. . . .	War carried into Bengal
1497	The Portuguese reach India by the Cape of Good Hope	
1500	— discover Brazil	
1505	. . . .	Earthquake in Agra
1506	. . . .	Hunwuntgur and Nurwur taken from the Hindoos
1509	HENRY VIII., King of England	Chundery occupied by Sikundur Lody, King of Dehly
1513	The battle of Flodden	
1517	Martin Luther begins to flourish	Death of Sikundur Lody, and accession of IBRAHIM LODY
1521	Mexico conquered by Cortez . .	Continual insurrections in the state, which favour the invasion of India by the Moguls
1522	Circumnavigation of the globe first accomplished by Magellan . .	
1524	Sweden and Denmark embrace the reformed religion . . .	
1526	Charles V., Emperor of Germany, and Francis I., King of France, enter into the treaty of Madrid	Battle of Paniput, in which Ibrahim is slain, the dynasty of Lody is terminated, and BABUR (the first of the race entitled Great Moguls) ascends the throne of Dehly.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME

History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India

HISTORY OF THE RISE OF THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

TILL THE YEAR A.D. 1612

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN OF
·MAHOMED KASIM FERISHTA

by

JOHN BRIGGS, M.R.A.S.
LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE MADRAS ARMY

TO WHICH IS ADDED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE CONQUEST
BY THE KINGS OF HYDRABAD
OF THOSE PARTS OF THE MADRAS PROVINCES DENOMINATED
THE CEDED DISTRICTS AND NORTHERN CIRCARS

WITH COPIOUS NOTES
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HISTORY

OF THE

MAHOMEDAN POWER IN INDIA

·Dynasty of the House of Teimoor

BABUR PADSHAH[1]

AT the time when Aboo Syeed Mirza suffered martyrdom in Ferak, he had eleven sons: Ahmud, Mahmood, Mahomed, Sharokh, Alugh Beg, Oomr Sheikh, Aba Bukr, Moorad, Khuleel, Sooltan, and Oomr. Four of these attained the dignity of kings. Alugh Beg Mirza succeeded to the throne of Kabul; Ahmud Mirza reigned over the kingdom of Samarkand; Oomr Sheikh Mirza ruled over the united provinces of Indijan and Furghana; and Mahmood Mirza over those of Koondooz and Budukhshan. Yoonoos Khan, King of Mogulistan, gave to each of those Kings, excepting Alugh Mirza, one of his daughters in marriage.

At the time when Oomr Sheikh Mirza ascended the throne of Furghana in the year 888, he had a son by Kootlogh Nigar Khanum, the daughter of Yoonoos Khan, whom he named Babur. The relationship between Teimoor (Tamerlane) and Babur is as follows: Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza, the son of Mahommed Mirza, the son of Meeran Shah Mirza, was the son of Ameer Teimoor Korkan. Mowlana Hissamy Kurragoozly composed the following couplet, after the death of Babur, to commemorate his memory, which seems worth recording:

روز ششم محرم زاد آن شه مکرم
تاریخ وفاتش هم آمد ششم محرم

1. Subsequent to this period, the kings of Dehly become so frequently engaged in war with other kings of India, that it becomes necessary to give them some distinguishing appellation, and this is the more proper here, as Babur, in his Memoirs, observes, "At this period (A.D. 1507) I ordered that I should be styled Padshah."—See Erskine's edition of Leyden's Babur, p. 233.

This benevolent Prince was born on the sixth of Mohurrum, on which day also he died; and in the words "sixth of Mohurrum" will be found the date of the year of his birth.

Babur, when as yet but 12 years old, discovered a capacity so uncommon, that his father gave him the management of the kingdom of Indijan. Oomr Sheikh Mirza,[2] on Monday the 4th of Rumzan, in the 890th year of the Hijra, fell, by an accident, from the roof of a pigeon-house, and being killed, Babur was advanced to the throne by his nobles, and assumed the title of Zeheer-ood-Deen.

Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, and Mahmood Khan the son of Yoonoos Khan, the former his paternal and the latter his maternal uncle, led their armies against the young Prince, to take revenge on him, on account of the war waged by his father against them; hoping also, by the advantage which the accession of a child afforded, to appropriate his kingdoms to themselves.

In this dilemma, Ameer Sheerum, who was married to a sister of Babur's mother, wanted to convey away the youth into the mountains of Uzkund, in order to protect him, in case the nobles of his court should be disposed to unite with his uncle, Sooltan Ahmud Mirza; but he was dissuaded from taking this step by Mowlana Kazy, a descendant from Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen Bulkhy, and who at that time was an ameer of Indijan.

Babur accordingly employed himself in preparing for a siege; and Hoossein Yakoot and Ameer Nasir Kocheen, who had been detached to Furghana, being recalled, were indefatigable in their exertions on this occasion. Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, Babur's paternal uncle, having first occupied Furghana and Khoojund, encamped within four fursukhs of Indijan. During this time, one Mahomed Dervish, who was discovered intriguing with the enemy, was brought before Babur, and suffered death from his own hand. Babur then deputed Mowlana Kazy, Zowzun Hussun, and Khwaja Hoossein as ambassadors to his uncle's camp; and conceiving it quite certain, that he would not think of relinquishing Samarkand as his capital, requested

2. It is a curious coincidence that this prince, and his grandson Hoomayoon, should both have met their death by falling from the tops of houses—the one at Indijan, the other at Dehly.

that he might be allowed to reside at Furghana, under a promise not to dispute the rest of the kingdom. Sooltan Ahmud Mirza, it is said, repenting of his severity towards his nephew, was himself disposed to agree to these terms; but he was overruled by his chiefs, who insisted on persevering in the siege of the fort of Indijan. Fortune, however, favoured Babur; for a raging pestilence suddenly broke out among the enemy's cavalry, so that their horses died off in great numbers daily, which compelled Sooltan Ahmud Mirza to raise the siege, and to leave the conduct of the negotiation (which was again opened) in the hands of Ameer Dervish Mahomed; who, in concert with Hussun Yakoot, on the part of Babur, had several conferences, and concluded a peace, which was never ratified, Sooltan Ahmud Mirza having died on his march to Samarkand. Sooltan Mahmood Khan, the son of Yoonoos Khan, the maternal uncle of Babur, had now reached Akhsy, on his route to Furghana, where Jehangeer Mirza, a younger brother of Babur, to whom the defence of that place was intrusted, conceiving himself unable to cope with the enemy, fled, accompanied by Dervish Ally, Mirza Koolly Gokultash, Mahomed Bakur, Sheikh Abdoola Sheebuk, Aka Veis, and Meer Gheias-ood-Deen Toghay, towards Kasan, the birth-place of Aka Veis, where Nasir Mirza, the youngest brother of Babur, now resided; but Sooltan Mahmood Khan pursuing them thither, that place was given up without resistance; after which, proceeding towards Akhsy, and finding he could not succeed in his enterprise, Sooltan Maomood Khan retired to his own country.

At this time also the khans of Kashghar and Khootun led their armies towards the borders of Uzkund, against Babur; but they also, eventually, made peace. Babur now having gone to Furghana, appointed Hussun Yakoot his vizier, making him also governor of Indijan; but soon after Yakoot rebelled, in the year 900, and Babur attacked and compelled him to fly towards Samarkand, whither he was pursued, and afterwards killed near Akhsy.

In the same year also Ibrahim Sar, the governor of the fort of Asheera, having rebelled, caused the khootba to be read in the name of Baesanghar Mirza, the son of Sooltan Mahmood Mirza, who had succeeded to the throne of Samarkand. Babur marched against him, and besieged Asheera, which he reduced

in the space of forty days, and the rebel was obliged to come forth with a sword suspended round his neck, and a shroud hung over his shoulders. Babur, however, forgave him, and marcher first to Khoojund, and from thence to Sharokhia, where he met his matereal uncle, Mahmood Khan, to whom he now became reconciled; in a few days after which, he returned to Indijan.

Baesanghar Mirza, king of Samarkand, having possessed himself of Aratiba, one of the provinces belonging to Oomr Sheikh Mirza, the father of Babur, the latter resolved to retake it, and marched according with his army against it the very next season. Sheikh Zoolnoon, who held it on the part of Baesanghar Mirza, made a resolute defence, till the approach of winter obliging Babur to raise the siege, he returned to Indijan, both on that account, as well as to obtain supplies.

Babur, in the year following, led his army towards Samarkand, and formed an alliance with Sooltan Ally Mirza (the brother of Baesanghar Mirza), king of Bokhara, and who was also struggling for power. The confederates, however, unable to reduce Samarkand that year, returned home for the winter, having agreed to make great preparations for another campaign. Both Kings accordingly, in the year 902, in the beginning of the spring, took the route of Samarkand. Sooltan Ally Mirza having reached Samarkand first, Baesanghar advanced, and encamped without the the city walls, but opon Babur's arrival, he retreated within the town. In the night, Altoon Khwaja, who was going the rounds of Babur's camp, having discovered the retreat of Baesanghar Mirza, fell upon his rear, and put a great number of his people to the sword. Meanwhile Babur captured the fort of Asheera, situated at a small distance from the city, and invested Samarkand: this town was defended with bravery till the autumn, when the allies were compelled to raise the siege, and retire; Sooltan Ally Mirza returning to Bokhara, and Babur to Khwaja-Deedar, to pass the winter. In this state of affairs, Baesanghar Mirza sought an alliance, and requested assistance from Sheebany Khan, ruler of Toorkistan, who, avoiding Khwaja-Deedar, the winter-quarters of Babur, proceeded direct to Samarkand. Sheebany Khan and Baesanghar Mirza having quarrelled soon after, the former returned to his own country. This circumstance so much embarrassed the affairs of Baesanghar Mirza, that proceeding

with a small retinue of 300 horse, he went in person to solicit the assistance of Khoosrow Shah, ruler of Koondooz.

Babur availed himself of this opportunity to hasten to Samarkand; and in the end of the year 903, having been admitted into the city, ascended the throne, and was acknowledged King by the greatest part of the nobles. Babur having taken the place by capitulation, forbade all plunder; but his troops became discontented and began to disperse. The Moguls, who were commanded by one Ibrahim Chuk,[3] went off in a body, and were followed by Yar-Ally and several other nobles, with their followers, to Akhsy, where having joined Jehangeer Mirza, the brother of Babur, they required the latter to confer on Jehangeer the province of Indijan.

Babur, on receiving this message, gave vent to his indignation; and, in speaking of the perfidy of those chiefs who had deserted him, imprudently threw out reflections on those who remained. These resented this language by abandoning him, and joined his brother at Indijan. Babur, in the utmost distress, sent Altoon Khwaja to endeavour to conciliate his officers; but they sent a party to way-lay the ambassador, and cut him in pieces.

Ally Dost Toghay and Mowlana Kazy, the two chieftains in possession of Indijan, however, sent assurances of their fidelity to Babur, and resisted his brother's party; but unfortunately at this time Babur, being taken dangerously ill, was unable to avail himself of their attachment. His own life was saved with difficulty, by conveying sustenance through moistened cotton applied to his lips. When he recovered, he found the situation of his affairs most embarrassing; but he determined to incur even the risk of losing Samarkand, rather than sacrifice his paternal dominions. He accordingly directed his march towards Indijan; but Ally Dost Toghay and his party having heard that Babur was actually dead, had already capitulated, and given up the place to Jehangeer Mirza, who having cruelly caused the execution of Mowlana Kazy, ascended the throne, and caused the khootba to be read in his name. This intelligence, together with the re-

3. The tribes of Chuk and Makry become familiar to the reader in the Kashmeer history, though it is not quite clear how a Chuk should be at the head of a body of Moguls; the word, therefore, may be incorrect.

flection that he had also lost Samarkand, occasioned Babur the utmost distress.

In this dilemma, as his last resource, he deputed Ameer Kasim Kocheen to Tashkund, to entreat the assistance of his maternal uncle, Sooltan Mahmood Khan, the son of Yoonoos Khan, who hastened to Chilka Ahungiran, where he and Babur met: an emissary came at the same time to Sooltan Mahmood Khan from Jehangeer Mirza, on which he resolved to allow his two nephews to settle their own differences, himself returning to Tashkund. This unexpected defection had such an effect upon Babur's troops, that of all his army, in a few days, only two hundred horsemen remained with him. In this forlorn condition, he retreated to Khoojund: from thence he applied to Mahmood Hossein Korkan, at Doghlat, acquainting him, that the place in which he then was could not protect him from his enemies; he therefore earnestly solicited him to permit him to pass the winter at Saghir. Mahmood Hossein consented, and Babur acocrdingly took up his quarters there, and began to recruit a new army.

After having collected a few soldiers round his standard, and reflecting that his future success depended entirely on the reputation of his arms, he resolved to employ himself in active operations. He therefore returned to Eelak, where he took some forts by assault, and some by stratagem; but these petty exploits were of little service to him, for his affairs bore still a very gloomy aspect. He received in the mean time a message from Ally Dost Toghay, begging his forgiveness. He informed him that he was in possession of the garrison of Furghunian,[4] and promised, if Babur would take possession of it, he would again devote himself to his service. Babur did not hesitate to avail himself of this overture, and arriving at Furghunian, he was met by Ally Dost at the gate, who surrendered the fort into his hands. Babur having recruited his finances, sent Ameer Kasim Kocheen towards the mountains of Indijan, and Ibrahim Sar and Veis[5] Laghiry towards Akhsy to gain partisans. This measure had the desired effect, for the mountaineers of Indijan at once espoused his cause; while Ibrahim Sar and Veis Laghiry having accommodated matters with the governors of Bab, and two or three other forts, de-

4. This may perhaps be Murghinan.—Vide Erskine's map.

5. My MSS. have Ooveis, but I have followed Erskine's reading in preference.

clared in favour of Babur. At the same time also, he procured assistance from his uncle Sooltan Mahmood Khan, of Bokhara.

Zowzun Hussun, and Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, having heard of the loss of Furghunian, proceeded with Jehangeer Mirza to attack that place. This they effected, and marched towards Akhsy; but on the road, falling in with Sooltan Mahmood Khan, Jehangeer Mirza's army was defeated with great slaughter, and both he and Zowzun Hussun fled precipitately to Indijan, attended only by four or five followers. Nasir Beg, a relative of Zowzun Hussun, who held the government of Indijan, perceiving the favourable aspect of Babur's affairs, opposed Jehangeer Mirza, and having sent a messenger to Babur, offered to surrender the place into his hands. These events ruined the affairs of Jehangeer Mirza, who now took the route of Oosh, and Zowzun Hussun that of Akhsy.

Babur having occupied Indijan, conferred honours upon Nasir Beg and his followers. Thus the capital of Furghana, in the month of Zeekad, in the year 904, was restored to its former master. On the fourth day after his arrival, Babur proceeded to Akhsy, and expelled Zowzun Hussun, who fled to Khoozar. Kasim Ajeeb was appointed governor of Akhsy, and Babur returned to Indijan, accompanied by most of the followers of Zowzun Hussun. On this occasion, some of Babur's officers representing that these troops were the same who had formerly plundered several chiefs then in his army, and had put Mowlana Kazy to death, orders were issued permitting all those who had suffered to recover from them what they had lost. The Moguls gaining timely information mounted their horses, and to a man proceeded to Uzkund, where they related the cause of their coming to Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, who in conjunction with Jehangeer Mirza now marched against Indijan. Babur sent Ameer Kasim Kocheen to oppose them; but he was defeated with great slaughter, and many of the King's principal officers were slain, and several taken prisoners.

The enemy now advanced and laid siege to Indijan for the space of thirty days; but as they could effect nothing against it, they turned their arms against Oosh. Babur having recruited his army, marched in the year A.H. 905 (A.D. 1499), to its relief; but the enemy, hearing of his approach, suddenly decamped, and made a forced march to Indijan, the suburbs of which they plun-

dered. Babur, however, relying on the garrison and on the strength of the place, proceeded to Badawurd, a strong fort in possession of Khuleel, brother to Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole. Khuleel defended the place with great obstinacy; but was at length forced to capitulate, and he together with eighty other persons, being taken, were detained as prisoners, and sent to Indijan, in reprisal for an equal number of his own officers, who had fallen into the enemy's hands.

Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, in the mean time, made an unsuccessful attempt to scale the walls of Indijan in the night. On obtaining this information, Babur returned to its support, and took up a strong position on the banks of the river in sight of the enemy, where he remained for the space of forty days. At length he attacked their camp, situated at Deh Khooban, three fursukhs[6] distant from Indijan. After an obstinate resistance, the enemy was defeated, and Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole and Jehangeer Mirza sought safety in flight. The King after the victory entered Indijan in triumph; but he shortly after received information that six thousand horse from Sooltan Mahmood Khan, ruler of Bokhara, had, in aid of Jehangeer Mirza, appeared before the fort of Kasan. Though it was now the depth of winter, and the frost and snow severe, Babur marched to attack this party, which, without making resistance, retreated to its own country. Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, who was on his march to reinforce it, fell in accidentally with Babur's troops, in a situation where the former could not have escaped had not the night favoured his flight, owing to which he retreated with little loss. Babur pursued him to the walls of Booskar, near to which he encamped.

On the fourth day, Ally Dost Toghay and Kumbur Ally prevailed upon the King to make overtures for peace, proposing that Jehangeer Mirza should retain possession of all the country between the river of Khoojund and Akhsy, and that Indijan and the district of Uzkund should remain in possession of Babur; but it was agreed that if the latter should ever recover the kingdom of Samarkand, he should give up Indijan to Jehangeer Mirza. These terms being solemnly ratified by mutual oaths, the brothers had an interview, and the prisoners on both sides were released. Babur returned to Indijan, where he found that Ally Dost Toghay, who possessed considerable wealth and

6. Nine miles.

power, had ventured to exert unlicensed authority; that he had banished Ameer Khuleefa, had imposed fines on Ibraham Sar and Veis Laghiry, without the King's permission, and had encouraged his son Mahomed Dost to assume the ensigns of royalty. Babur, however, found it convenient to restrain his resentment for the present, owing to the great influence of Ally Dost, and to the numerous formidable enemies by whom he was himself surrounded. At this time, also, Mahomed Moorad Turkhan, an officer of Sooltan Ally Mirza, ruler of Samarkand, being discontented with his master, connected himself with Khan Mirza, one of the sons of Sooltan Mahmood Mirza, and attacked Samarkand; but being repulsed with loss, they made overtures to Babur to induce him to engage in the same enterprize. Babur, embracing the proposal, proceeded direct towards Samarkand, and Mahomed Moorad Turkhan, having joined him on the march, they resolved to depute a person to gain over Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Yehya, a holy man, who had vast influence over the inhabitnats. Kootb-ood-Deen, entering into their views, assured them they might march on the city, and rely on success.

In the mean time, Sooltan Mahmood Doldy one of Babur's officers, having deserted to Samarkand, informed the enemy of the correspondence with Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Yehya, which completely disconcerted Babur's measures, and he was compelled to relinquish his enterprise. Meanwhile the troops of Ally Dost Toghay, disgusted with their chief, crowded to the King's camp with complaints against that chief, and he finding his importance shaken, abandoned the service of Babur, and, with his son, went over to Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole, in whose camp he arrived a short time after.

At this period, news arrived that Sheebany Khan had taken Bokhara, and was on full march to attack Samarkand, which Sooltan Ally Mirza, at the instance of his mother, surrendered without opposition. Babur accordingly fell back on Kish, and from thence to Khoozar, where Mahomed Moorad Turkhan, and the officers who invited him to attack Samarkand, left him, and joined Khoosrow Shah. Babur, after this defection, was obliged to retreat by the route of Sirtak to Eelak, over rocks, stones, and rugged paths, by which his army suffered exceedingly, having lost most of his camels and horses on the march. This circumstance dispirited his troops to such a degree, that they all deserted

him before he reached Eelak, excepting two hundred and forty men.

In this state of affairs, Babur called together his officers, and consulted them as to his future operations. It was resolved, that as Sheebany Khan had only lately got possession of Samarkand, and the inhabitants had not yet probably become reconciled to the Oozbuks, that he should made an attempt to take the place; and that as it was part of the hereditary dominions of Babur, it seemed likely, although the people might not actually aid him, they would not be very active in opposing him; and it was thought that the possession of the city would retrieve his affairs. Babur accordingly marched, and reached Yoonoos Khan in the dusk of the evening; but understanding the garrison was on the alert, he refrained from making the attempt at that time. After having got clear of the city, he says, in his Memoirs, he looked back, and repented of his precipitate flight; and being wearied with the fatigue of the day, he laid himself down in a grove to sleep, as did the greatest part of his retinue. He states that in about an hour after, he awoke from a dream, in which he imagined he saw Abdoolla, a Dervish of great repute, coming towards his house; that Babur, inviting him to sit down, caused his steward to spread a table-cloth before him, on which the holy man, apparently offended, rose to go away. Babur begged of him to stay; but the Dervish, holding him by the arm, raised him up towards the sky. Babur, awaking, called his attendants, and related his dream, which was considered a fortunate omen, and he determined to persevere in his attempt on Samarkand.[7]

Babur's small party, mounting their horses, accordingly returned, and reached the bridge of Moghat about midnight; from whence he detached eighty men before him, to a low part of the wall near the Lover's Cave, which was scaled by the help of a hook-rope; and, coming round to the Feroza gate, his party fell upon the guard commanded by Kasid[8] Turkhan, and either killed or dispersed the whole. The gate being opened, admitted Babur with two hundred and forty men. Babur's party proclaimed his name as they passed through the street, and gave an opportunity to all his friends within the place to join him; while his enemies,

7. This story is related by Babur, in his own Memoirs.—Vide Erskine's Babur, p. 87. 4to. edit.

8. It should be Fazil, according to Erskine's translation of Babur.

not knowing his strength, ran confusedly from place to place looking for their leaders. The alarm soon reached the house of Khwaja Kootb-ood-Deen Yehya, where Khan Wufa Mirza, governor of the city, and several Oozbuk chiefs had taken up their quarters. On hearing the noise, they all joined Sheebany Khan, who, with 7000 men, occupied the fort of Khwaja Deedar. Sheebany Khan selected a party of 150 men (commanding the rest to wait for orders), and proceeded to the iron gate; but finding that Babur had gained some thousand partisans, who rent the sky with acclamations, and being unable either by words or example to make the Oozbuks stand their ground, he passed through the opposite gate, and fled towards Bokhara, while Samarkand quietly submitted to Babur's authority.

It was on this occasion, that Mowlana Sunayee, the poet, Khwaja Abool Burkat of Samarkand, were first introduced to Babur, and subsequently accompanied his court. The following is a translation from the Commentaries of Babur, written by himself in Toorky, giving an account of the taking of Samarkand:—"Sooltan Hoossein Mirza took the fort of Hirat in a manner similar to that of my own successful attack on Samarkand; but there was a great difference in the circumstances under which we acted. In the first place, Sooltan Hoossein Mirza was an old and experienced soldier; while, on the contrary, his enemy, Yadgar Mahomed Mirza, was a youth of seventeen, without experience either in war or politics. In the second place, he was invited to take possession of Hirat by Ameer Ally Meer Akhoor, one of the most powerful of the enemy's officers. In the third place, his enemy, Yadgar Mahomed Mirza, was at the time he entered the town in a state of intoxication in one of his gardens, and the soldiery were off their guard. Thus situated, he easily succeeded in securing his person, and was immediately joined by the party of Ameer Ally Mirza, who had planned the whole enterprise.

"My situation at the capture of Samarkand was very different. I was then only nineteen, and had seen but little service; my enemy, Sheebany Khan, was an old and experienced chieftain, who had many friends, was constantly on the alert within, and was prepared to combat either in attack or intrigue, so that no one had an opportunity of inviting me, or making arrangements to favour my plans; and although I had many well-wishers in the place, yet, such was Sheebany Khan's vigilance and precau-

tion, that they were prevented from communicating with me. Besides which, his general, Khan Wufa Mirza, in command of 600 Oozbuks, (the most choice men of his army, and the faithful personal guard of Sheebany Khan) had the patrole of the night; notwithstanding all which disadvantages, I took the city, put the King to flight, and routed his army; and although my first effort failed, I did not despair, but succeeded in a second attempt, a very few hours afterwards. I do not intend by this account to extol my own actions; but in writing a history of my military career, it is proper I should state things as they really occurred."

Let it not be concealed from my readers, that this exploit of Babur very much resembles that of his ancestor, Ameer Teimoor Korkan, who with two hundred and forty-three men attacked and carried the fort of Koorshy by assault; but Babur seems not to have alluded to this circumstance, from the apprehension of being thought presumptuous in comparing his actions with those of that great captain. At that time there was no governor ruler in Koorshy. The two chieftains, Meer Hoossein and Meer Moosa, were encamped outside of the fort, while Mahomed Beg, a child, the son of Meer Moosa, was left in the fort. Samarkand, on the other hand, the residence of a king, was a large and well-fortified city, which no one ever conceived was to be taken by force. It is consequently denominated in all historical works, Samarkand, "the abode of safety." Koorshy, on the contrary, is a small town, governed by a darogha; so that the difference is as great as the distance of the poles!

But to return to our history: Samarkand being occupied by Babur, Sheebany Khan retired to Bokhara; and Mahomed Moorad Turkhan took this opportunity of wresting the forts of Koorshy and Khoozar[9] from the Oozbuks, while Abool Hoossein Mirza, from Mura and Kish, came and took Kurra-Kole.[10] Babur sent ambassadors to Sooltan Hoossein Mirza and other neighbouring princes, his relations, to request their aid in expelling Sheebany Khan out of Mavur-ool-Nehr; but they either paid no regard to his representations, or rendered such insufficient assistance as to be of little use. Sheebany Khan by this means re-

9. Two forts, situated within 15 miles of each other, and lying 40 miles south of Samarkand.

10. This place is situated 30 miles nearly due south from Bokhara.

covered strength during the winter, and took Kurrakole and other districts.

In the month of Shuval, A.H. 906 (March, A.D. 1499), Babur collected his whole force, together with the reinforcements which had joined him, and marched out of Samarkand to attack Sheebany Khan, whom he engaged in the neighbourhood of Karwan. On this occasion Babur evinced the qualities both of a general and a brave soldier; but being deserted by the troops of Sooltan Mahmood Khan, by Jehangeer Mirza, and by other princes who had been sent to his aid, as well as by his own troops, and left with only fifteen men, he found it in vain to contend any longer. He accordingly made good his retreat to Samarkand; having lost several officers of distinction, such as Ibrahim Turkhan, Ibrahim Sar, Abool Kasim Koh, Hydur Kasim, Ameer Kasim Kocheen, Fidayee Roomy, and Khuleel, the brother of Ahmud Tumbole, besides many others, all of whom fell in the action. Sheebany Khan now laid siege to Samarkand; and Babur took up his quarters at the college of Alugh Beg Mirza, as being the most central situation for sending orders or reinforcements. The siege was continued with great obstinacy and loss on both sides; during which time Kooch Beg Toorkoman, Gokultash Beg, and Gool Nuzr Toghay, gave extraordinary proofs of their valour. Four months passed in the attack and defence, when a famine began to rage in the city. The inhabitants subsisted on horse-flesh, and even ate dogs and cats, while those who could not procure other provisions were constrained to feed on the bark of trees.

Though Babur at the commencement of the siege had sent ambassadors to the Kings of Khorassan, Koondooz, Boklan, and Mogulistan for succours, he received no hopes of aid from them, and he was therefore under the necessity of abandoning his capital and kingdom, with about a hundred friends, in a dark night in the beginning of the year A.H. 907 (A.D. 1501). He escaped to Tashkund, whither his brother, Jehangeer Mirza, came to pay his respects. His maternal uncle, Sooltan Mahmood Khan, also comforted him in his distress, entertaining him in a princely manner, and giving him the town of Aratiba to reside in during the winter. In the beginning of the spring, Babur was again attacked by Sheebany Khan, who being unable to take Aratiba, plundered the country, and retreated to Samarkand. In this condition, Babur, unable to raise his head from his misfortunes, resided for some

time with his uncle, Sooltan Mahmood Khan, at Tashkund, till at length that chief and his brother, Ahmud Khan, known by the name of Olcha Khan, furnished troops to enable him to recover the country wrested out of his hands by Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole. When the confederates had reached the boundaries of Ferghana, Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole marched out to oppose them. It was resolved that Babur with a small detachment of Moguls should march towards Oosh, whilst his uncles attacked Ahmud Tumbole. Babur accordingly took Oosh, and was joined by some of the inhabitants of Uzkund and Furghinian, who expelled the garrisons of Sooltan Ahmud Tumbole. Babur now proceeded towards Indijan, when Ahmud Tumbole, decamping from before the confederate princes, hastened back to its relief.

Ahmud Tumbole, having by accident fallen in with Babur's camp while he was on a foraging party, was defeated, and escaped wounded to Oosh, when, throwing himself into Indijan, he prepared for its defence. The next day, the allied army of Sooltan Mahmood Khan, and Sooltan Ahmud Khan, appearing in sight, sat down before the place, where they were soon joined by Babur. Some time after this, the inhabitants of Akhsy having invited Babur, put him in possession of that place; but the allied troops, unable to reduce Indijan, were compelled to raise the siege.

In the mean time, Sheebany Khan, resolving to check the progress of Babur, advanced with an army towards Akhsy. Babur and his brother immediately joined the allies, and prepared to receive the enemy; but in the action which ensued, and which was obstinately contested, Sheebany Khan prevailed, and both the uncles of Babur were taken prisoners. Babur, escaping to Mogulistan, abandoned the kingdom of Tashkund, which fell into the hands of Sheebany Khan. Sheebany Khan, however, some time after, released Babur's two uncles. Sooltan Mahmood Khan retired from the field, and became afflicted with a complication of diseases. It is related, that when one of his friends hinted that Sheebany Khan had poisoned him, and offered to supply him with some famous tiriak[11] of Khutta as a powerful antidote, the Prince replied. "Yes," "Sheebany Khan has poisoned me indeed! He has taken away my kingdom, which it is not in the power of your teriak of Khutta to restore."

11. Tiriak is a compound medicine, of which opium forms a principal ingredient, and is used as an opiate, and to soothe pain.

Babur, leaving Mogulistan, proceeded to Khoozar and Shadman, and from thence to Toormooz, where Ameer Mahomed Bakir, uneasy at the ascendancy of the Oozbuks, availed himself of Babur's alliance. Babur still retained the command of some troops, and was received by him with great kindness. Ameer Mahomed Khan assisted him also with money. Babur, who had long been the football of fortune, and, like a king of a chess-board, moved from place to place, and buffeted about like the pebble on the sea-shore, begged the friendly advice of his host as to his future operations. Ameer Mahomed Bakir replied, that as Sheebany Khan was now in full possession of Babur's kingdom, and of many others, which rendered him extremely powerful, it seemed advisable for him to pursue his fortune elsewhere, and directed his attention to Kabul, which was now in a state of anarchy.

Babur, adopting this advice, in the year A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504), marched towards Kabul, and passing through the dominions of Khoosrow Shah, ruler of Koondooz, he was entertained by him with hospitality, as some reparation for the injuries he had formerly sustained from him. While at Koondooz, Babur induced seven thousand of Khoosrow Shah's troops to join him in his march to the southward; and Khoosrow Shah, apprehensive of Babur, fled with a few servants, and took protection with Budee-ool-Zeman.[12] On this occasion, three or four thousand Mogul families, together with part of the treasure of Khoosrow Shah, fell into the hands of Babur, who availing himself of these advantages, proceeded direct to the south.

Kabul had been long in the hands of Alugh Beg Mirza, one of the sons of Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza, who dying in the year 907 (A.D. 1501) and leaving an infant son, Abdool Ruzak Mirza, the whole management of his affairs fell into the hands of one Zuky Beg, who having disgusted the other nobles, was assassinated in the month Zeehuj. This circumstance occasioned great convulsions in the kingdom; for Mahomed Mokeem, the youngest son of Ameer Zoolnoon, prince of Gurmseer, taking advantage of the intestine divisions of the Kabulies, invaded their country with an army of Huzaras, and forcing Abdool Ruzak Mirza to take shelter among the Afghans, took quiet possession of Kabul, and married the daughter of Alugh Beg Mirza. Affairs were in

12. Ruler of Mawur-ool-Nehr.

this state when Babur, arriving on the borders of Kabul, drove Mahomed Mokeem from the field, and forced him to take refuge in the city, which Babur besieged and took. He then applied himself to regulate and improve the country, as belonging to himself.

On the 1st of Mohurrum, A.H. 911 (June 3, A.D. 1505), Kootloogh Nigar Khan, the mother of Babur, died at Kabul. In this year also the inhabitants of Kabul were thrown into great consternation by dreadful earthquakes, which laid many cities in ruins. Babur endeavoured to alleviate the public calamity in such a manner by his unwearied care and extensive benevolence, that he gained the love and attachment of his new subjects. The ambition of Babur, however, could not rest; he accordingly led an army against the Arghoons, and having deprived them of the strong fort of Kilat, established an alliance with Buddee-ooz-Zeman Mirza. He marched in the same year to the Kishlakat-i-Huzara, the inhabitants of which he brought into subjection, and conferred the government of Ghizny on his brother Jehangeer; but after some time, the latter, quitting Ghizny without permission, came to Kabul, and on meeting with a reproof from Babur, he departed suddenly, and proceeded into the Kishlakat-i-Huzara.

In the year A.H. 912 (A.D. 1506), Babur marched towards Khorassan to join Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, who, ashamed of his former behaviour, and irritated by fresh injuries from Sheebany Khan, now proposed to Babur, that they should unite in alliance against the Oozbuks. On the road, however, he was induced to return, to take measures against Jehangeer Mirza. The officers of Jehangeer, perceiving the intention of Babur, deserted the Prince, who thought fit to come to his brother Babur's camp, where he procured pardon, and went with the army towards Khorassan. But no sooner had Babur reached Murv than he heard of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza's death. It is stated in the Wakaya Babury (Commentaries of Babur), that out of respect alone for the family of the Mirza, Babur proceeded to Khorassan, and endeavoured to induce the princes and nobles to act against the Oozbuks. Babur was not wholly without motives for this conduct, for he was naturally desirous of bringing the Oozbuks to action, and consequently pushed on till he reached Moorghab, where the Khorassanies were encamped. On the 8th of Jumad-ool-Akhir, A.H. 912 (Sept. 24, A.D. 1506). Moozuflur Hoossein

Mirza and Abool Hussun Mirza were directed by Buddee-ool-Zuman Mirza to meet and congratulate him on his arrival, and to escort him to the camp of Buddee-ool-Zuman Mirza; but the princes and officers of Khorassan, little inclined to face the Oozbuks in battle, proposed that, as the weather was extremely hot, they should retire to their cool summer retreats. Babur proceeded in the first place to Hirat, where having remained some time with Buddee-ool-Zuman Mirza, he returned in the autumn to Kabul. The snow falling heavily at this season, he with difficulty reached the country of the Huzaras, with whom he was compelled to fight, and force his passage to his capital.

While Babur was engaged with the Huzaras, Mahomed Hoossein Korkan, Sunjur Birlas, and other Mogul officers in Kabul, promoted the pretensions of Khan Mirza to the throne, by fabricating false intelligence of the King's death. He was both uncle and cousin of Babur. But when the news of Babur's return reached the people, they rebelled against the new government; and, as soon as the season permitted his approach, flocking to his standard, they put all the garrisons into his hands except the capital, where Khan Mirza and his adherents sustained a short siege, but eventually fled, and took protection with the descendants of Ameer Zoolnoon, while Mahomed Hoossein Khan fled in the direction of Furrah and Seestan. At this time, Nasir Mirza, Babur's youngest brother, who held the government of Budukhshan, being defeated by one of the generals of Sheebany Khan, came to Kabul; and as Jehangeer Mirza, about the same period, died from excess of drinking, the government of Ghizny was conferred on Nasir Mirza.

In the year A.H. 931 (A.D. 1507), Babur marched against the Khiljies, a race which infested his country; and having taken from them 100,000 sheep, and some thousands of other cattle, returned to his capital. The nobles of the house of Arghoon, being greatly oppressed by the Oozbuks, now wrote to Babur, that if he would send troops for the purpose, they would put him in possession of Kandahar. Babur instantly proceeded in that direction, and on reaching Kilat, Khan Mirza begged permission to be admitted into his presence, and receiving his pardon, accompanied him on the expedition. Having reached the borders of Kandahar, Babur wrote to Shah Beg Arghoon and to Mahomed Mokeem, that he was so far on his way according to their desire,

and that, therefore, he expected to see them in his camp. Since the time of their inviting Babur, however, some alteration in their politics had taken place, and they repented of the application they had made: so that instead of receiving the King in a friendly manner, they prepared to oppose him.

Babur engaged his treacherous allies at the village of Khuttuk, near the city of Kandahar; and having defeated them with great slaughter, cut off their retreat from the city. Shah Beg fled to Yesawul, and Mahomed Mokeem towards Zumeen-Dawur. Babur laid siege to Kandahar, and took it, with all the wealth of the family of Ameer Zoolnoon, which he divided by weight amongst his officers and troops according to their rank; after which, leaving Nasir Mirza, his brother, in the government of Kandahar and Zumeen Dawur, Babur returned in triumph to Kabul.

Mahomed Mokeem joined Sheebany Khan, and prevailed on him to march against Nasir Mirza; who, on receiving this intelligence, shut himself up in Kandahar, and sent expresses to his brother for assistance. Babur enjoined him to defend the place till the last; but, if he should be driven to extremity, to capitulate, and join him at Kabul. Babur stated, at the same time, that he was in no condition to dispute the field with Sheebany Khan, whose resources were so greatly superior to his own; besides, that a defeat might ruin him for ever, and overset the design he had formed of establishing himself in Hindoostan.

Some of his nobles advised him to endeavour to occupy Budukhshan in preference, while others approved of the attack on Hindoostan. Babur adopted the latter plan, and began his march towards India. He was detained for some time among the mountains, and finding his means deficient, he, for the present, gave up his intention, and returned to Kabul. Nasir Mirza, according to his instructions, finding he could hold out no longer with propriety in Kandahar, capitulated, and joined the King at Kabul. Sheebany Khan, after taking the town of Kandahar, ordered Abdoolla Sooltan, one of his chiefs, to persevere till he got possession of the fort also, and then directed him to make it over to the family of Ameer Zoolnoon, while he himself marched with his army towards Khorassan. Shortly after this, the fort of Kandahar also fell, and was restored to the Arghoons.

On the 4th of Zeekad A.H. 913 (March 7, A.D. 1508), Babur had a son born to him in Kabul, whom he named Hoomayoon.

In the year, A.H. 914 (A.D. 1508), he took the field against the Meimundy Afghans; but, during his absence, the Moguls of Khoosrow Shah, who had been left to defend Kabul, revolting, raised the King's cousin Abdool Ruzak Mirza, the son of his uncle Alugh Beg Mirza, to the throne. Babur was now suddenly deserted by the greatest part of his army; who, hearing of the rebellion in Kabul, hastened to join their families: insomuch, that out of upwards of 10,000 horse, which he carried to the field, scarcely 500 men remained with him.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, Babur boldly advanced towards Kabul, with the few trusty friends he had with him. Abdool Ruzak Mirza marched out to oppose him; but Babur, with his small band, attacking the enemy with impetuosity, defeated them, and with his own hand slew the following chiefs: Ally Shubkoor, Ally Seestancy, Nuzr Bahadur Oozbuk, Yakoot Sheer Chung, and Oozbuk Bahadur. Abdool Ruzak Mirza was taken prisoner; but so great was Babur's clemency on this occasion, that he pardoned him, though soon after Abdool Ruzak again engaged in rebellion, and suffered death.

The country of Khoosrow Shah, ruler of Koondooz, having fallen into the hands of the Oozbuks, who took no proper means of keeping it in subjection, a number of independent chiefs arose in Budukhshan, of whom the principal was one Zoobeir. In this state of affairs Khan Mirza, the son of Khoosrow Shah, was influenced by his mother, Shah Begum, who traced her descent from the ancient kings of Budukhshan, to take measures to raise himself to the throne of that kingdom. Having previously obtained the consent of Babur, he left Kabul, and raising a small army, advanced towards the borders of Budukhshan. His mother, who came up in the rear, was intercepted by a body of Kashghar troops, made prisoner, and carried off to Aba Bukr Mirza of Kashghar. Khan Mirza, in the mean time, was seized by Zoobeir, who kept him also in confinement. Yoosoof Ally Gokultash, an old servant of Khan Mirza, however, having formed a conspiracy against Zoobeir, assassinated him, and elevated Khan Mirza to the throne. It is mentioned in the Wakaya Babury, that the Kings of Budukhshan, from whom Shah Begum was descended, traced their pedigree from Alexander the Great, son of Philip.

In the year A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510), Shah Ismael Sufvy, King of Persia, wrote to Sheebany Khan to withdraw his troops from some parts of his dominions, on which the Oozbuks had made encroachments. Sheebany Khan replied, that it was only for those who were descended from kings to entertain thoughts of empire; but it was true Shah Ismael had raised himself to the throne, when there was no such prince as himself in his neighbourhood to oppose him; but that now he should recommend his retiring to his former obscurity; and that, for that purpose, he sent him a staff and a beggar's dish, the badges of his inheritance. "For," added he, "those only like myself are worthy of possessing the bride of sovereignty, who dare kiss her through opposing swords." Shah Ismael replied, that if empire was an inheritance, it would never have left the race of the Peshdadians. That by the same rule, Chungiz Khan would never have attained empire, nor Sheebany Khan himself succeeded to the throne he had overturned. That, for his own part, he had always considered the right of kings as founded on power, and that the longest sword was the best title. That with the latter he was at all times ready to contend with such as Sheebany Khan; and that, though he himself had no disposition to a display of ostentation, yet, in return for Sheebany Khan's present, he had sent him a spinning-wheel for his amusement. "As for the rest," added he, "I shall be my own messenger."

Having dispatched this communication, Shah Ismael marched eastward, and expelled the Oozbuks from Khorassan. He did not halt till he reached Murv, where Sheebany Khan sustained a siege, and being severely reproached by Shah Ismael for remaining within the walls, he marched out and gave him battle, but was defeated. In his flight he had the misfortune to be overtaken, and surrounded in a walled park, with about 500 relatives and Oozbuk chiefs, from whence there was no escape: he was attacked by the Kuzilbashies of Shah Ismael, and in this situation he and all his followers were put to the sword.

Khan Mirza dispatched accounts of this important event from Budukhshan to Babur, and went himself to Koondooz, to influence him to recover his former dominions. Accordingly, in the year A.H. 917 (A.D. 1511), Babur Marched towards Khoozar, and crossed the Oxus, in company with Khan Mirza. An army of Oozbuks lay encamped near Budukhshan, which Babur not being

able to attack, was obliged to retreat to Koondooz. Shah Ismael at this time sent Khanzada Begum (Babur's sister) to him. This Princess had been made prisoner at the capture of Samarkand by Sheebany Khan, who afterwards married her. She was now restored, with all her property, and sent from Murv to Koondooz. On her arrival, she gave so flattering an account of the generous conduct of Shah Ismael, that Babur hoped to induce him to lend his assistance in reinstating him in his hereditary kingdom. He accordingly deputed Khan Mirza as ambassador, with proper presents to Shah Ismael's court, and himself, marched towards Khoozar. Finding the Oozbuks strongly posted at that place, he declined attacking them till reinforced. His troops arriving, Babur advanced to the Oozbuk camp, and offered them battle. An action ensued, wherein Babur obtained a complete victory, for which he was mainly indebted to Khan Mirza, who had rejoined him. In a few days after, Babur was joined by Ahmud Sooltan Soofy, Ally Koolly Khan Oostajloo,[13] and Sharokh Afshar, with a fine body of cavalry, on the part of the King of Persia, so that his army now amounted to 60,000 horse. With this force having taken Koondooz, Khoozar, and Boklan, Babur marched towards Bokhara, and after several successful actions with Abdulla Sooltan and Jany Beg Sooltan, he subdued that kingdom. On the 15th of Rujub A.H. 917 (October 9, A.D. 1511), he marched from Bokhara to Samarkand, which city surrendered to him the third time, and acknowledged him as its sovereign. Babur, having fixed his residence at Samarkand, appointed Nasir Mirza, his borther, to the government of Kabul, and gave permission to the troops of Persia to return. Babur had not been seated on his new throne, however, above nine months, when the Oozbuks, who had fled to Toorkistan, returned under Teimoor Sooltan, who succeeded to the government of Sheebany Khan. On receiving these advices, Babur marched to defend Bokhara, in the vicinity of which place he engaged the Oozbuks; but was defeated, and obliged to shut himself

13. The Tartar tribes of Oostajloo, Afshar, Kajar, and others, which are occasionally mentioned as coming from Persia, had by this time become naturalised in that country, and were portions of those hordes which had invaded it, and remained there from the time of the Suljookies. Their numbers were subsequently increased by the hordes which Chungiz and Teimoor led; and at the present day we see Tartar kings reigning alike in China, India, Persia, and Constantinople, over nations of foreigners.

up within the walls of the city, which, in the end, he abondoned, and retreated to Samarkand. Herein he was again besieged, and compelled to fall back on Khoozar and Shadman.

About this time Nujm-ool-Sany, of Isfahan, a Persian general, advanced with the intention of occupying Bulkh; and Babur, fully bent on recovering his paternal dominions, made common cause with him. Nujm-ool-Sany, having taken the fort of Furas from the Oozbuks, put the garrison, consisting of 15,000 men, to the sword, and laid siege to Kujdiwan, in conjunction with Babur. Shortly after, a body of Oozbuks advanced against them from Bokhara. Fortune being still adverse to Babur, Nujm-ool-Sany and the greater portion of his army were cut off, and Babur was compelled to fly to Khoozar with a few attendants. Nor were his misfortunes confined to defeat by the enemy; for having reproached his troops with their misconduct, they conspired against his life, and a party rushing into his tent at midnight attempted to assassinate him. Babur, aroused by the opposition of his guard, made his escape, and reached the citadel of Khoozar before morning, without one attendant: the conspirators then plundered his camp, and dispersed. In this situation, seeing little hope of success in the north, Babur proceeded direct to Kabul, with a small retinue. On his arrival, he reinstated Nasir Mirza in the government of Ghizny. In the year A.H. 924 (A.D. 1518), he marched towards Swad and Bejowr, then possessed by the Afghans of the tribe of Yoosoofzye. He defeated those mountaineers, and carrying some thousands of them away with him, he intrusted the management of that country to Khwaja Kulan.

On the death of Sikundur Lody, King of Hindoostan, he was succeeded, as we have already related, by his son Ibrahim. In his reign, the Afghan chiefs settled in India nearly subverted his power; and Babur deemed it a favourable opportunity to establish himself in a quarter, the conquest of which he had long meditated. He failed, however, in four successive campaigns; but eventually succeeded in his fifth and last attempt, which we shall proceed to detail. Babur's first campaign took place in the year A.H. 925 (A.D. 1519). On that occasion he marched his army as far as the Indus, to where it is called the Neelab; he overran with his troops all the countries on his route, and crossing the river, advanced to Berah in Punjab. In this province he levied a contribution of 400,000 sharookhies on the inhabitants, instead of permitting his

troops to plunder. From Berah he deputed one Mowlana Moorshid to Ibrahim Lody, acquainting him, that as the Punjab had been frequently in the possession of the house of Teimoor, it was fit he should relinquish his pretensions to it, and thus prevent the war from being carried farther into India. At this place Babur received accounts of the birth of a son, while preparing to invade. Hind, whom he caused to be called Hindal Mirza. Having appointed Hussun Beg Atka governor of the countries which he had subdued, as far as the Chunab, he marched in person against the Gukkurs, and laid siege to the fort of Birhala. The Gukkurs sallied, but were defeated by Dost Beg Mogul; and the King in person, cutting off their retreat to the fort, compelled them to fly to the mountains. The fort of Birhala, in which was considerable treasure, fell, without further opposition, to Babur; in which having left Mahomed Ally, he returned to Kabul.

In the latter end of the same year, Babur returned a second time towards Hindoostan, in order to reduce Lahore. On the route, he defeated the Yoosoofzye Afghans, who endeavoured to oppose his progress. On reaching Pishawur, he caused that fort to be repaired, and proceeded to the Indus. Intelligence was now brought that Sooltan Syeed, the King of Kashghar, was in full march towards Budukhshan, which induced Babur to return. At the same time he left Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, Bin Sooltan Ooveis, Bin Kirany, Bin Munsoor, Bin Oomr Sheikh, Bin Ameer Teimoor,[14] with 40,000 horse, to prosecute the war in the East. Babur had scarcely reached Kabul, when he learned that the King of Kashghar had retreated. His attention being directed to the Afghans of the tribe of Khizr Kheil, who had made depredations on Kabul during his absence, he entered and sacked their country, and returned to his capital.

In the year A.H. 926 (A.D. 1520), Babur marched a third time towards India, attacking the Afghans on his route. On reaching Sealkote the inhabitants submitted, and thus saved their property from plunder: not so the people of Syudpoor, who making a vigorous defence, the garrison was put to the sword, and their families carried into captivity. Babur was here met by intelligence of an army from Kandahar having invaded the territory of Kabul; abandoning, therefore, his projects in India, he ret[illegible]

14. See genealogy of the house

capital, and not only expelled the invaders, but pursued, them, and laid siege to Kandahar. In the mean time he received advice of the death of Khan Mirza, in Budukhshan, in whose stead Babur appointed his son Hoomayoon governor. Shah Beg Arghoon, of Kandahar, maintained the siege with great obstinacy for three years; but in the year A.H. 928 (A.D. 1522), Kandahar fell, as well as all the country of Gurmseer, into Babur's hands. The Prince Kamran Mirza, Babur's second son, was placed in charge of the government. Shah Beg Arghoon being thus compelled to seek safety in flight, retreated with a few of his tribe, and found refuge in the city of Bhukkur, the capital of Sind.

Soon after the occupation of Kandahar, Dowlut Khan Lody, an Indian chief, apprehensive of treachery on the part of Ibrahim Lody, King of Dehly, sent a deputation to wait on Babur at Kabul, offering to place Lahore in his hands. In the year A.H. 930 (A.D. 1524), Babur, having augmented his army, advanced through the territory of the Gukkurs, to within six coss of Lahore, where he was opposed by Behar Khan Lody, Moobarik Khan Lody, and Bhikun Khan Lohany, Indian officers stationed in the Punjab; but they being defeated with great slaughter, Babur entered Lahore in triumph, when he set fire to the bazar, a superstitious practice common among the Moguls. Babur remained only four days in Lahore, before he proceeded against Depalpoor. The garrison having forced him to risk an assault, he put the whole to the sword. Dowlut Khan Lody, who had been expelled from Lahore by the King of Dehly, and had taken protection among the Bulochies,[15] now joined Babur at Depalpoor, together with his three sons. He was favourably received, and being inrolled among the nobles of the court, was appointed governor of Jalendur, Sooltanpoor, and other districts of Punjab.

I have heard from persons of veracity, that this Dowlut Khan Lody[16] was a lineal descendant of the person of the same name who ascended the throne of Dehly in the year 816 (A.D. 1414). At this time, Dowlut Khan proposed to Babur to send a force to Dura Ismael Khan, where several hostile Afghan chiefs had collected a force. The King prepared to do so, when Dilawur Khan, the youngest son of Dowlut Khan Lody, acquainted Babur privately that his father and brother only wanted to separate the

15. The tribe of Buloch at this time held Mooltan in subjection.
16. Vide Vol. I. p. 292.

Mogul troops in order to fall on them. On enquiry, Babur became convinced of the truth of this information, and ordered Dowlut Khan and his son Ghazy Khan into confinement. On crossing the Sutlooj, however, and advancing to Nowshehra, he caused them to be released, and conferred the revenues of Sooltanpoor on them for their subsistence. On reaching Sooltanpoor, these chiefs, collecting their families, fled to the hills; on hearing of which circumstance, Babur conferred on Dilawur Khan the title of Khan Khanan, and gave over into his hands the family estates; but as the desertion of Dowlut Khan greatly affected Babur's interest in Hindoostan, he deemed it inadvisable to prosecute any attempt on Dehly this year. Accordingly he proceeded to Lahore, and made the following arrangements for the government of his newly-acquired provinces:—He appointed Meer Abdool Azeez, governor of Lahore; Khoosrow Gokultash, governor of Sealkote; Baba Kushka, under the orders of Sooltan Alla-ood-Deen, (brother of Ibrahim Lody, King of Dehly), was made governor of Depalpoor; and Mahomed Ally Tajeek, governor of Kulanore; after which Babur returned to Kabul.

During his absence, Dowlut Khan Lody found means to seize his son, Dilawur Khan, who had betrayed him, and put him in chains; he then marched to Depalpoor, and attacked the Prince Alla-ood-Deen Lody, brother of the King Ibrahim Lody, and defeating him, occupied his country. Alla-ood-Deen fled to Kabul, and Baba Kushka, the Mogul general, retreated to Lahore. Dowlut Khan Lody now sent 5000 Afghans to recover Sealkote; but Meer Abdool Azeez, governor of Lahore, having marched with reinforcements to the assistance of Khoosrow Gokultash, the Afghans were defeated, and Meer Abdool Azeez returned to Lahore.

Meanwhile Ibrahim Lody, King of Dehly, proceeded against Dowlut Khan and his son; but such was the influence of these officers, that they contrived to sow dissensions in the King's camp at Bejwara, and gained over a part of the troops: the remainder were compelled to return to Ibrahim Lody without risking a battle. Alla-ood-Deen Lody, who, having lost Depalpoor, had fled to Kabul, now returned to Lahore, conveying Babur's orders to his officers in those parts to join him with their forces, and to march towards Dehly; and Babur promised that he would support them in person as soon as his affairs in Kabul should permit. Dowlut Khan and Ghazy Khan Lody, hearing of this determina-

tion on the part of Babur, wrote to the Mogul chiefs, that they were also prepared to espouse the cause of Alla-ood-Deen, and to aid in raising him to the throne of Dehly. The Moguls, having obtained for Babur the formal cession of all the countries west of Lahore, permitted Alla-ood-Deen to join Dowlut Khan, in order to prosecute his pretensions.

Alla-ood-Deen, with the aid of Dowlut Khan and his son, Ghazy Khan, accordingly marched to Dehly, and invested that city with 40,000 horse. His brother, the King Ibrahim Lody, advanced to oppose him from Agra, where his army was surprised in the night, and dispersed; but owing to the irregular conduct of the troops of Alla-ood-Deen after the action, they were attacked again by Ibrahim Lody, and defeated. Alla-ood-Deen retreated in great distress to Punjab. At this crisis, Ghazy Khan Lody, finding the affairs of Alla-ood-Deen on the decline, deserted his standard, and having reached Kulanore, reduced it, and encamped at the town of Pursuroor. Here he heard that Babur was again on his return to India. He first of all retreated to Mulwut, from whence, taking the road through the mountains, he had a conference with Ibrahim Lody at Dehly, with whom he remained till that monarch's death. Babur, hearing of the defeat of Alla-ood-Deen Lody, awoke from the dream of indolence and luxury in which he had for some time indulged in Kabul; and, on the 1st of Suffur of the year A.H. 932 (Nov. 15, A.D. 1525), marched the fifth time towards Hindoostan. He was joined on this occasion by his son Hoomayoon from Budukhshan, and Khwaja Kullan from Ghizny. On the route to Lahore he amused himself by hunting rhinoceroses, with which that country abounded; and thus had an opportunity of putting the personal courage of most of his chiefs to trial. Many of those animals were killed, and some taken alive.

On the 1st of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H. 932 (Dec. 15, A.D. 1525), Babur crossed the Indus, and having mustered his army on the banks of that river, he found it to consist of only 10,000 chosen horse. Proceeding thence across the Behut, he advanced to Sealkote, where he was met by Alla-ood-Deen Lody, as also by Mahomed Ally, governor of Kulanore, and Khwaja Hoossein, collector of the revenues. Dowlut Khan and his son, Ghazy Khan Lody, who considered themselves in the service of the King Ibrahim, were at this time encamped on the banks of the Ravy, near Lahore,

with an army of 40,000 men; but on Babur's approach they retreated, Dowlut Khan to the fort of Mulwut, and Ghazy Khan to the hills. Babur having invested Mulwut, it capitulated after a few days; and Dowlut Khan, who had some days before put on two swords, and boasted of the manner in which he would treat Babur, was ordered to appear with those two swords slung round his neck. Notwithstanding his conduct, the King subsequently forgave him, and took him into favour. When the gates of Mulwut were opened, the troops, eager to plunder, rushed in without orders. Babur was provoked at their conduct; and mounting his horse, galloped in among them, and was under the necessity of using violence to prevent outrage. On the spur of the moment he killed by accident an officer of rank, of his son Hoomayoon's retinue, with an arrow; and though he lamented the circumstance, it is certain his presence alone saved the honour of Dowlut Khan's family. Babur preserved, by his exertions on this occasion, a fine library collected by Ghazy Khan, who was a poet, and a man of learning.[17] On the following day he went in pursuit of Ghazy Khan; when Dilawur Khan, the son of Dowlut Khan, who had been confined by his father and brother, found means to escape, and was honourably received by Babur. Ghazy Khan was subsequently overtaken and defeated; and being followed very closely, was induced to join Ibrahim Lody at Dehly. Dowlut Khan Lody died shortly afterwards.

Babur, being fully satisfied of the dissensions which prevailed among the Afghan chiefs, determined to delay no longer his attack on Dehly; a measure to which he was invited by letters received from time to time from a few of the malecontents at the court of Ibrahim Lody. On reaching the Kuggur, he learned that Humeed Khan, on the part of the governor of Hissar-Feroza, was prepared to oppose him. He accordingly detached his son Hoomayoon, with some of his most experienced officers, to expell the governor, having effected which, Hoomayoon returned to the army. This being the first battle wherein the Prince Hoomayoon commanded, his father was overjoyed at his success, and made over to him the districts of Hissar-Feroza and Jalendur. Two days after, Mullik

17. Those persons who have witnessed the excesses of soldiers rushing to plunder, and the difficulty of restraining them, can alone form an idea of the promptitude and severity which are necessary on such occasions.

Bubun Afghan Julwany, one of Ibrahim Lody's officers, deserted his master, and joined Babur's standard with a body of three thousand horse.

Babur arrived within two stages of Shahabad when he received intelligence that Ibrahim Lody had marched out of Dehly, and that Dawood Khan and Hatim Khan, forming his vanguard, were prepared with 27,000 horse to oppose his progress, six or eight miles in advance. Babur accordingly detached Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, Mehdy Khwaja, Mahomed Sooltan, Mirza Adil, and Sooltan Mirza, with all the troops of the left wing, together with the troops of Jooneid Birlas, and Shah Hussun Birlas to meet the enemy. They encountered Dawood Khan the next morning at sunrise, and, after an obstinate conflict, put his army to flight, Hatim Khan having fallen in the pursuit. The victors took seven elephants, and a number of prisoners, whom they brought into camp; and in order to inspire terror, Babur caused them to be put to death. The main army under Babur, having arrived on the field of battle, encamped there for six days, during which he ordered his park of artillery to be linked together with leathern ropes made of raw hides, according to the practice of the armies of Asia Minor.

Ibrahim Lody's army consisted of 100,000 horse, and 100 elephants; and although that of Babur did not exceed 12,000 men, he made an attempt with 5000 horse to surprise the Indian camp by night; but finding the enemy on the alert, the enterprise failed. This circumstance encouraged Ibrahim Lody to bring on a general action, and he accordingly marched next morning to Paniput. Babur at the same time also advanced to within twelve miles of Ibrahim Lody's encampment. On the day after, being the 10th of Rujub, A.H. 932 (April 20, A.D. 1526), the two armies came in sight of each other. Babur divided his troops into two lines, composed of four divisions, with a reserve in the rear of each, and a few light horse to skirmish in front. In the first division on the right, commanded by Prince Hoomayoon, were Khwaja Kullan, Sooltan Mahomed Doldy, Hindoo Beg, Wully Beg Khazin, and Peer Kooly Seestany. In the division on the left, commanded by Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, were Mehdy Khwaja, Ghazy Sooltan, Jooneid Birlas, and Shah Hoossein Birlas. The right of the second line was commanded by Cheen Teimoor Sooltan and Mirza Mahomed Gokultash; the left by Ameer Khuleefa, Khoosrow Gokul-

tash, and Mahomed Ally. The light troops thrown out in advance were under Sooltan Mirza, the son of Khan Mirza. Abdool Azeez (Meer Akhoor) commanded the reserve of the right wing, and Wully Kurrawul the reserve of the left. Besides these, was the grand reserve in the rear of both lines, the right of which was commanded by Kasim Beg, and the left by Ally Bahadur. Babur, after having personally given orders to his generals, and marshalled the troops, took post in the centre of the first line. Ibrahim Lody drew up his forces in one solid mass, and, according to the practice of the Indians, ordered his cavalry to charge. This attack the Mogul army received so steadily, that the Indians began to slacken their pace long before they reached the enemy's line. Those divisions which advanced were repulsed; but when they attempted to retreat, they found themselves surrounded; for the two corps in reserve in rear of the Mogul line being ordered to wheel round their flanks, met in the centre, and fell upon the rear of those who had advanced, by which means the Afghans were almost all cut to pieces: 5000 men fell around the person of Ibrahim, who was found among the slain. According to the most correct accounts, 16,000 Afghans were slain in this action, though some authors have computted the number at 50,000.

Babur did not fail to make the best use of his victory. Immediately after the battle, he detached the Prince Hoomayoon, and three of his best generals, to Agra, to occupy it before the Indians could have time either to recover from their defeat or to remove their wealth. He also deputed Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, and three other generals, to march rapidly, on Dehly, to take possession of that city, while he himself came up in the rear, and arrived on the 12th of Rujub (April 22). The Khootba was read in Babur's name by Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen of Dehly, and, after surveying the city and visiting the tombs of the saints and heroes, he proceeded to Agra, where he arrived on the 22d of the same month (Rujub 22, May 2). He immediately invested the fort, still in possession of the late government, which had for its garrison the troops of Vikramajeet, the raja of Gualiar, who had been killed in the late action. So great, however, was the terror inspired by the Moguls, that the Rajpoots proposed to capitulate; and in lieu of any other ransom for the private property of individuals, Babur was content to receive a diamond, weighing eight miskals, or 224

rutties.[18] This diamond was formerly the property of Sooltan Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy of Malwa, and Babur on this occasion presented it to his son Hoomayoon. Thus, on the fifth day after his arrival, Babur was in possession of Agra, wherein he found the mother of Ibrahim Lody: she was treated with becoming respect, and permitted to retain all her wealth.

"The conquest of Hindoostan (observes Babur in his Commentaries) has been achieved by three persons since the commencement of the Mahomedan era. In the first instance, by Sooltan Mahmood of Ghizny, whose descendants ruled over India; on the second occasion, by Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory and his officers, who also long reigned over the same country; and the third time, by myself: but my success does not bear any close resemblance to those of the conquerors I have named; since, when Sooltan Mahmood Ghiznevy entered India, he was the undisputed sovereign of Mavur-ool-Nehr, Khwaruzm, and Khorassan; and if his army did not amount to 200,000 men, they exceeded 100,000 soldiers. At that time, also, no one king ruled over the country, which was divided among numerous petty rajas. In the case of Sooltan Mahomed Ghoory, although himself not a sovereign prince, yet his brother was king of Khorassan, and his troops did not amount to less than 120,000 men, with which army he subdued the country of India, then subdivided among numerous petty princes. When I first made the attempt on India, I had only 15,000

18. According to this statement, the diamond in question would weigh 672 carats. The finest diamonds in the world have been brought from India; but they are never cut to European taste, weight being more considered than symmetry.

Aurangzeeb's diamond, presented to him by Meer Joomla, weighed ... ... 900 carats.
The Emperor of Russia's diamond, being the eye of an idol at Seringham, weighs ... ... 779 carats.
The Great Mogul's diamond weighs ... ... 279 "
The Pitt diamond, cut, weighs only ... ... 137 "
but it is deemed the finest jewel of the kind in the world.
The Nassuck diamond, which was discovered among the Peshwa's treasures, dug up by the Translator of this work, only weighs about ... ... 89 "

The diamond mines of Golconda, Rawulconda, and Punna have long been neglected; and the demand for the jewel is so limited, that on very fine diamonds have of late years become known.

men with me, and eventually accomplished the conquest with 12,000 men. I was the ruler of Budukhshan, Kabul, and Kandahar; but I did not receive half the revenues of those territories, part of which absorbed a great portion of the resources in preserving it from foreign attacks. The Afghan government extended from Birah to Behar, and it could bring into the field an army of 500,000 soldiers; and that of Ibrahim Lody even, on the day of the battle, amounted to 100,000 horse, besides 1000 war elephants. Notwithstanding these circumstances, and the fact of the Oozbuks being at war with me in my rear, I ventured to attack such an enemy as Ibrahim, and having reaped the reward of my labours, I conquered Hindoostan. I do not ascribe this success to my own exertions merely; I refer it to the favour of the Almighty, who was pleased to aid me in my humble efforts."

On the 29th of Rujub A.H. 932 (May 9, A.D. 1526), having gone into the public treasury of the King of India, Babur presented his son Hoomayoon with 350,000 rupees, and to his cousin Mahomed Sooltan Mirza he gave four handsome shields, and 200,000 rupees in money, added to which, he conferred costly presents on all his chiefs, and even to the merchants who followed his camp. Besides what was distributed in camp, a great part of the treasure was sent to Kabul, to be divided among his subjects, which yielded to each a silver sharokh. This division was independent of the large sums he sent to Samarkand, Khorassan, Kasghar, Erak, Mecca, Medina, Kurbula, Nujuf, Mushud, and other holy places, in charity. Such generosity, bordering on prodigality, procured for Babur the name of Kullundur, whose practice it is to keep nothing for to-morrow.

The Afghans, apprehensive of a Mogul government, and bearing a natural aversion to that race, still refused to submit. They appeared in arms in every quarter, strengthening their forts, and refusing submission in their different provinces. Kasim Khan in Sumbhul; Ally Khan Firmully in Mewat; Zeitoon Khan in Dholpoor; Tartar Khan in Gualiar; Hossein Khan Lohany in Rabery; Kootub Khan in Etawa; Alum Khan in Kalpy; Nizam Khan in Byana; and Nasir Khan Lohany and Maroof Khan Firmully on the east bank of the Ganges. All these chiefs refused to acknowledge Babur's authority, and uniting for mutual support, they elected Behar Khan, the son of Duria Khan Lody, their king, with the title of Sooltan Mahomed, and forming a junction at Kunowj,

advanced towards Agra. At this time also, Bubun Khan Julwany, the Afghan chief, who had joined Babur, deserted with all his adherents, and the very inhabitants of the country around Agra cut off the Mogul foraging parties, and rendered it difficult to support the cavalry, or to supply the troops with provisions. Added to these circumstances was the intolerable heat of the weather, from which many of the Moguls, unaccustomed to the climate, died.

In this situation of affairs, Babur was strongly urged by Khwaja Kullan and other chiefs to return to Kabul; but he replied, "That a kingdom which had cost him so much pains in taking, should not be wrested from him but by death." He immediately issued an order, stating his determination to remain in India, permitting, at the same time, those persons who were desirous of returning to Kabul, and who preferred safety to glory, to retire; retaining with him only such soldiers whose valour would reflect honour on themselves, and their king and country. This order had the desired effect: all murmurs ceased; and the officers, one and all, swore never to forsake him, with the exception only of Khwaja Kullan, whose reputation being already well established, he was permitted to withdraw for the sake of his health, and was appointed governor of Kabul and Ghizny, on account of the services he had rendered. It being now known publicly, that Babur had determined not to quit Hindoostan, as his ancestor Teimoor had done before, several officers of the late government began to come over to him, such as Sheikh G'hoorun, with 3000 horse from Dooab, and Ally Khan Mewatty from Mewat. The last chief was induced to adopt this step in order to procure the release of his scns who had been taken in the battle. Lastly were Feroze Khan, and Sheikh Bayezeed Firmully.

At the same time also, Kasim Khan of Sumbhul, being besieged by the Afghans, invited Babur to receive him under his protection. The King accordingly deputed Mirza Mahomed Gokultash to his aid: the confederate troops were defeated, and Kasim Khan placed Sumbhul in possession of the Moguls. Measures were now taken to attack the confederated army, and the Prince Hoomayoon, with the greatest part of the Mogul troops, was detached against the Afghans, whose forces amounted to fifty thousand horse. On the Prince's approach, the Afghans retreated to Joonpoor, and Futteh Khan, the late Kings' minister, joined

Hoomayoon. Futteh Khan was sent to Babur at Agra, and became the means of inducing several other Afghan chiefs to submit.

Nizam Khan, governor of Byana, though pressed hardly by Rana Sanka, who was endeavouring to become master of that province, still refused to submit to Babur. Baba Koolly Sooltan marched against him with a force, but was unfortunately defeated. Rana Sanka, soon after, having reduced Nizam Khan of Byana to great extremities, that chief sent a deputation to Babur, requesting his aid, for which he was ready to pay him due homage. The King did not hesitate to accept his allegiance, and sending a force to expel Rana Sanka, Nizam Khan was confirmed in possession of Byana, which was settled upon him, with all its dependencies, in consideration of his paying an annual tribute of twenty lacks of rupees.

Tartar Khan, a descendant of Sarung Khan, was now in possession of the fort of Gualiar; but being besieged by the Raja of that country, he solicited the aid of Babur. The detachment of troops sent by Babur defeated the Raja; but Tartar Khan, repenting of his promise of submission, delayed to put the Mogul troops in possession. In the fort was one Sheikh Mahomed Ghows, a learned man, who had a number of students under him, and who wrote to the Mogul general to endeavour to introduce himself singly into the fort, promising that he would then find means of accomplishing his object. For this purpose, the Mogul general stated to Tartar Khan, that the enemy being all around, it was desirable to bring his troops under protection of the fort, for fear of a surprise, and requested that he might be permitted to pay a visit to the learned man in the fort. This being acceded to, the Mogul was admitted without suspicion. During his visit, he sent word to the governor from time to time, requesting permission for such and such officers to be admitted also, till at length Tartar Khan desired the offiecr of the guard to use his own discretion in admitting whom he chose. The officer of the guard, a disciple of the philosopher, and who was privy to the plot, availed himself of this order to permit every body the Moguls wished to pass in, till at length all the chosen men of the detachment were within the garrison before the entertainment was ended. Tartar Khan was called on to give up the place, and threatened with instant death in case of refusal; and he, making a virtue of necessity, replied, that had he not intended doing so, he should

not have permitted its occupation without resistance. Tartar Khan proceeded in person to Agra, and entered into the service of Babur. Zeitoon Khan also, having surrendered Dholpoor, was placed in command of a body of troops, having previously sworn allegiance to Babur. Not long after these transactions, Humeed Khan, Sarung Khan, and other Afghans, created an insurrection in Hissar Feroza; but the sudden arrival of Cheen Teimoor Sooltan against them soon put an end to all opposition.

In the year 983 (A.D. 1575), Khwaja Asud, who had gone as ambassador from Kabul, to congratulate Shah Tamasp, King of Persia, on his accession, returned to court, accompanied by Sooliman Khan Toorkoman. This officer brought with him, among other presents, two Circassian maids, of whom the King became greatly enamoured. At this time, the mother of Ibrahim Lody, who had hitherto been treated with much kindness, formed a design to poison Babur, and seduced the King's taster and cook to effect her object by putting poison into some hare soup: the King, after eating a few spoonsful, nauseated the food, and immediately vomited, which saved his life. After proper enquiry, both the taster and the cook avowed their share in the transaction; and in order to ascertain the truth, a dog was brought, who having eaten of the soup, was seized with convulsions, and died. Two of the under cooks were also made to partake of the broth, and their lives were saved only by the greatest precautions: on this, the taster and head cook, with several of their assistants, were put to the torture. The whole plot was revealed, and the mother of Ibrahim, being cast into prison, all her wealth was confiscated. One of Ibrahim Lody's sons, too, was sent at the same time to Kabul, which left Babur without any further apprehensions from that family. The Prince Hoomayoon having defeated the Afghans at Joonpoor, left Sooltan Jooneid Birlas in that quarter, and on returning to Agra, induced Alum Khan, governor of Kalpy, to submit, and to accompany him to court, where he was received with due honours.

The King was at this time suddenly roused by information that Rana Sanka, Hussun Khan Mewatty, Rawul Dew Raja of Bagur, and Medny Ray Raja of Chundery, espousing the cause of Mahmood, a son of the late King Sikundur Lody, had collected a force of a hundred thousand horse, in order to re-establish the Afghan dynasty. Babur, having little dependence on the Indian

chiefs who had joined him, detached them to defend different provinces, and with his own Moguls hastened to meet the enemy: his vanguard falling in with theirs in the neighbourhood of Byana, after a sharp conflict, was repulsed by the Afghans, with great loss, which struck unusual terror into the King's small army. Kasim Khan, deserting Babur, repaired to Sumbhul; and every day brought disagreeable intelligence from all quarters: nor did the predictions of one Mahomed Shureef, an astrologer, tend to remove the general consternation. This man asserted that the planet Mars was to be seen every evening in the west, and consequently that whoever marched in that direction would be overthrown. Babur, perceiving this rumour affected the minds of his troops, called a council of war, in which most of his officers gave it as their opinion, that, owing to the superior numbers of the enemy, it was advisable, after leaving a strong garrison in Agra, to retreat for the present to Punjab. Babur, after some reflection, asked the chiefs, "What will all the Mahomedan kings in the world say of a monarch, whom the fear of death obliged to abandon such a kingdom? It is more consistent with true heroism to reconcile ourselves to martyrdom, and to exert ourselves with all our hearts; for," said he, "as it is certain the soul must of necessity quit the body, it is fit that it should do so with honour; for the whole object of a man's life should be, that when he dies he may leave behind him a spotless name." The whole assembly, as if inspired with one soul, cried out, "War ! war !" King, who had been formerly much addicted to wine, made a vow publicly to drink on more, should he prove victorious in this campaign; and orders were accordingly issued to prohibit its sale in the camp, not more, perhaps, from adherence to his oath, than to keep the soldiers cool for action.

On Tuesday the 9th of Jumad-ool-Akhir of the year 933 (March 21, A.D. 1526), which happened to be the vernal equinox, Babur formed his line of battle, according to the custom of Room (Asia Minor), with his carriages and artillery in his front: in that order he moved towards the enemy, who lay at the distance of six miles. After proceeding two miles he halted, and encamped. Several young warriors, fond of distinguishing themselves, issued out under the command of Mullick Hossein, Mahomed Kassim, and Baba Kushka Mogul, to skirmish with the enemy's light troops and piquets, among whom they did considerable execution. On

the next day, being the third of the month, the King having proceeded two miles further, marked out his camp at the village of Kanwa,[19] in the neighbourhood of Byana; but his tents were scarcely pitched, when he perceived the enemy approaching. He marshalled his line, in the manner which he had for some days before practised, and in a few minutes he was forced to receive the shock of the enemy. The army was chiefly drawn up by Nizam-ood-Deen Ally, whom Babur considered his ablest general; and this order of battle being on account of circumstances different from the former, we shall describe it in detail.

The line, which upon this occasion was single, was divided; the King, at the head of the life-guards, took post in front of his park of artillery, and commanded in person.

In the right wing were Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, Sooliman Shah, Khwaja Dost Khazin, Yoonoos Ally Beg, Shah Munsoor Birlass, Dervish Mahomed Sar, Abdoolla Kitabdar, and Dost Beg Aka, with their several squadrons.

In the left wing were the Prince Alum Khan (a son of Bheilole Lody), Sheikh Zein Sudr, Mohib Ally, Tardy Beg, Sheer-Afkun Khan, Arayish Khan, Khwaja Hoossein Dewan, besides other chiefs, who occupied each a particular post assigned to him.

The advanced guard was under the personal command of the prince Hoomayoon, his right being composed of the troops of Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, Ahmud Yoosoof, Hindoo Beg Kocheen, Khoosrow Gokultash, Mullik Kasim, Baba Kushka Mogul, Kuwam Beg, the son of Shah Wully Khazin, Mirza Kumar Ally, Peer Koolly Seestany, Khwaja Pheilwan Budukshy, Abdool Shukoor, and Sooliman Aka, the ambassador to Erak, and Hoossein Aka, the envoy to Seestan. The left was composed of the troops under Meer Shah Mahomed Gokultash, Khwajgy Assud, Khan Khanan[20] (the son of Dowlut Khan Lody), Mullik Dawood Kirany, and Sheik G'hoorun, each occupying their respective posts.

The reserve was intrusted to Syeed Khwaja, on whose right and left the following chiefs took post; viz. Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, Adil Sooltan, Abdool Azeez (Meer Akhoor), Mahomed Ally Jeng Jeng, Kootloogh Khan, Ameer Khan Mogul, Jany Beg

19. This village lies on the Bangunga river, four miles south of Bhurtpoor.

20. This is the same person denominated Dilawur Khan, Khan Khanan.

Atka, Julal Khan, and Kumal Khan (the sons of the prince Alla-ood-Deen Lody), Ally Khan Firmully, and Nizam Khan, of Byana.

Besides these, was a separate rear-guard under the command of Tardy Beg Atka, under whom was Roostoom Khan Toorkoman, and his corps of Noweenans or Nooyans.[21]

The Bukhshy[22] of the camp, Sooltan Mahomed, together with numerous Yesawuls[23] and attendants to convey orders, attended the person of the King.

About ten o'clock in the forenoon the action commenced. The left of the enemy charging the right of the Moguls, engaged hand to hand with the troops of Gokultash Khan, and made them give ground; but Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, receiving orders to support them, turned the scale in favour of Babur. According to the practice of the Choghtays,[24] the wings wheeled up on each flank, and the reserve supported those engaged, wherever assistance was required; while from the centre the artillery under the command of Oostad Ally Kooly Roomy, hurled destruction on all sides.

The enemy fought with desperate valour till Babur, perceiving a favourable opportunity, charged with his personal guards, like a lion rushing from his lair, and after an obstinate conflict compelled the Indians to give way. Hussun Khan Mewatty, whose family had been distinguished for nearly 200 years, was killed by a musket ball; Rawul Dew Raja of Bagur, Chundur Bhan, Manuk Chund Chowhan, and Kurn Sing Rajpoot, each powerful princes of the enemy, were numbered among the slain; while Rana Sanka escaped with the utmost difficulty from the field of battle. The King, immediately after the victory, assumed the title of Ghazy, and, in order to perpetuate the commemoration of the victory, ordered a pyramid, composed of the heads of the slain, to be raised on an eminence near the field. To the astrologer Mahomed Shureef (after being severely reprimanded for his false prediction) he presented a lack of rupees, but compelled him to quit the Kingdom.

From hence Babur marched towards Mewat, where Nahir Khan, the son of Hussun Khan Mewatty, seeing no other means

21. The Nooyans are a Tartar tribe; but I am not sure whether they are Toorks or Moguls.

22. Bukhshy, chief of the staff.

23. Yesawul, aid-de-camp.

24. The race of Chungiz Khan.

of safety, submitted. The government of Mewat was conferred upon Cheen Teimoor Sooltan and his tribe. After which, Babur returned to Agra, and detached his son the Prince Hoomayaan to Kabul, with orders to add Bulkh to that province. Mahomed Ally Sooltan and Tardy Beg were also ordered to proceed against Hoossein Khan and Duria Khan, Afghans, who still kept possession of Chundwara and Rabery. On the approach of the Moguls, the Afghans flying, Hoossein Khan was drowned in crossing the Jumna, but Duria Khan escaped. Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, the King's cousin, was also detached at the same time to Kunowj, against Bubun Khan Afghan, who fled from thence to Khyrabad.

On the 29th of Zeehuj, in the year 934 (Sept. 12, A.D. 1528), the King marched by the route of Kole to Sumbhul, and having diverted himself with the amusement of the chase, returned to his capital, where he was for a time ill of a fever; but having recovered, he proceeded towards Chundery, then occupied by Medny Ray with a strong garrison of Rajpoots. The place being invested, the Rajpoots sallied out on the second day, and attacked the King; but they paid dear for their rashnses, and lost six thousand men. Those who returned after this defeat into the fort, seeing no hopes of defending it, murdered their wives and children, according to custom. Among those who lost their lives on this occasion, was Medny Ray himself. The empty fort thus fell into the hands of the Mgouls, and Babur did not fail to rebuild and repair those mosques in Chundery, Sarungpoor, Runtunbhore, and Raisein, which had been partly destroyed and otherwise injured by being converted into cattle-sheds, by Medny Ray's orders. He also restored those countries to their legitimate sovereign, Sooltan Ahmud, the son of Sooltan Mahomed, and grandson of Sooltan Nasir-ood-Deen Khiljy, King of Malwa.

Advices were about this time received, that a body of troops which had been sent against the Afghan chiefs had unnecessarily brought on an action, and were defeated. The King, therefore, marched in person towards Kunowj, and met his defeated troops at Rabery. Having reached the Ganges, he collected thrity or forty boats, and threw a bridge over it, so that Cheen Teimoor Sooltan commenced crossing that night. The enemy on the opposite bank, after a faint resistance, gave way, and Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, pursuing them, took part of their baggage.

and a number of their families and followers were made prisoners.

The King after this victory hunted for a few days along the banks of the Ganges, and then returned to Agra. He appointed Mahomed Zuman Mirza, the son of Budee-ooz-Zuman Mirza (who had lately been expelled from Bulkh), governor of Agra.

On the 5th of Mohurrum, in the year 935 (Sept. 19, A.D. 1528), Babur commenced a tour through his new kingdom. He first took the route of Gualiar, and viewed there the fortifications, the stone-elephant, and the palace of Raja Man Sing. He then visited the gardens of Raheem Dad, and having admired some extremely fine scarlet oleandar flowers, he ordered a few of the plants to be conveyed to Agra. The usual colour of this plant resembles that of the peach-blossom; but the scarlet oleander is rarely to be met with. During his stay, he went in state to the great mosque built by the Emperor Altmish, for whose soul he ordered prayers to be read, and he returned by another route to Agra.

In the Wakaya Babury the King writes, "On the 23rd of Suffur, A.H. 935 (Nov. 7, A.D. 1530), I was taken unwell, and with difficulty was able to remain in the musjid during prayers on Friday. On Sunday, I had a good deal of fever. It was on this occasion I commenced to transpose into poetry the work of Khwaja Abdool Ahrar; and it occurred to me, if I succeeded so as to please that holy man, I might through his intercession get over my disease; and so in the end it turned out, for I shortly after lost all the symptoms I had of epilepsy, and completely recovered. The metre is that of the Remul Moosudus Mujnoon, the same in which Mowlana Jamy has written his poem entitled Saboosha. At this period of my life I used to have frequent attacks of fever, from which I seldom recovered under a month or six weeks. On the present occasion I obtained relief on the 8th of Rubbee-ool-Awul (Nov. 20)." Babur says he offered up public thanks to God for the restoration of his health, and made a great feast upon the occasion. He distributed magnificent presents among his nobles and foreign ambassadors, and bestowed large sums to gladden the hearts of the poor. During this festival, Khoond-Emir, the author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer, Mowlana Shuhab-ood-Deen, entitled the punster, and Mirza Ibrahim Kanoony, who came

from Hirat, and were esteemed the most eminent literary men of the age, were introduced to the King. They were loaded with presents, and directed to remain in future about his person.

In this year, Askurry Mirza, who governed Mooltan, was ordered to court, just at the time he was making preparations to attack Noosrut Shah. Boorhan Nizam Shah Bheiry, Prince of of Ahmudnuggur, also at this time sent an ambassador to congratulate Babur on his good fortune, and proffered allegiance. Towards the close of the year, the King received advices, that the Prince Mahmood, the son of the late King Sikundur Lody, had obtained possession of the province of Behar, and also that the Bullochies in Mooltan had raised the standard of revolt. The King deferred any operations against Mooltan for the present, but marched in person towards Behar. On reaching Kurra, Julal-ood-Deen Noosrut Shah Shurky, the ex-king of Joonpoor, prepared a royal entertainment for him, and was honoured with an audience. Mahomed Zuman Mirza was detached from Kurra to Behar, from whence he expelled the Prince Mahmood Lody; but in a few months after, the Afghans of Behar, collecting troops, advanced again towards the Ganges. The King, on this occasion, detached Askurry Mirza with a division to oppose them at the Budry ford, and himself followed next day with the rest of the army. On reaching the banks of the river, he was preparing boats to cross, when Cheen Teimoor Sooltan, who had already gained the opposite bank with only eighty horse, attacked without hesitation. Askurry Mirza, who had crossed at another place, also appearing fortunately in the enemy's rear, threw them into confusion, and they fled. Noosrut Shah now joined the King, and promised to aid in the expulsion of the Afghans; and Babur, having given orders to Sooltan Jooneid Birlass to prosecute the war in conjunction with Noosrut Shah, returned to Agra.

The Prince Hoomayoon having left his brother, Hindal Mirza, to govern in his absence, returned about this time from Kabul to visit his father, and Sooltan Syeed, ruler of Uzkund, taking advantage of this circumstances, invaded Budukhshan. Mirza Heidur Doghlat was sent on in advance. On the approach of the enemy, Hindal Mirza retreated into the fort of Budukshan, and was besieged therein; but Sooltan Syeed Khan finding he could not reduce the place, and that the inhabitants

were not disposed to join him, ravaged the country and returned home. The news of the retreat of Sooltan Syeed not having reached Agra, the government of Budukhshan was conferred on Sooliman Mirza, the son of Khan Mirza, who marched immediately for that province, with a letter from the King to Sooltan Syeed, expressing his surprise at the late hostilities, for which he was unable to account, but by supposing some misconduct on the part of his son Hnidal Mirza; the King stated, therefore, that he had sent another person, who was allied to them both, to supply his place. Sooliman Mirza found the country in perfect tranquility on his arrival, and took quiet possession of the govetnment, which his family have kept to this day, an account of which it is my intention to write at some future period.[25] The Prince Hindal Mirza now came to Agra.

During the year A.H. 936, in the month of Rujub (March, A.D. 1530), Babur fell sick; and his disorder daily gaining ground, in spite of the power, of medicine, he recalled his son, Prince Hoomayoon, who was then besieging the fort of Kalunjur, and appointed him his successor. On Monday, the 5th of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year 937 (Dec. 24, A.D. 1530), Babur Padshah died. According to his will, his body was carried to Kabul, and interred in a sepulchre at that city. The dtae of his death is comprised in the words.

بهشت روزي لقن داد

"May heaven be his lot."

This monarch ascended the throne at twelve years of age, and reigned thirty-eight years. He was a prince of great humanity, and carried his liberality to such excess, that it bordered on prodigality. With respect to the first, he so often pardoned ingratitude and treason, that he seemed to make a principle of rendering good for evil: he thus disarmed malice, and made his enemies the admirers of his virtues. He was learned in the doctrines of the sect of Huneef, and never omitted his daily prayers. He had few equals in the arts of poetry, prose composition, and music. He wrote his own life in the Toorky language, with such elegance and truth, that the performance is universally admired. It was translated, in the

25. Ferishta, probably, did not live to finish his history of Khan Mirza's family, as no such work has ever been found.

reign of his grandson Akbur, by Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, into Persian, which is the same work that is usually read by persons in India of the present age. In his person, Babur was handsome, his address was engaging and unaffected, his countenance pleasing, and his disposition affable.

The following instance of his justice is worthy of being recorded in history: —

When he was Prince of Furghana, the owner of a valuable caravan[26] of Khutta, who was crossing the mountains of Indijan, was killed by lightning. Babur ordered all the goods to be collected, and sent messengers to Khutta to proclaim the accident, and bring the owner's heirs to his court. Upon their arrival, at the end of two years, he entertained them hospitably, and returned them the whole of their property, not only refusing to accept a present, but even to be reimbursed for the expences incurred in securing it.

Notwithstanding his warlike pursuits, Babur was much addicted to wine and women, and the usual pleasures of courts. On occasions when he was inclined to make merry, he used to fill a reservoir in a garden, in the neighbourhood of Kabul, with wine, upon which was inscribed a verse to this purpose: —

"Give me but wine, and blooming maids,
All other joys I freely spurn:
Enjoy them, Babur, while you may—
For youth once past will ne'er return."

Whenever he marched, he always caused the road to be measured after him, a custom which prevails among the emperors of Hnidoostan to this day; and the statute he made, concerning the measurement of distances, has hihterto remained in force. He fixed one hundred tunabs for one kroh, each tunab being forty guz, each guz being nine moosht or hands.[27] The guz Sikundry, or yard of Sikundur, which prevailed when he reached India, was superseded by that of the Babury guz, which continued in use till the beginning of the reign of Jehangeer Padshah. Since the empire of India is now governed by the descendants of this illustrious Prince, it seems proper to refer to the genealogy of his race. Be it known then that Chungiz Khan, the son of Byooka Bahadur, the son of Purtan, had

26. A cargo of merchandise conveyed by land is termed a caravan: the houses to put up at on the road, caravanseras.

27. Each hand being four inches, make 4000 yards to a coss, rather more than two and a quarter English miles.

four sons, who all became kings, and the fathers of nations, in the time of Chungiz. These princes adopted the institutes of Chungiz, which in the Toorky language are denominated Toozuk. The names of Chungiz's sons were Oktay, Choghtay, Joojy, and Tooly. Though Oktay was not the eldest son, yet he was appointed his successor, and ruled over the extensive empire of Northern Asia, in the city of Kurra Koorum, or Kuloran, the original capital of his father's dominions. Oktay died, from excess of wine, in the year 639.

Choghtay Khan, who, according to my own belief, was the second son of Chungiz Khan, possessed the kingdoms of Mavur-ool-Nehr, Toorkistan, Bulkh, and Budukhshan, in subordination to his brother Oktay. Kurrachar Nooyan, who is the fifth ancestor of Teimoor, was appointed by Chungiz Khan Ameer-ool-Oomra of Choghtay Khan. Choghtay was so devoted to the sports of the chase, that neglecting the affairs of his government, he intrusted them to the management of Kurrachar Nooyan, who promoted the interests of the tribe of Choghtay, and confirmed its power.

Joojy Khan, one of the younger sons of Chungiz Khan, became ruler over the following tracts of territory, conferred on him by his father: viz. Dusht Kupchak, Khwaruzm, Khizr, Bulgaria, Lokmeen, Alan, Ass, Russia, and those parts lying to the north. Although children of the same father and mother, yet a spirit of hostility existed between the three brothers, Choghtay, Oktay, and Joojy Khan. Their mother was Boorga Kocheen, the daughter of Kysur. Joojy Khan died in 624. After seven generations, Oozbuk Khan, one of his descendants, ruled over Dusht-Kupchak. He was a Mohomedan, and a prince of virtuous disposition. The Oozbuks are generally of opinion, that he was the first prince who introduced the Mahomedan faith among his subjects.

Tooly Khan, the youngest, was the favourite son of Chungiz Khan. He contrived to maintain friendly relations with his elder brothers, and was eventually slain in battle during the invasion made into the kingdom of Khutta, in the year 628. One of his sons, Keela Khan, who became ruler of Khutta, laid the foundation of the city of Khan Baligh, and brought a large canal from the sea of *Olives*[28] (*Duria Zeitoon*), whose ports belong to *India*,

28. Though I have not ventured to alter the original, I would read the sea of Koolzoom (Caspian), and Persia for India.

into Khan Baligh, a distance of 40 days' journey. The other son of Tooly Khan is Hulakoo Khan, who made himself master of Persia. Having related thus much of the descendants of Chungiz Khan, I shall proceed to state the pedigree of Teimoor Korkan, as descended from Kurrachar Nooyan.

Ameer Teimoor, the son of Ameer Tooraghay, the son of Birkul, the son of Ameer Alingiz Bahadur, the son of Anchul Nooyan, the son of Kurrachar Nooyan, the son of Somchuk, the son of Eroee Birlass, the son of Kajooly Bahadur, the son of Toomnay Khan, the son of Baisanghar Khan, the son of Keeto Khan, the son of Kasin, the son of Bookay, the son of Boozunjur, the son of Alankoo, a descendant from a daughter of Beiram Joorjeea, who is descended from a daughter of Yeldooz Khan, of the tribe of Birlas. The pedigree of Chungiz Khan is also deducible from Boozunjur. Ameer Teimoor had four sons:

1st, Jehangeer Mirza, who died during his father's lifetime, in Samarkand.

2d, Sharokh Mirza, ruler of Hirat.

3d, Oomr Sheikh Mirza, ruler of Indijan.

4th, Meeran Shah Mirza, ruler of Persia, and successor to the kingdom of Hoolakoo Khan.

Accordingly those four princes, having obtained the government of four kingdoms, reigned for many years therein. Of these, the descendants of the fourth empire obtained by Meeran Shah still exercise sovereign sway, and the heir of that house sends governors to the following countries: viz. Hindoostan, Kabul, Ghizny, Kandahar, Ghoor, and Bamyan.

HOOMAYOON PADSHAH

(HIS FIRST REIGN)

HOOMAYOON was a prince as remarkable for his wit as for the urbanity of his manners; and, for the most part, disposed to spend his time in social intercourse and pleasure. He devoted himself, however, to the sciences of astronomy and geography; and not only wrote dissertations on the nature of the elements, but had terrestrial and celestial globes constructed for his use. He also caused seven halls of audience to be built, in which he received persons according to their rank. The first, called the Palace of

the Moon, was set apart for ambassadors, messengers, and travellers. In the second, called the Palace of *Ootarid*,[29] civil officers, and persons of that description, were received; and there were five other palaces for the remaining five planets. In each of these buildings he gave public audience, according to the planet of the day. The furniture and paintings of each, as also the dresses of the household attendants, bore some symbol emblematical of the planet. In each of these palaces he transacted business one day in the week.[30] He had scarcely ascended the throne when his brother, Kamran Mirza, formed a design of rendering himself master of Punjab; but, in order to conceal his real intentions, he gave out, that he was proceeding from Kabul to Hindoostan, to congratulate Hoomayoon on his accession. The King, although aware of Kamran Mirza's design, from the conduct he pursued in those countries through which he passed, was extremely unwilling to wage war with his brother; and anticipating his wishes, sent to him a commission, rendering him governor of Punjab, Peshawur, and Lumghan; a measure with which Kamran professed to be satisfied. The government of Mewat was conferred on Hindal Mirza, and Askurry Mirza obtained that of Sumbhul.

In the year A.H. 938 (A.D. 1532), Hoomayoon led an army against the strong fortress of Kallunjur. During the siege, Mahomed Khan, the son of Sikundur Lody, in conjunction with Bubun Khan Julwany, having taken possession of Joonpoor, made war in the eastern provinces. Hoomayoon receiving intelligence of this event, left Kalunjur, and marched to Joonpoor, where he defeated the Afghans; and, having reinstated Sooltan Jooneid Birlas in the government, he returned to Agra. On his arrival there, according to the statement of Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukhshy, Hoomayoon bestowed honorary dresses on above twelve thousand of his followers, of whom two thousand received jewels also. At this time, he sent to demand of Sheer Khan Afghan the evacuation of the fortress of Chunar, which being refused, Hoomayoon

29. Venus.

30. The practice of devoting each day of the week to the palace called after it is certainly novel; but that of giving the names of the planets to such buildings is, probably, of great antiquity. Among the Hindoos, cities are usually subdivided into pooras (wards or parishes), called after each day of the week, by which the markets are regulated, and equally distributed throughout the town. Palaces sometimes derive their names from these wards or parishes.

marched an army against him. While engaged in this operation, information was received, that Bahadur Shah of Guzerat was advancing towards the north. This event induced Hoomayoon to make peace with Sheer Khan, and to return towards Agra. On the road Kootub Khan, the son of Sheer Khan, whom Hoomayoon had brought with him as a hostage, effected his escape, and joined his father at Chunar.

Mahomed Zuman Mirza, grandson of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, having resolved, if possible, to supplant Hoomayoon on the throne of India, through the agency of the Choghtay chiefs in the service of the latter, formed a plan for the King's assassination. The plot was discovered, but Mahomed Zuman Mirza received his pardon on taking the most solemn oath of future fidelity; yet inheriting from his father a treasonable propensity, he projected a similar scheme a second time, when he was seized, and confined in the fort of Byana, under charge of Yadgar Beg. Orders were issued, at the same time, for apprehending and depriving of sight his nephew, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, as also Nukwut Sooltan, both Mogul officers of distinction, and abettors of Mahomed Zuman's designs. The person to whom this duty was intrusted executed the decree only on Nukwut Sooltan, without destroying the sight of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza. Meanwhile Mahomed Zuman Mirza, assisted by his keeper, Yadgar Beg, escaped from Byana, and sought refuge at the court of Bahadur Shah of Guzerat. Mahomed Sooltan Mirza aided by his two sons, Alugh Mirza and Shah Mirza, also fled to Kunowj, where he was joined by about six thousand persons, consisting of Moguls, Afghans, and Rajpoots.

Hoomayoon required Mahomed Zuman Mirza to be delivered up by the King of Guzerat, who refused compliance, and became involved in a war. Bahadur Shah was at this time engaged in besieging the fort of Chittoor. The Prince Rana Sanka[31] claimed the protection of Hoomayoon; who, having advanced as far as Gualiar, encamped there for two months, and, for what reason does not appear, returned peaceably to Agra. Rana Sanka, despairing of relief, sent a crown of jewels and other valuable presents to Bahadur Shah, and thus induced him to raise the siege.

Bahadur Shah, successful in every quarter, and inflated with pride by having reduced Mando and other places, did not hesitate

31 In some MSS. he is called Vikramajeet.

to show his contempt for Hoomayoon, by bringing Mahomed Zuman Mirza into public notice, and by granting him honours. He also encouraged Alla-ood-Deen, a son of the King Bheilole Lody, to make an attempt on the throne of Dehly. To this end, Bahadur Shah conferred on Tartar Khan, the son of Alla-ood-Deen, the command of forty thousand men, to enable him to march against Hoomayoon. Tartar Khan took Byana, and advanced to the neighbourhood of Agra, when Hoomayoon directed his brother, Hindal Mirza, to oppose him. As the armies approached, Tartar Khan's troops deserted him; so that, in the space of ten days, he had scarcely ten thousand horse remaining. With these, however, he ventured to give battle, but was totally overthrown, having lost most of his troops, three hundred officers, and eventually his own life. Hindal Mirza, after this victory, having retaken Byana and all the other places which had before fallen into the hands of the enemy, returned in triumph to Agra.

Bahadur Shah, in the year A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533), marched a second time towards Chittoor. Hoomayoon in this year caused a citadel to be built in Dehly, on the banks of the Jumna, to which he gave the name of Deen Puna (the asylum of the faithful), after which he marched towards Sarungpoor in Malwa. This place belonged to Bahadur Shah of Guzerat, to whom Hoomayoon addressed the following verses :

"O thou ![32] the ravager of Chittoor,
In what way wilt thou subdue infidels ?
Knowest thou, that while employed at Chittoor,
A king cometh to subdue thee ?"

Bahadur Shah answered Hoomayoon in the same strain :

"I, who am the ravager of Chittoor,
Will conquer the idolaters by valour;
And he who dares not succour Chittoor
Shall see in what way he himself shall be conquered."

Bahadur Shah, after sending this reply, summoned a council of war; when it was the opinion of the majority that, as Hoomayoon had all his force with him, it would be better to raise the siege and march against him, and thus strike a decisive blow at once. Other advisers maintained that Hoomayoon's religious principles would prevent him from molesting Bahadur Shah while engaged

32. The wit of these verses consists in the similarity of sound between Chitoor, signifying how or in what way, and Chittoor, the name of the fort.

in war with idolaters; and that, therefore, it was most advisable to bring the siege, now far advanced, to a close, and afterwards to act according to circumstances. Bahadur Shah, adopting the latter opinion, the siege was prosecuted with vigour till Chittoor fell; while Hoomayoon continued loitering away his time at Sarungpoor. The reign of Bahadur Shah now drawing to a close, that Prince, without anticipating his destiny, and full of his own importance, marched against Hoomayoon, who, hearing of his approach, proceeded to oppose him. The two armies met near Mundsoor. Bahadur Shah, who had collected a large train of artillery, was induced, by the advice of his engineer, Roomy Khan, to entrench his army, and to place his cannon in redoubts, in hopes that the Moguls would risk an attack. In this expectation he was disappointed; both armies continued to lie in sight of each other for two months, during which daily skirmishes occurred, but with varied success. Hoomayoon, unable to draw Bahadur Shah from his entrenchments, directed his attention to cutting off his supplies. In the year A.H. 940 (A.D. 1533), he accordingly ordered his horse to proceed in bodies of from five to six thousand, to scour the country in rear of the enemy's camp, wherein famine began to be severely felt, so that men, horses, elephants, and camels perished daily in great numbers. Finding himself hemmed in on all sides, Bahadur Shah, accompanied by only five persons, consisting of Moobarik Khan, the ruler of Kandeish; Kadir Khan, who afterwards became ruler of Malwa; his own general, Sudr Jehan Khan, and two servants, left his camp in the night, and fled towards Mando. This event was no sooner known in the morning than Bahadur Shah's army dispersed. Hoomayoon ordered a pursuit, which was continued as far as Mando; and a great slaughter was committed on the unfortunate wretches, who had neither the power to escape nor the means to defend themselves. Bahadur Shah threw himself into Mando, and was invested therein.

A few days after, three hundred Moguls escaladed the walls of Mando in the night; and thought the garrison consisted of many thousand men, such was the panic into which they were thrown, that they betook themselves to flight. Bahadur Shah escaped with five thousand horse, and reached the town of Champanere, which had became the capital of Guzerat, while Sudr Jehan Khan, his general, being dangerously wounded, and

unable to proceed, shut himself up in the citadel of the fort of Mando, called Songur (A.H. 941, A.D. 1534). Herein he was besieged, and capitulated on the second day; but on account of his excellent character, and his valour, he was received into favour by Hoomayoon. During the flight from Mundsoor, Sudr Jehan Khan had saved Bahadur Shah's life when very nearly taken by Hoomayoon in person. On this occasion, he threw himself between Hoomayoon's guards and his master, giving the latter an opportunity of escaping, and after himself receiving several wounds, one of which was from the hand of Hoomayoon, he reached Mando with great difficulty.

Three days after the capture of Mando, Hoomayoon renewed the pursuit of Bahadur Shah, who, having taken all his treasure and jewels out of the city of Champanere,[33] fled towards Ahmudabad. The city of Champanere, however, was devoted to plunder, while the reduction of the citadel (which still held out) being left to Dowlut Khwaja Birlas, Hoomayoon continued in pursuit of the King of Gujerat. Bahadur Shah, hearing of the approach of the Moguls, fled to Cambay in the first instance, and eventually to the island of Dew. He was pursued so closely by Hoomayoon, that he arrived at Çambay on the very evening Bahadur Shah left it.

Hoomayoon, however, having heard that Bahadur Shah's wealth was principally in the citadel of Champanere, he returned to superintend the siege of that place. Yekhtyar Khan, of Guzerat, defended the fort with great bravery; yet, though he had some years' provision in the fort, still, with that propensity to accumulate which belongs to some men, he was desirous of obtaining more, and was in the habit of receiving supplies daily by a secret pathway, leading through a thick wood. Hoomayoon, while one day reconnoitring, suspecting this fact, seized a party of country people who conveyed the supplies, and induced them to carry him, in disguise, to the spot where they gained admittance. After making the necessary observations, he returned to his camp. On the same night, having procured a number of steel spikes to be constructed, and selected a body of three hundred men for the purpose, he determined to attempt to take the place by escalade. Accordingly several false attacks were made by moonlight on other quarters. As access to this part of the fortress was extremely difficult, the enemy had confidently withdrawn the troops

33. In the original it is called Mahomedabad Champanere.

to repel the other assaults. The King was thus enabled to fix at leisure his steel spikes, without interruption, in the scarp of the rock, by which means thirty-nine officers ascended: the last was Beiram Khan Toorkoman,[34] after whom Hoomayoon himself mounted, making the fortieth. Before sunrise, his whole detachment was within the walls, when displaying a preconcerted signal, his troops attacked the garrison with vigour on all sides. At this moment Hoomayoon, at the head of his detachment, calling out "Alla Akbur,[35]" forced his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, and possessed himself of one of the gates, through which he admitted his troops. The whole garrison, excepting Yekhtyar Khan and his family, who were in the citadel (called Moolba), were put to the sword; but the governor, who had defended it so bravely, obtained honourable terms. The great strength of this place, the numerous garrison, and the boldness and success of the enterprise by which its capture was achieved, render this action equal, in the opinion of military men, to any thing of the kind recorded in history. Here the treasure of Guzerat, the accumulation of many years, was distributed among the troops; Hoomayoon gave to his officers and soldiers as much gold, silver, or jewels, as could be heaped upon their respective shields, proportioning the value to their rank and merit; for the wealth of Room,[36] Khutta, and Furung, which had been there collected to a vast amount, fell into the hands of the captors on this occasion.

Bahadur Shah, having secured himself in the island of Dew, sent Imad-ool-Moolk, a Circassian, (the father of that Chungiz Khan who was subsequently murdered) to Ahmudabad, to collect the revenues, and to levy troops, and he succeeded so well, that the King of Guzerat, shortly after, found himself at the head of fifty thousand men, and daily gained a new accession of power. Hoomayoon hearing of this circumstance, after nominating Tardy Beg to command the fort of Champanere and the adjacent countries, marched in person towards Ahmudabad. Imad-ool-Moolk drew out his troops to oppose him, near Mahomoodabad, but was defeated. On this occasion, the vanguard only of Hoomayoon's

34. Beiram Khan became the tutor of Hoomayoon's son Akbur, and was subsequently much distinguished.

35. This phrase, denominated Tukbeer (magnifying), signifies "God is great."

36. Room, Asia Minor; Khutta, Tartary; Furung, Europe.

army, commanded by Askurry Mirza, was engaged. The rest of the Moguls did not arrive in time to be brought into action. In reward for this signal service, Askurry Mirza received the government of Ahmudabad. Hoomayoon now divided the provinces of Guzerat among his officers, and marched to Boorhanpoor. In this state of affairs, Boorhan Nizam Shah, Imad Shah, and the other sovereigns of the Deccan, apprehensive of his designs, wrote submissive letters, tendering their allegiance. Hoomayoon had scarcely obtained these flattering tokens of his success, when accounts arrived of the insurrection created in the north by Sheer Khan. Having received the submission of Kandeish, Hoomayoon proceeded to Mando. It was during this march that Khondameer, the author of the Hubeeb-oos-Seer, died in his camp. The remains of this eminent person were conveyed to Dehly, and interred in the same vault with Ameer Khoosrow and Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Owlia.

In Guzerat, Imad-ool-Moolk, and the other nobles of the old government, again collected troops, and appeared in force in the neighbourhood of Ahmudabad. Yadgar Nasir Mirza, the ruler of Puttun, and Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, ruler of Baroach, themselves princes by descent, were compelled to quit their stations, and unite with Askurry Mirza. It happened one night, while engaged in drinking wine, Askurry Mirza observed, "Am not I a king, God's representative on earth?" Ghuzunfur Beg Koka, one of Askurry Mirza's foster brothers, and the full brother of Mehdy Kasim Khan, whispered in his ear, "You are a king, but not an independent one." His companions smiled, and bantered Askurry Mirza on the subject, till he became so vexed, that he gave orders next day to seize Ghuzunfur Beg, who shortly after made his escape, and joined Bahadur Shah at Dew, where having assured him that the Moguls were only waiting for some plea to quit the country, he offered to conduct his troops against them, and even agreed to suffer death if they opposed him with resolution.

Bahadur Shah, who had ensured the aid of the inhabitants, did not fail to take advantage of this overture, and proceeded towards Ahmudabad, while Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul chiefs, strongly advised Askurry Mirza to proclaim himself king, in order to secure the confidence of the troops. Although Askurry Mirza in reality, desired nothing more, he pretended at the time to re-

prove Hindoo Beg severely for the suggestion; and, on the next day, having marched out of Ahmudabad, he encamped near Assavul, in the neighbourhood of Surkech. The Guzerat army under Bahadur Shah reached that place about the same time, when the Moguls fired a few shots into Bahadur Shah's camp, one of which struck his tent. Vexed at this circumstance, he sent for Ghuzunfur Beg Koka, in order to execute him; but he was restrained by his assuring him that he had certain information of Askurry Mirza's intended retreat on that very night. It turned out as he said; for Askurry Mirza, calculating on securing Hoomayoon's treasure at Champanere, marched towards that fortress. Bahadur Shah pursued him during two or three days, but returned; while Tardy Beg, the governor of Champanere, on discovering Askurry Mirza's object, resolved to put him to death rather than suffer him to obtain the treasure. Askurry Mirza, finding his design frustrated, marched to Agra, raising troops on the road: meanwhile, Hoomayoon, anticipating his views, left Mando, and reached Agra before him. Askurry Mirza, on hearing that Homayoon had already arrived, perceived that his diabolical projects had all miscarried. Accordingly, he, together with Yadgar Nasir Mirza, and Kasim Sooltan, represented to Hoomayoon, that being unable to maintain Guzerat against Bahadur Shah, they had returned to join the King at Agra. Tardy Beg Khan also shortly after surrendered the fort of Champanere to Bahadur Shah, and joined Hoomayoon, who, although not deceived, considered it prudent to profess himself satisfied with their conduct, and to take no notice of it. Thus the countries of Malwa and Guzerat, the conquest of which had been obtained by the exertions of so fine an army, were now abandoned without a struggle.

On the return of Hoomayoon to his capital, it was observed, that he gave way more than ever to the excessive use of opium: public business was neglected; and the governors of the surrounding districts, taking advantage of the state of affairs, promoted their own aggrandizement. In the first place, Sooltan Jooneid Birlas dying, the Afghans of the late Shurky kingdom, whom he had kept in subjection, revolted, and enlisted under the standard of Sheer Khan Soor.

This event compelled Hoomayoon to march towards Joonpoor on the 8th of Suffur, A.H. 943 (May 27, A.D. 1536): and as Sheer Khan had gone to Bengal, the King proceeded to besiege

the fort of Chunar, which held out, under the command of Ghazy Khan Soor, for six months. The place was, however, eventually taken, owing to the skill of Roomy Khan (the late commander of Bahadur Shah's artillery), now in the service of Hoomayoon. Having ascertained the strength of the fort on the land side, Roomy Khan determined to attack it from the river Ganges. He accordingly erected stages of a certain height, placed on rafts, which being built at some distance above the fort, were launched, and floated down without resistance: the walls being low, they were easily surmounted, and the place was thus secured.

Previously to this event, Hoomayoon had marched on with the main body of the army. Sheer Khan Soor, meanwhile, had wrested the kingdom of Bengal from Mahmood Shah Poorby, who, having been severely wounded, reached the King's camp. Hoomayoon reached Gurhy, a place situated on the banks of the Ganges, but difficult of access from the woods in its vicinity. Sheer Khan, however, content with the spoils of the kings of Goor, and without opposing Hoomayoon, fled to the mountains of J'harkund, leaving the Moguls to continue their march unmolested to Goor, the capital of Bengal. Hoomayoon having occupied Goor, he caused that unpropitious appellation to be changed for that of Junutabad.[37] He took up his residence in that city for the space of three months, but was obliged to abandon it on account of the insalubrity of the climate, the greatest part of his army having fallen sick. At this time, accounts reached the King of the rebellion of his brother, Hindal Mirza, at Agra. Hindal Mirza had been sent to suppress the revolt of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, who, we have already observed, had escaped to Kunowj; but instead of performing that service, as soon as Hindal found himself at the head of an army, he aspired to the throne; and marching back to Agra, openly declared his intentions, and put to death Sheikh Bheilole, who was formerly preceptor to the King, after which he caused the khootba to be read in his own name. From Agra he proceeded with all the ensigns of royalty to Dehly, to which place he laid siege. Hoomayoon, hearing of these proceedings, left Jehangeer Beg Mogul and Ibrahim Beg in Bengal, and hastened towards Agra. On the march, Mahomed Zuman Mirza, who had formerly found an asylum with Bahadur Shah, returned from Sind, and,

37. Goor, signifying the grave; Junutabad, paradise.

on promise of pardon, joined the King with a considerable party. Meanwhile, Sheer Khan Soor, finding the King's army so much weakened by sickness and desertion, and learning that his affairs were perplexed by the rebellion of Hindal Mirza, marched with his troops from Rohtas, and came up with Hoomayoon at Jowsa. Both armies lay three months inacitve, at a time when Hoomayoon ought to have brought on an action at all hazards, being every day insulted and harassed by the enemy's light troops.

To add to Hoomayoon's embarrassments, which could hardly be exceeded, his other brother, Kamran Mirza, instead of aiding him at this crisis, aspired to the throne, and marched with ten thousand horse from Lahore, giving out, that he came to offer assistance. On the arrival of Kamran at Dehly, Hindal Mirza prevailed on him to unite their forces in prosecution of the siege. Fukhr-ood-Deen Ally, who commanded in Dehly, informed Kamran that he would never betray his trust, but was determined to hold out to the last drop of his blood, as long as Hoomayoon reigned; but that if Kamran should, in the first place, render himself master of Agra, and succeed in subduing his brother Hoomayoon, he would then, and not till then, give up the city of Dehly.

In the year A. H. 946 (A. D. 1539), the Princes, finding the governor so resolute, raised the siege, and marched towards Agra. On reaching that city, the jealousy which the brothers naturally entertained against each other (the eyes of both being turned towards the throne) evinced itself in open war. Hindal Mirza, being deserted by many of his party, fled to Alwur, with five thousand horse and three hundred elephants; while Kamran Mirza, entering Agra, proclaimed himself king.

Hoomayoon used every possible argument with his brothers to effect a coalition of interests against Sheer Khan; telling them, that their intestine feuds must end in their losing that mighty empire which had cost their father so much pains to acquire; that their conduct would involve the house of Teimoor in one common ruin; and that no remedy existed, but to reunite against the common enemy, and afterwards to divide the empire amongst themselves. These arguments had no weight with the King's brothers, who, blinded by ambition, determined rather to lose all than to be content with a part. They calculated, that after Sheer Khan had defeated Hoomayoon, they should be able to subdue him; and each had the vanity to suppose, that

he would in the end exclude his rival, and reign alone. At this juncture, Sheer Khan sent one Sheikh Khuleel, a dervish of great reputation, to Hoomayoon, to treat for peace, to which the latter assented on the following condition:—that Sheer Khan should content himself with Bengal and Behar, to be held in the King's name, for which he was to pay a trifling annual tribute. This condition was signed and ratified by mutual oaths; and Hoomayoon, trusting too much to the faith of his enemy, permitted a free intercourse to be maintained between both armies. Sheer Khan's chief object in obtaining a suspension of hostilities was to throw Hoomayoon off his guard. Accordingly, one morning early, he treacherously surprised the Mogul camp on the banks of the Ganges, during the armistice, and totally defeated it. A bridge of boats, which the latter had been preparing, was unfinished; and no means of escape remained, but by swimming across the stream, all the craft on the river having been seized by a party of the enemy, who had turned the rear of Hoomayoon's army for that purpose. The King with a vast number of his soldiers plunged into the current, where, according to the most authentic accounts, eight thousand Moguls, exclusive of Hindoos, were drowned, among whom was the Prince Mahomed Zuman Mirza. This dreadful blow occurred in the year A. H. 946 (A. D. 1359). Hoomayoon owed his life to one Nizam, a water-carrier, who with great difficulty swam alongside of him across the river, and was among the few who survived the slaughter of this eventful day, and fled to Agra. On reaching his capital, Hoomayoon allowed the man who had saved his life to sit on the throne for half a day, and permitted him to reward his own relatives during that time with princely presents. Kamran Mirza, hearing of this defeat, hastened from Agra to Alwur, to consult with his brother Hindal Mirza, and finding that the Afghnas were likely to prevail in all quarters, they became ashamed of their conduct, and now when too late endeavoured to support Hoomayoon. The King was shortly afterwards joined by Jehangeer Beg and Ibrahim Beg, who were at this time expelled from Bengal, and Mahomed Sooltan Mirza (who had gone into rebellion) came from Kunowj, leaving the country he had acquired in the hands of the enemy.

The three royal brothers having met at Agra, held daily consultations; but Kamran, averse to composing their differences, abandoned their councils, and proposed to return to Lahore, to

which measure he was principally instigated by Khwaja Kullan Beg. Hoomayoon in vain use every argument to prevent his departure; but the ambition of Kamran prompted him to independence, and he accordingly withdrew from his brothers' councils. These dissensions had continued six months, when Kamran was suddenly seized with dysentery, owing to too great indulgence of his appetite; and imputing the disease to poison, he quitted the court for Lahore, leaving a thousand horse only under Sikundur Sooltan, one of his officers. Hoomayoon's soldiers, greatly disconcerted by the departure of Kamran Mirza, deserted, and many of them accompanied him. Among others, however, Mirza Hydur Doghlat,[38] disgusted with his conduct, abandoned his standard, and joined Hoomayoon, to whom he was afterwards of great service.

Sheer Khan, who had remained quiet during these disputes, now advanced with an army to the banks of the Ganges, and detaching his son Kootub Khan across the river, took possession of the adjacent provinces. Hoomayoon, on receiving intelligence of his movements, ordered Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, in conjunction with Yadgar Nasir Mirza and Sikundur Sooltan, to oppose him. They met the enemy at Kalpy, where an obstinate engagement took place, in which victory declared in favour of the Moguls. Kootub Khan, with a great part of his army, was cut off, and that chief's head was sent to Agra. The generals, at the same time, recommended the King immediately to assume the command of the army in person.

Hoomayoon accordingly marched with a hundred thousand horse, and crossing the Ganges, near Kunowj, encamped for a whole month in view of Sheer Khan's army, which consisted of only fifty thousand men. Meanwhile, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza and his sons, who were alike distinguished for their treachery and ingratitude, went over to the enemy with all their adherents. Many others were induced also to follow them; an event which again plunged the King into distress; for his army, thus dispirited, began to desert by thousands. To complete his mis-

38. This person ascended the throne of Kashmeer, and is the author of the most authentic history of that interesting principality.

It is worth while to compare the Portuguese accounts of these times, transmitted to us by Faria-e-Souza (vol. i. chap. ix. p. 421. Stevens's translation, ed. 1694), with the minute details which the Mahomedan historian has afforded us.

fortunes, too, the rainy season commenced; his camp became quite overflowed, insomuch that he was obliged to abandon his position, and move to a more exposed one on higher ground. On the 10th of Mohurrum, A. H. 947 (May 17, A. D. 1540), while his army was in motion, he was attacked by Sheer Khan, and sustained a signal defeat. Having unfortunately, as in the former action, the river close on his rear, some thousands of his soldiers, in avoiding the swords of the enemy, suffered a more ignominious fate in the stream. A few only escaped with the King across the river, with whom he fled to Agra. Sheer Khan lost no time in pursuing Hoomayoon, who was forced to retreat to Lahore. In the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A. H. 907 (July, A. D. 1540), he was joined in Punjab by many of his Mogul officers, who had been dispersed on the day of the battle of Kunowj. Sheer Khan, still continuing the pursuit, crossed the river Beea near Sooltanpoor, and compelled Hoomayoon, in the month of Rujub (November) to pass down the river of Lahore,[39] and to retreat towards Tutta and Bhukkur on the Indus. Kamran Mirza at length became sensible of his ungenerous conduct towards his brother, and was compelled to fly towards Kabul. Hoomayoon having crossed the Indus on his way to Bhukkur, halted at Lory, and sent an ambassador with a horse and dress to Mirza Shah Hoossein Arghoon, governor of Tutta, to request his aid in recovering Guzerat; but Mirza Shah Hoossein detained Hoomayoon by various artifices and excuses for five or six months, till his small army, distressed for want of pay, daily diminished in numbers. Hindal Mirza left Hoomayoon at this time, and went to Kandahar, having been invited thither by Kurrachar Khan, the governor of the province; Yadgar Nasir Mirza proposed also to quit the King, though the latter spared no pains to bind him firm to his interest by giving him the government of Bhukkur; but he was no sooner in possession, than he declared his independence.

Hoomayoon with his small army now laid siege to Sehwan for seven months, without producing any effect; when Mirza Shah Hoossein, desirous of getting the place into his own hands, advanced with a force from Tutta, and surrounding both the garrison and the besiegers, prevented supplies from being carried to either. Hoomayoon's army became greatly distressed, and was

39. The Ravy.

soon reduced to extremities. The King solicited Yadgar Nasir Mirza to join him with his forces from Bhukkur; but Yadgar was prevailed on to unite with his enemy. Mirza Shah Hoossein, who promised to give him his daughter in marriage, and to secure him in his government. Hoomayoon, thus deserted by all his relatives and friends, was obliged to retreat from before Sehwan to Bhukkur, where he could not even obtain a few boats to cross his army over the Indus. After a search of some days, and wandering along the banks, he discovered some craft that had been sunk, and having raised them, he transported his troops to the opposite bank.

Notwithstanding these accumulated misfortunes, Hoomayoon had strength enough left to inspire terror into Yadgar Nasir Mirza, who, to avoid his resentment, came and made his submission. He obtained his pardon, but shortly after began to create sedition among the troops, and privately drew them over to his own interest. This plot being communicated to the King, Yadgar Nasir Mirza, instead of denying it, appeared at the head of his party in open rebellion; but the principal officers of his faction having refused to attack their King, an action was prevented at the very time when both armies were formed in order of battle. Hoomayoon, being in no condition to contest the point, thought only of providing for his safety, and accordingly marched by the way of Jesselmere to Nagoor and Ajmere, then ruled by Maldew, one of the most potent of the Hindoo rajas, from whom he had before received an invitation. While proceeding through the territory of Jesselmere, the Raja of that country opposed him: but being defeated, Hoomayoon passed on to the boundaries of Ajmere, where he halted, and sent a messenger to Maldew, who perceiving he had nothing to apprehend from Hoomayoon, and having no cause for attachment to him, resolved to seize and make him over to his enemy, Sheer Khan. One of Maldew's soldiers, who had formerly been in the service of Hoomayoon, obtaining intelligence of the design, communicated it to him. Hoomayoon, warned of his danger, mounted his horse at midnight, and fled towards Amurkote, a place situated about a hundred coss (200 miles) from Tutta. His horse beginning to fail, he asked Tardy Beg Khan,[40] one of his chiefs, who was well

40. Tardy Beg Khan was afterwards executed in the reign of Akbur for shamefully deserting his post at Dehly.

mounted, to let him have his, but was refused. The troops of Maldew being close in pursuit, Hoomayoon was necessitated to mount a camel, till Nudeem Koka, his foster-brother, having caused his mother to dismount, gave her horse to the King, and placing her on the camel, ran on foot by her side.

The country through which they fled being an entire desert of sand, the Moguls were in the utmost distress for water. Some ran mad; others fell down dead. Nothing was witnessed but dreadful screams and lamentations; while, to add to their misery, news arrived of the enemy's approach. Hoomayoon ordered all those who could fight to form the rearguard, and allowed the women and baggage to move forward: but the enemy did not make their appearance. The King rode on in front, to see how it fared with his family; and it was fortunate he did so; for night coming on, those in the rear lost their way, and in the morning the enemy were discovered in close pursuit. The Knig was left with a few soldiers only, commanded by one Ameer Sheikh Ally, who, with about twenty brave men, resolved to sell their lives dearly, and having repeated the creed, turned upon their pursuers. The first arrow discharged reached the heart of the chief of the enemy, and the remainder fled. The Moguls, pursuing in their turn, took many of the enemy's camels; after which, the King coming to a well, ordered the whole party to kneel down, and offer up prayers for their escape. During the day, those who had lost their way joined again.

On marching forward, the Moguls were more distressed than before, there being no water for three whole days. On the fourth day they came to a well, which was so deep that a drum was beaten to give notice to the man driving the bullocks, that the bucket had reached the top.[41]

The unhappy followers were so impatient for water, that, as soon as the first bucket appeared, several of them threw themselves upon it, before it had quite reached the surface, and fell in. The next day they arrived at a brook, and the camels, who had

41. This simple mode of raising water is practised throughout India. A large leathern bag or bucket, containing from ten to fifteen gallons, is suffered to drop into the well, and is drawn up by oxen, the hope passing over a small wheel which traverses on a frame overhanging the surface of the water. Some of the wells in the desert of Amerkote and Jesselmere are from 100 to 600 feet deep, and the movements of the cattle raising the water are regulated by a small kettle-drum.

not tested water for several days, were allowed to quench their thirst; but having drank to excess, several of them died. The King, after enduring unheard-of miseries, at length reached Amurkote with only a few attendants. The Raja, who has the title of Rana, took compassion on his misfortunes, and spared nothing that could alleviate his sufferings, or tend to console him in his distress.

At Amurkote, on the 5th of Rujub in the year A.H. 949 (October 14, A.D. 1542), the Prince Akbur was born of the Queen Banoo Begum. Hoomayoon, after returning thanks to God, left his family in the hands of the Rana of Amurkote, and with his assistance marched against Bhukkur. But a mutiny breaking out among the Rana's troops, they dispersed, and nothing could be effected. Some of the King's officers also deserted him; while the gallant Ameer Sheikh Ally, one of his most faithful adherents, was killed in an action with Shah Hoossein Arghoon. Hoomayoon now retired towards Kandahar, having been joined by Beiram Khan[42] Toorkoman form Guzerat. Kamran Mirza, who had obtained possession of Kandahar from his brother, Hindal Mirza, had placed Askurry Mirza in the government; and Shah Hossein Arghoon now wrote to him, that Hoomayoon being without followers, might easily be seized; so that Askurry Mirza, instead of affording his brother aid in his distress, attacked Hoomayoon as he approached Kandahar, and obliged him to leave his infant son Akbur behind in camp, and to fly to Khorassan with his mother, the Sooltana, and only twenty-two horsemen, one of whom was Beiram Khan. Askurry Mirza, being disappointed of his object, on coming into Hoomayoon's camp, carried off his nephew, the infant Akbur, to Kandahar.

Hoomayoon, finding he could place no reliance on his brothers, proceeded to Seestan, where he was hospitably received by Ahmud Sooltan Shamloo, the governor, on the part of Shah Tamasp, King of Persia. This officer met and escorted Hoomayoon to the capital of Seestan, and treated him with the utmost consideration. From this generous chief, Hoomayoon received not only a supply of money, but a number of attendants were furnished for his Queen. The King, having taken what appeared absolutely necessary, proceeded to Herat, where he was met by

42. He afterwards became Akbur's tutor, and eventually protector and regent, in the following reign.

the Prince Mahomed Mirza, the King of Persia's eldest son. This prince omitted nothing of that generosity and politeness which so remarkably distinguished his character, and provided the unfortunate exile abundantly with every requisite for his journey to the Persian court. In his progress, Hoomayoon was met by all the governors of the provinces, who paid him their respects, and made magnificent entertainments for him. In the year A.H. 949, (A.D. 1542), on his arrival at Kuzeween, he deputed Beiram Khan to Ispahan, on a mission to the King of Persia, and awaited his return at Kuzween.

SHEER SHAH SOOR

THE original name of Sheer Shah was Fureed. His father was Hussun, an Afghan of the tribe of Soor, and a native of Roh in Pishawur. When Bheilole Lody ascended the throne, Ibrahim Khan, the father of Hussun Soor, came to Dehly in quest of military service. The seat of these Afghans is Roh, a word which, in their language, signifies a mountainous country. It extends in length from Swad and Bijowr to the town of Seevy, in the territory of Bhukkur, and in breadth, from Hussun Abdal to Kabul. This tract at that time contained many separate tribes. Among the number of these was that of Soor, who derive their origin from he princes of Ghoor. One of the sons of the Ghoorian family, whose name was Mahomed Soor, having left his native country, took up his abode among the Afghans of Roh; and being able to prove satisfactorily that he was descended from the kings of Ghoor (although averse from intermarrying with strangers), one of the Roh Afghan chief consented to give him his daughter. Mahomed Soor's descendants, therefore, are called Soor Afghans; and, on this supposition, this family may be reckoned the most illustrious of any of the Afghans.

Ibrahim, the grandfather of Sheer Shah, first entered the service of one of the nobles of the court of Bheilole Lody; and when Sikundur, the son of Bheilole, succeeded his father, Jumal Khan, a chief of distinction, was appointed governor of Joonpoor. On this occasion, he took Hussun the son of Ibrahim Khan Soor with him, and eventually conferred on him the districts of Sahsaram and Tanda in jageer, for the maintenance of five hundred horse. Hussun Khan had eight sons; of whom Fureed Khan and

THE SEVENTH DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF DEHLY.

AND SECOND OF THE RACE OF AFGHANS

Hocssein Khan Soor.

1 Sheer Shah Soor.

Nizam Khan.

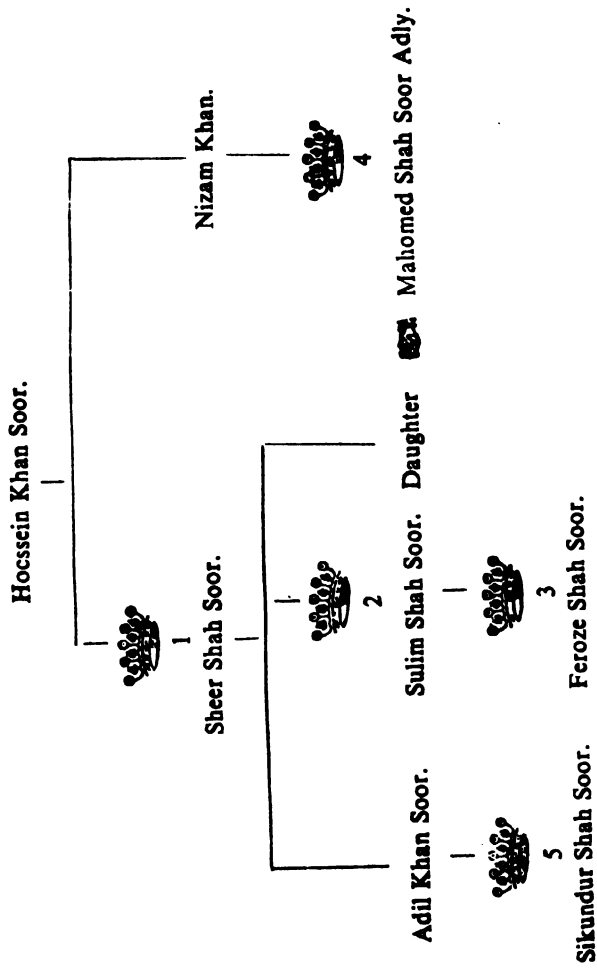
2 Sulim Shah Soor.

Adil Khan Soor.

Daughter

4 Mahomed Shah Soor Adly.

3 Feroze Shah Soor.

5 Sikundur Shah Soor.

Nizam Khan were by the same mother, an Afghan; the rest were illegitimate, and by different mothers.

Hussun, having little regard for his wife, neglected her children, so that Fureed quitted his father's roof, and enlisted as a common soldier in the service of Jumal Khan, the governor of Joonpoor. Hussun wrote to Jumal Khan upon this occasion, requesting him to send back his son, that he might be educated; but Fureed could not be persuaded to return. "Joonpoor," he said, "was a better place for instruction than Sahsaram;" and he affirmed that he would attend to letters of his own accord. Nor was he negligent of this object; for he could repeat the whole of the works of the celebrated poet Sady, and was besides a proficient in other branches of learning.

Much of his time was devoted to the study of history and poetry, in the pursuit of which he received encouragement from Jumal Khan's liberality. Three or four years had elapsed when Hussun Khan came to Joonpoor, and through the mediation of mutual friends, Fureed became reconciled to his father, who eventually made over to him the whole charge of his estate, himself residing at Joonpoor. Fureed, on taking leave of his father said, "That the stability of every administration depended on justice, and that it should be his greatest care not to violate it, either by oppressing the weak, or by permitting the strong to infringe the laws with impunity." When he arrived at his jageer, he put this maxim into practice, by rendering justice to the poor, and by reducing to order such of the zemindars as opposed his authority. By this means he procured his country to be well cultivated, and his revenues to be punctually realized.

Hussun coming to visit the estate, was so well pleased with his management, that he permitted him to continue in charge of it. Hussun Khan Soor had two other sons, Sooliman and Ahmud, by a favourite concubine, to whom he was extremely attached. This female lost no opportunity to importune him in favour of her son Sooliman, now grown up, saying he ought to provide for him. At length she obtained from her husband a promise to transfer the management of the estates from Fureed to Sooliman. This circumstance gave the old chief great concern, knowing the superior abilities of Fureed; but when it became known to Fureed, he made a voluntary resignation of his trust, which was accordingly conferred on his brother Sooliman.

Fureed and his full brother Nizam Khan left Joonpoor immediately, and proceeded to Agra, where they obtained service with Dowlut Khan Lody, one of the principal officers of the King Ibrahim Lody. Fureed, by his good conduct, gained his master's esteem, till at length he applied to Dowlut Khan, telling him, that his father was now in his dotage, and wholly guided by an artful mistress, who had deprived both him and his brother of their patrimonial inheritance, having procured their estate to be made over to her own illegitimate children. He at the same time promised Dowlut Khan, if he obtained the royal grant of the estate in his name, to provide for his father, and to maintain five hundred good horse for the public service.

Dowlut Khan accordingly preferred a request on the subject to the King, who replied, "That he must be a bad man indeed who should complain against his own father." Dowlut Khan having retired in silence, informed Fureed of the answer he had received but comforted him with a promise of taking some other opportunity to urge his suit. Meanwhile Hussun Khan Soor dying, Dowlut Khan procured the King's patent in favour of Fureed, who proceeded to Sahsaram with a handsome retinue.

Sooliman, on the arrival of his brothers, evacuated the country, and took protection with Mahomed Khan Soor, a distant relative, then governor of the district of Joonpoor, and who maintained a force of fifteen hundred horse. Mahomed Khan, becoming acquainted with the intended invasion of Babur, and foreseeing that a war was inevitable, promised Sooliman, if he would accompany him when called on to join the army of the King of Dehly, he would endeavour to procure him redress. Sooliman being impatient, induced Mahomed Khan to send a person to Fureed, to effect a reconciliation. Fureed replied, he was willing to give him a proper share of his father's inheritance, but that he would on no account part with any of his power; reminding him of the old adage, that "two swords cannot be contained in one scabbard." Sooliman insisting on a share of the gonvernment also, no accommodation was then effected between the brothers. This failure irritated Mahomed Khan to such a degree, that he resolved to compel Fureed to submit to the measures which he had proposed. Fureed, informed of his resolution, began to take steps for his security. Meanwhile, news arriving of the defeat and death of the King, Ibrahim Lody, the whole country was thrown into confusion.

Fureed was by no means idle in the midst of the troubles which ensued, and joined Bahadur Khan, the son of Duria Khan Lohany, who had subdued Behar and assumed the royal titles, under the name of Mahomed Shah.[43] As that monarch was one day on a hunting-party, a lion or tiger was roused, which Fureed attacked and killed with one blow of his sabre in Mahomed Shah's presence. For this act of intrepidity, he received the title of Sheer Khan[44] on the spot. Sheer Khan now acquired gradually great influence and favour in Mahomed Shah Lohany's service, and was even appointed tutor to the young Prince Julal Khan. On one occasion, having obtained permission to go to his estate, he was detained by business beyond the period limited by his leave of absence. Mahomed Shah Lohany, dissatisfied with this conduct spoke of it in public as a breach of promise; and Mahomed Khan Soor, the governor of Joonpoor, his ancient enemy, being present, took that opportunity of accusing him of treasonable designs, and with favouring the interest of Mahomed Shah Lody, one of the sons of the late King Sikundur Lody. Mahomed Shah Lohany became so incensed against Sheer Khan, that he intimated his intention to deprive him of his estate altogether, and to confer it on his brother Sooliman, as a just punishment for his offence, and as the only mode of bringing him to a sense of his duty.

Mahomed Shah Lohany, however, having still some esteem left for Sheer Khan, against whom nothing had been yet proved, delayed this measure, to which he was instigated by Mahomed Khan Soor; but by way of alraming him, he gave orders that his accuser should take an account of the revenue of the estates, in order to make an equal division of it among his brothers. Mahomed Khan Soor, availing himself of this order, sent one Shady Khan, an adopted slave, to Sheer Khan, acquainting him that his brothers, according to the King's commands, were to have their proportion of the estate, which he had hitherto so unjustly withheld from them. Sheer Khan returned for answer, that Mahomed Khan Soor was much mistaken if he supposed this was the country of Roh, where estates were to be subdivided,

43. It requires the reader to pay great attention to the family names of the chiefs now mentioned by the name of Mahomed Shah Lohany is king of Behar, Mahomed Khan Soor is an officer of his government, and Mahomed Shah Lody is a son of Sikundur Lody, late king of Dehly.

44. The lion knight, or lord lion.

for that the land belonged to the King. which he disposed of at pleasure.[45] That it was true, *family* estates, up to the present period, were always divided equally among sons on the death of their father; but that no such distribution took place in cases where districts were conferred *for the support of troops*, for the possession of which royal grants were made out, and given to him whom the King thought most fit to perform his service. That as he himself had a personal grant from the crown for his estate, his brethren were entirely out of the question, although he had consented to give a part of the revenue to his brother Sooliman.

When the messenger returned wit! this answer to Mahomed Khan Soor, then at Joonpoor, he became so incensed, that, raising all his forces, he sent them against Sheer Khan, under the command of Shady Khan, his adopted slave, accompanied by Sheer Khan's brothers, Sooliman and Ahmud. Shady Khan's orders were, to take possession of the country, and to leave a force with Sooliman to protect him in the estate. This measure was altogether so sudden and unexpected, that Sheer Khan had no time to collect his troops; but on the first alarm he wrote to one Mullik Sooka (the father of Khowas Khan), his deputy in the district of Khowaspoor Tanda, to harass the enemy, but by all means to avoid an action till he joined him in person. Mullik Sooka, however, desirous of distinguishing himself, gave his enemies battle, and lost both his life and the victory. This unexpected reverse weakened Sheer Khan's power so much, that he was in no condition to oppose Mahomed Khan Soor; he therefore evacuated the country, and fled to Sooltan Jooneid Birlas, governor of Kurra and Manukpoor, on the part of the Emperor Babur. To Sooltan Jooneid Birlas he made a handsome present, was taken into favour, and at length obtained a body of troops to recover his country. With these he defeated Mahomed Khan, who fled to the mountain of Rohtas, so that he not only recovered his own country, but added several other districts to his jageer, which he now held of the Mogul Emperor. Having rewarded the Moguls who had aided him, he permitted them to return to their master. From this time, Sheer Khan raised troops among

45. This language may serve to throw some light on the view the Indian Mahomedans had of the rights in landed property. The arguments adduced by Sheer Khan are consistent with the practice of the modern Marattas.

his former friends who had fled to the hills, and eventually became very formidable in those parts. Having thus established himself, he invited back his enemy Mahomed Khan Soor, who had fled, and put him in possession of his former estate. This generous conduct converted his greatest foe into one of his best friends. Sheer Khan, having settled his affairs, left his brother Nizam Khan in charge of his country, and paid a visit to his benefactor, Sooltan Jooneid Birlas, at Kurra, who being then about to proceed to Agra, invited Sheer Khan to accompany him, when he was introduced to the Emperor Babur, whom he attended in his expedition to Chundery.

Sheer Khan, having stayed some time in the Mogul camp, and observing the manners and habits of the court, said one day to a friend, that he thought it would be no difficult matter to drive those foreigners out of Hindoostan. His friend asked him what reason he had to think so. Sheer Khan replied, "That the King himself, though a man of parts, attended but little to business; that he trusted every thing to his ministers, who were all corrupt, and thought more of their own interests than of the King's concerns; that, therefore, if the Afghans, who were now at enmity among themselves, could be brought to unite, the work might be effected; and should fortune ever favour him, he imagined himself even equal to the task, however difficult it might at present appear." His friends burst into laughter, and began to ridicule the idea. Sheer Khan, a few days after, being seated at dinner in the King's tent, had some solid dishes placed before him, but had only a spoon to eat with: he called for a knife; but the servants not supplying him, he drew his dagger without ceremony, and cutting up his meat, made a hearty meal, without noticing those who appeared diverted at the incident. When he had done, Babur, who had watched the whole proceeding, turned to the steward of the household, and said, "This Afghan is not to be disconcerted with trifles: he may come to be a great man yet."

Sheer Khan, conceiving by this observation that the King might have been informed of his late private conversation, left the camp that night, and retired to his estate. He wrote from thence to his benefactor, Sooltan Jooneid Birlas, that, as Mahomed Khan Soor had prevailed on Mahomed Shah Shurky, King of Behar, to send troops against his jageer, he had left Babur's camp so suddenly without taking leave. Having thus account-

ed to Sooltan Jooneid Birlas for his departure, he resolved to be reconciled to Mahomed Shah Shurky, with whom he now became a greater favourite than before.

Mahomed Shah Lohany dying a short time after, was succeeded by his son, Julal Khan, a minor. The young prince's mother, the Sooltana Ladoo, acted as regent, and conferred the principal offices of the government upon Sheer Khan; and she too dying soon after, the administration fell wholly into his hands. Mukdoom Alum, the governor of Hajypoor, on the part of Mahmood Shah Poorby, King of Bengal, being guilty of some misconduct, put himself under Sheer Khan's protection. The King of Bengal, to revenge this insult, ordered Kootub Khan, governor of Moongeer, with a force against Behar. As the forces of Behar were inconsiderable in comparison with those of Bengal, Sheer Khan made many overtures for accommodating differences, but to no purpose. Finding all arguments vain, he resolved to stand the unequal encounter, in which his superior skill and bravery acquired for him a complete victory. Kootub Khan was slain; and all his treature, elephants, and camp-equipage taken, which greatly added to Sheer Khan's power and reputation.

After this victory the Lohany Afghans, cousins of Julal Khan, the young King of Behar, envying the fortune of Sheer Khan, formed a conspiracy against his life. Sheer Khan, having discovered the plot, taxed Julal Khan with being privy to it, telling the young Prince at the same time that there was no necessity for taking so base a method of ridding himself of his servant; for that if he should but once signify his inclination, Sheer Khan was ready to resign the management of that government which he had lately so successfully protected. The Prince, either doubtful of his sincerity, or perhaps equally suspicious of the other chiefs, would not consent to his resignation; which so effectually disappointed the conspirators, that they took every possible opportunity to widen the breach between the King and his minister. Sheer Khan, finding that he had no security but in maintaining his power, by the unlimited use he made of it justly excited the Prince's jealousy to such a degree, that, one night, accompanied by his officers, Julal Khan fled to Mahmood Shah Poorby of Bengal, and implored his aid to expel Sheer Khan, who had usurped his authority. Mahmood Shah Poorby, excited by compassion towards the young Prince, as well as insti-

gated by his personal hatred of Sheer Khan, sent Ibrahim Khan, the son of Kootub Khan, (whom Sheer Khan had lately defeated and slain) with a considerable army against him. The Bengal army besieged Sheer Khan in a mud fort[46] for a length of time without success, till Ibrahim Khan found it necessary to raise the siege and send for reinforcement. Sheer Khan, availing himself of this circumstances, came out and offered battle. He ordered his troops to make a show of flight at the onset, in order to draw the enemy into an ambush which he had prepared; and he thus defeated and slew Ibrahim Khan, took all his guns and elephants, and compelled the young Prince Julal to fly in great distress to Bengal.

Sheer Khan being now sole master of all Behar, became daily more and more powerful. Taj Khan was at this time governor of the strong fort of Chunar, which he had held on his own account from the period of the death of Ibrahim Lody. His wife, Ladoo Mullika, who was barren, but for whom he had a great affection, having excited the envy of his other wives by whom he had children, nearly fell a victim to her husband's partiality; for the rest of Taj Khan's wives conspired against her, and induced one of their sons to promise to murder her. The young man who had undertaken the act, missing his blow, only inflicted a slight wound; and Taj Khan, being alarmed by his wife's cries, came to her assistance, and drew his sword on his son, who, seeing no hopes of escape, assaulted his father and slew him. The rest of Taj Khan's son being yet too young to be intrusted with the government, Ladoo Mullika, by her address among the chiefs and zemindars, contrived to manage the estate. Sheer Khan, informed of this state of affairs, proposed a treaty of marriage with the widow Ladoo Mullika, which was soon concluded. Sheer Khan thus secured Chunar and the dependent districts, which added greatly to his power; and the acquisition of a considerable treasure in the place was most opportune.

Much about this time, the Prince Mahomed, son of the King Sikundur Lody, having taken protection with Rana Sanka, had by his assistance and that of Hussun Khan Mewatty advanced against the Mogul Emperor Babur; but he sustained a defeat, as we have already seen, at Kanwa. The Prince Mahomed first fled to Chitoor, but was subsequently invited to join

46. The name is omitted in the original.

the Lody chiefs who had assembled at Patna, and being proclaimed king, soon made himself master of all Behar. Sheer Khan, perceiving that he could not withdraw the officers from the Prince Mahomed Lody's interest, and that he had not sufficient force to oppose him, of necessity submitted to his authority, and by that means saved a part of Behar which Mahomed Lody permitted him to retain. This prince told him at the same time, that if he should effectually assist him in recovering Joonpoor from the Moguls, he would restore Behar to him. A written compact to that effect was accordingly drawn up and executed between them.

Some time after this, Sheer Khan, having obtained leave to return to Sahsaram, began to levy troops, and Mahomed Shah Lody, marching with an army against the Moguls, sent him orders to join. Sheer Khan delayed doing so for some time, which convinced the Prince he was lukewarm in his interest, and he accordingly marched his army through Sheer Khan's estate on his way to Joonpoor. On this occasion, Sheer Khan came out to meet him, caused an elegant entertainment to be provided for him, and accompanied him as far as Joonpoor. The troops of Hoomayoon evacuated the province on their approach, so that the Afghans obtained possession of the whole country as far as Manukpoor.

Hoomayoon, who was at this time besieging Kalunjur, having heard of the progress of the Afghans, raised the siege, and marched against them. Mahomed Shah Lody having on this occasion given the chief command of his army to Bubun Khan and Bayezeed Khan, Sheer Khan conceived himself neglected, and accordingly betraying his master, wrote a private letter the night before the action to Mirza Hindoo Beg, one of the Mogul generals, acquainting him, "That he esteemed himself a servant of Babur's family, to whom he owed his advancement, and that he would be the cause of defeating the Afghans next day." Accordingly as had been preconcerted, Sheer Khan drew off his troops during the action, which occasioned Mahomed Shah Lody's defeat, for which service he was greatly favoured by Hoomayoon. Mahomed Shah Lody, after this defeat, having retreated to Patna, withdrew from public life, and in the same year died a natural death in retirement in Orissa.

Hoomayoon, after this victory, returned to Agra, and sent Mirza Hindoo Beg to Sheer Khan, requiring of the latter to put

him in possession of the fort of Chunar. Sheer Khan excused himself, and obliged Hindoo Beg to retreat. Hoomayoon returned immediately with his whole army to besiege Chunar, and having invested it, he received a letter from Sheer Khan, acquainting him, "That he considered himself one of the servants of the house of Babur, from whom he first obtained a government; that he had evinced his fidelity by being the occasion of the late victory; that, therefore, if the King would permit him to retain the fort of Chunar, he was willing to pay him the revenues of the lands which he held, and would send his son, Kootub Khan, with five hundred horse, to be maintained at his own expence, in the King's Service." The affairs of Guzerat, owing to the conquests of Bahadur Shah, required the King's presence in that quarter, so that Hoomayoon, taking into consideration the strength of Chunar, consented to these terms, and being joined by Kootub Khan, with five hundred horse, he marched against Bahadur Shah. He had scarcely reached Guzerat, however, when Kootub Khan deserted with his party, and returned to his father. Sheer Khan raised forces, and reduced all Behar; and, gaining confidence from this success, he invaded Bengal, and having fought several severe actions, penetrated to its capital.

Mahmood Shah Poorby of Bengal shut himself up in Goor, to which Sheer Khan laid siege; but learning that the zemindars of Behar, during his absence, had raised an insurrection, he left Khowas Khan to prosecute the siege of Goor, and returned in person to Behar. Shortly afterwards, Sheer Khan rejoined the army, and the garrison of Goor being straitened for supplies, Mahmood Shah fled in a boat to Hajypoor. Being colsely pursued by Sheer Khan, he gave battle, but was defeated and wounded in the action; and abandoning his kingdom, it fell into the hands of Sheer Khan.

Hoomayoon, returning from Guzerat, conceived it necessary to check Sheer Khan's rising power; for which purpose, he marched towards Chunar. Julal Khan, a son of Sheer Khan, who commanded there, left the defence to Ghazy Khan Soor, and retired to the hills of J'harkund, from whence he returned and annoyed the besiegers. The siege was carried on for six months, when Roomy Khan, who commanded Hoomayoon's artillery, reduced the fort by means of floating stages which have been already described.

Hoomayoon, leaving Dost Beg in charge of Chunar, marched towards Bengal, where Mahmood Shah Poorby, who, as we have already related, was wounded in an action with Sheer Khan, claimed his protection. Hoomayoon, having advanced to the pass of Gurhy, the frontier post of Bengal, found that Sheer Khan had sent his son Julal, with Khowas Khan and a strong detachment, to guard the defile. Jehangeer Koolly Beg and some other chiefs were directed to dislodge them; but they were repulsed in several attacks. Being, however, supported by more troops, and the whole army appearing in sight, a successful assault was made, and the Moguls at length became masters of the pass. Julal Khan fled to his father at Goor, who, being in no condition to engage so superior a force, evacuated that capital, carried off all his wealth to the mountains of J'harkund, and began to protect a scheme for possessing himself of Rohtas, in which he might lodge his family and wealth in security.

Sheer Khan had no hopes of taking Rohtas by open force; it became necessary, therefore, to devise some stratagem to effect the object. He accordingly sent a person to Raja Hurry Krishn Ray, who was in possession of it, to say, "That as he was about to attempt the recovery of Bengal, he relied on their former friendship for permitting him to send his family and treasure into Rohtas, with a few attendants." Hurry Krishn Ray at first refused; but Sheer Khan, having sent an artful agent to him a second time, with handsome presents, assured him, "That it was for his women and treasure alone he requested protection: that should he be fortunate enough to conquer Bengal, he would make proper acknowledgments for the favour; but if he should lose his life in the contest, he rather chose that his family and wealth should remain in the hands of Hurry Krishn Ray, than fall into those of his enemies, the Moguls." Hurry Krishn Ray suffered himself to be deceived; but in giving his consent,[47] resolved to keep the treasure when once in his possession.

Sheer Khan having provided dolies,[48] placed armed men in them, except in the two or three which were to go first; and having

47. This gratuitous assertion seems unsupported by proof, and is probably made by the author who wrote Sheer Shah's history, as some excuse for his subsequent conduct.

48. Covered litters for the conveyance of females. The English employ them for carrying the sick and wounded men of their army in the field.

filled five hundred money-bags with leaden bullets, appointed some of his most trusty soldiers to carry them, in the disguise of servants, with sticks in their hands: they appeared as if they were carrying the treasure up the mountain. The men who carried the dolies were also soldiers. This train having reached the gate, and the first and second doly being examined, and found to contain only old women, all farther precaution was neglected. The Raja was, in the mean time, busy in counting the bags, which he now calculated on as his own. The dolies having reached the house which the Raja had appointed for the reception of the females, the savage wolves[49] rushed out among the sheep, and dyed the fold with their blood. The men who conveyed the treasure at first used their staves, till they all gradually supplied themselves with arms from the dolies; and having easily mastered the garrison, totally unprepared for such an occurrence, they admitted Sheer Khan, who was encamped at a small distance. Hurry Krishn Ray himself escaped with a few followers out of the fort, by a private passage.

Thus fell one of the most impregnable fortresses in the world into the hands of Sheer Khan, together with much treasure, which had been accumulated for ages. The merit of the invention of the stratagem, however, is not due to Sheer Khan; the fort of Asseer, in the Deccan, having been long before surprised in the same manner by Nuseer Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish.

Although the author (Mahomed Kasim Ferishta) has seen many hill forts in India, he has seen none to compare with that of Rohtas. It is situated on a table land on the top of a mountain, more than five coss (seven miles) square. It has only one entrance by a very narrow road, along a steep ascent of two miles from the foot of the hill to the gates; and water is found every where in abundance, by digging a few feet below the surface.

Sheer Khan having thus secured a safe retreat for his family, his friends acquired fresh spirits. Hoomayoon, in the mean time, spent three months at Goor, at which place he received advices that his brother, Hindal Mirza, had revolted in Agra, and that he had put to death Sheikh Bheilole, on account of his attachment

49. In translating this passage I have adhered closely to the Persian idiom. The soldiers are not assimilated to wolves, and the garrison to lambs, but they are personified. This peculiarity belongs to the Persian language.

to Hoomayoon; that he had also coined money in his own name. Hoomayoon, therefore, leaving Jehangeer Koolly Beg, with five thousand horse, in Goor, returned towards Agra. Owing to the excessive rains and bad roads, the King's cavalry and beasts of burden perished in great numbers; and Sheer Khan, who had by this time raised a considerable army, entrenched himself on the banks of the Jowsa, at a ford by which he thought the King must of necessity pass; at which place Hoomayoon was defeated with great slaughter, in the manner already related. Sheer Khan did not immediately push forward to the capital, but having resolved to leave no enemy in his rear, he returned to Bengal. He there engaged Jehangeer Koolly Beg in several battles; in the last of which he defeated and slew him, and cut his army to pieces. After the reoccupation of Bengal, Sheer Khan assumed the title of Shah, or King, and causing coin to be struck, and public prayers to be read in his name, marched the next year with an army towards Agra. Hoomayoon, by this time being deserted by his brother Kamran, had also given offence to his Mogul officers by the decided preference he showed towards his Toorkoman troops. He, however, crossed the Jumna with a hundred thousand horse, to encounter Sheer Khan, whose force did not exceed fifty thousand men. Sheer Khan, as we have already mentioned, defeated Hoomayoon, and pursued him through Agra and Lahore to Khooshab; from whence the latter eventually retreated towards the Indus.

Meanwhile Ismael Khan, Ghazy Khan, and Futteh Khan Bulloch, governors of the several provinces in Punjab, acknowledged the title of Sheer Shah. In his progress through that province, having observed among the mountains of Nandere and Bulnat a hill well calculated for defence, he ordered a fortress to be constructed on it, which he named Rohtas. Khowas Khan, to whose bravery and conduct he felt himself deeply indebted, was created Sipasalar (Commander of his forces), and a tenth of the revenues of Punjab was assigned to him, of which province he was appointed governor. Heibut Khan Neeazy remained in command of the army in the north-west, while Sheer Shah returned towards Agra. On his arrival he learned that Khizr Khan Sheerwany, whom he had left in the government of Bengal, had espoused the daughter of the exiled King, Mahomed Shah Poorby, and had assumed the state of a sovereign prince. Aware of the danger of permitting such conduct, Sheer Shah proceeding to Bengal. Khizr

Khan submitted without a struggle, and was imprisoned. Sheer Shah now divided the kingdom of Bengal among a number of chiefs wholly independent of each other, and appointing Kazy Fuzeelut, a native of Kurra, famous for his learning as well as for his wisdom, to control the whole, he returned to Agra.

In the year A.H. 949 (A.D. 1542), Sheer Shah marched towards Malwa. He advanced, in the first instance, to Gualiar, where he found that Shoojaat Khan, one of his officers who had laid siege to the place, had already induced Hoomayoon's governor, Abool Kasim Beg, to surrender that strong fortress into his hands; and shortly after, Mulloo Khan, the governor of Malwa, submitted without a struggle. Mulloo Khan, however, became suspicious of some design against his person, and fled from the King's camp; when Hajy Khan was appointed temporarily governor of a part of Malwa, and Shoojaat Khan was nominated to the charge of Sivas. Sheer Shah now marched to Runtunbhore, where Mulloo Khan, the ex-governor of Malwa, attacked both Hajy Khan and Shoojaat Khan, but was repulsed. Shoojaat Khan having distinguished himself very much on the occasion, Hajy Khan was recalled, and the government of Malwa was intrusted solely to Shoojaat Khan.

Sheer Shah reached Runtunbhore, and obtained possession of that fortress from the governor, who still held it in the name of the Prince Mahomed Lody. After this event, Sheer Shah returned to Agra, where he remained a whole year, superintending the civil administration of his government. Meanwhile Heibut Khan was sent to wrest Mooltan out of the hands of the Bullochies, who had occupied it. Futteh Khan Bulloch was in consequence attacked and expelled, and the whole country submitted to the arms of Dehly. Heibut Khan received the title of Azim Hoomayoon, and the government of Mooltan.

In the year A.H. 950 (A.D. 1543), Sheer Shah learned that Poorun Mul, the son of Silhuddy Poorbeea, a chief who had formerly occupied some of the Malwa districts, maintained a seraglio of two thousand concubines, many of whom were Mahomedan women. He made this a pretext for war, and accordingly marched and invested him in the fort of Raisein. The siege was protracted for a length of time, and Poorun Mul capitulated, by which the garrison were permitted to march out with their arms and property. But Mirza Ruffeea-ood-Deen Sufvy, one of the

learned men of the age, gave it as his opinion, that it was by no means necessary to observe faith with infidels, and recommended that the Rajpoots should be attacked. Sheer Shah having occupied the fort, drew out the army, and surrounding the followers of Poorun Mul, ordered his troops to cut them off. This brave band, however, defended itself with such valour, that the deeds of Roostoom and Isfundyar might be deemed child's play, till not an individual of the Hindoos survived the horrid catastrophe.

Sheer Shah, after this transaction, returned to Agra. Having remained there a few months, to recruit his army, he proceeded towards Marwar, during the march to which place he entrenched his camp every night, as well for security, as, by exercising his troops, to render them expert in this mode of defence. When he came to cross the sands, he formed redoubts all round him with gabions. In this manner he entered the country of the Raja of Nagoor and Ajmeer. Maldew, the most powerful of the Hindoo princes who still retained their independence, opposed the King with fifty thousand Rajpoots, and both armies lay thirty days in sight of each other. Sheer Shah would gladly have retreated quietly; but the danger was too great to admit of his venturing to quit his entrenchments; while the position of the enemy was such as to render an attack on him very hazardous. In this anxious situation a successful stratagem suggested itself to the King. Maldew having originally subdued most of the Rajpoot chiefs now with him, Sheer Shah caused letters in the Hindoo language to be addressed to himself, as if written by the Raja's generals, stating, "That, having been subjected by the Raja, they had, through necessity, accompanied him; but that they were, in secret, inimical to him: that if Sheer Shah, therefore, would reinstate them in their former possessions, they were willing to pay him tribute, and acknowledge his supremacy." On these letters Sheer Shah superscribed in Persian, "Fear nothing, but persevere, and you may be assured your wishes shall be complied with." Some of these letters were purposely thrown in the way of Maldew, who, being jealous of his chiefs, was deceived, and hesitated to give battle, which he had intended doing on that very day. He was more and more confirmed in his suspicions by the eagerness which his officers evinced to engage; and on the fourth day he even ordered a retreat. Koonbha, one of his principal officers, discovered the deception, and endeavoured to convince Maldew of his error (A.H.

951, A.D. 1544). Finding the Raja's suspicions not to be removed, he told him, "That such treachery was unprecedented among true Rajpoots, and he determined to wash off the stain on their reputation with his blood, or to subdue Sheer Shah with his own tribe alone."

Maldew continued to retreat; but the gallant Koonbha, with a few other chiefs, and ten or twelve thousand men, separating from their prince, turned back with an intent to surprise Sheer Shah's camp. By accident, however, they lost their way in the night, and it was daylight before they reached th eenemy. Sheer Shah formed his troops, and attacked them: his army, on this occasion, by the most moderate computation, amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, which this small band of brave Rojpoots repeatedly repulsed, and would have probably defeated, had not Julal Khan Julwany arrived during the heat of the battle with a reinforcement. Sheer Shah now falling on the Rajpoots with renewed vigour, threw them into disorder. They broke, and Koonbha together with almost all his followers were cut to pieces.

Sheer Shah, after the victory, of which he had at one time despaired, declared, "That, for a handfull of jooar he had almost lost the empire of India." For in the territories of Raja Maldew, owing to the poverty of the soil and want of water, wheat, rice, peas, sugar, pan, and other superior productions of Hindoostan are seldom cultivated; the common grain of the country being arzun, which in the language of India is called bajry. Maldew hearing of the loss of so many brave men, was overwhelmed with affliction, and being subsequently deserted by the greatest part of his army, he retreated among the mountains of Joodpoor.

Sheer Shah now marched against the fort of Chittoor, which surrendered by capitulation. He next proceeded to Runtunbhore, and gave that country in jageer to his eldest son Adil Khan, who fixed his residence there. The army then moved towards Kalunjur, one of the strongest forts in Hindoostan. The Raja, in consequence of Sheer Shah's treachery to Poorun Mul, refused terms, and prepared for hostilities. Sheer Shah having surrounded the fort, carried on his approaches, constructing batteries for his artillery, and sinking mines under the rock. The batteries were advanced close to the walls, a breach was made, and a general assault ordered, when a shell, which was thrown against the fort, burst in the battery in which the King stood, and communicating

to a powder magazine that had not been properly secured, several gunners were blown up, as also the King, and many of his chiefs, who were so severely scorched that they were carried for dead to their tents.

In this condition, though the King breathed with great pain, he encouraged the prosecution of the attack, and continued to give his orders, till in the evening news was brought him of the reduction of the place. He then cried out, "Thanks to the Almighty God!" and expired.

The death of Sheer Shah happened on the 12th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 952 (May 22, A.D. 1545). He spent fifteen years in a military life before he ascended the throne, and sat on the musnud five years, as emperor of Hindoostan.

Sheer Shah was not more remarkable for his good sense and talents than for his justice towards his subjects; and left behind him many monuments of his magnificence. From Bengal and Soonargaum to the Indus, which is 1500 coss (2000 miles), he built caravanseras, and dug a well at the distance of every coss. Besides which he raised many magnificent mosques for the worship of God on the highway, wherein he appointed readers of the Koran, and moollas. He ordered that at every stage all strangers, without distinction of country or religion, should be entertained, according to their quality, at the public expense, and he planted rows of fruit trees along the roads, as well to preserve travellers from the scorching rays of the sun, as to slake their thirst. Horse posts were established at proper distances, as well for forwarding quick intelligence to government, as for the advtantages of trade and correspondence. A similar establishment was also maintained from Agra to Mandoo, a distance of 300 coss (450 miles); fruit-trees being planted along the road side, and musjids, caravanseras, and wells being also constructed at short distances from each other. Such was the public security during his reign, that travellers and merchants, depositing their property on the road side, lay down to sleep without apprehension of robbery.

It is said that Sheer Shah being told that his beard grew white, replied, "it was true that he had obtained the throne in the evening of life; a circumstance he always regretted, as it left him so short a time to be of use to his country, and to promote the welfare of his people."[50]

50. Colonel Dow states that he is buried at Sahsaram, the family

SULIM SHAH SOOR

At the time Sheer Shah died, his eldest son, Adil Khan, whom he had appointed his successor, was at Runtunbhore, and his younger son, Julal Khan, in the village of Reewa, near Punna. The officers who favoured Julal Khan more than his brother, then at so great a distance, insisted on the necessity of filling the throne as soon as possible, and for that purpose despatched expresses to Julal Khan, who arrived in three days in the camp. Julal Khan, through the influence of Eesa Khan and his party, ascended the throne, in the fortress of Kalunjur, on the 15th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 952 (May 25, A.D. 1545), taking the title of Islam Shah, which by false prounciation is called Sulim Shah, by which name he is more generally known. Sulim Shah, assuming the regalia, wrote to his elder brother, Adil Khan, in the following words: "You being at so great a distance, and I so near, have taken on me the command of the army till you arrive; but my intentions are only to forward your interest, and to support your authority." Julal Khan, after writing this letter, marched from Kalunjur towards Agra, and at Kora was met by Khowas Khan, commander of his father's forces, by whom he was formally crowned, and a second time ascended the throne, holding a magnificent festival upon the occasion. From Kora, Sulim Shah wrote another letter to his brother, begging in the most affectionate terms that he would come and see him.

Adil Khan wrote to the chiefs in the court of Sulim Shah, particularly to Kootub Khan, Eesa Khan, Khowas Khan, and Julal Khan Julwany, to ascertain for what purpose he was invited, and what assistance he might expect from them; at the same time he returned for answer to his brother, "That if he would send these four chiefs to him, with proper assurances, he would come." Sulim Shah accordingly deputed them to wait on Adil Khan, and to assure him in the most solemn manner that he would permit him, if he pleased, to depart after the first interview; and in order to reconcile him to the loss of his throne, of which there was no longer any doubt, he offered him the choice of any of the provinces of the kingdom as an estate. Adil Khan proceeded to Agra, and having arrived there while Sulim Shah was on a hunting party,

estate, in a magnificent sepulchre, surrounded by a reservoir of water, built during his own life.

joined him at the village of Seekry (now called Futtehpoor), and carpets were spread on the field for their interview. Here they evinced the greatest affection towards each other, and after some discourse proceeded to Agra. Sulim Shah, who resolved to seize his brother, gave private orders to admit but a few of his retinue into the court-yard; while Adil Khan, anticipating such a step, directed his people to force their way in, at all hazards.

Sulim Shah, perceiving his object had failed, had recourse to flattery and dissimulation, and even carried his courtesy so far as to lay hold of Adil Khan's hand, in order to force him to sit on the throne; but the latter, naturally timid and indolent, rejected the offer, knowing how little support he could expect from the nobles. Adil Khan, somewhat alarmed also at the disturbance which had been made by his guards at the palace gate, made a formal resignation of his birthright, and placing Sulim Shah on the throne, saluted him King. This hint was instantly taken by the courtiers, who were waiting with impatience the issue of the meeting. The chiefs, now advancing to the throne in succession, according to their rank, presented their congratulatory offerings, while others performed the ceremony of Nisar,[51] proclaiming aloud, "We offer our lives and fortunes to Sulim Shah." These ceremonies being over, Kootub Khan and the other chiefs who had passed their words to Adil Khan proposed, that as he had selected Byana for his estate, he should receive the sunnuds for that province at once, and be permitted to depart. Sulim Shah consented, and matters being arranged accordingly, Adil Khan left Agra, accompanied by Eesa Khan and Khowas Khan. Two months afterwards, Sulim Shah sent for Ghazy Mhally, one of his eunuchs, and gave him a pair of golden fetters, directing him to bring Adil Khan prisoner to court. The latter, however, having timely information of the design, fled to Mewat, where Khowas Khan then resided, and acquainted that chief, with tears in his eyes, of his brother's baseness. Khowas Khan, whose honour was concerned, roused with indignation, seized Ghazy Mhally, and went into open rebellion (A.H. 952, A.D. 1545). Khowas Khan's character was so high, that by writing private letters to the nobles

51. Nisar, or Koorban, is the wave offering so frequently mentioned in the Old Testament. It consists in pronouncing a benediction, and waving over the head of the individual some offering, which is instantly given away in charity or otherwise.

of the court he gained many partisans, and being now at the head of a considerable army, and accompanied by the Prince Adil Khan and Eesa Khan, he marched towards Agra. On the road, he received letters from Kootub Khan and Julal Khan Julwany, who conceiving their honour equally implicated by the King's conduct, pledged themselves to join the Prince Adil Khan, at the same time recommending, that he should contrive to reach Agra before daylight, so as to enable his friends to join him at once. At length, when the Prince reached Seekry, which is 12 coss from Agra, he paid his respects to Sheikh Sulim, one of the most holy men of the age; and as it was the night of the Koorban festival,[52] he was delayed so long at prayers, that he did not reach Agra till next day at *chasht* (breakfast). Sulim Shah, thrown into the utmost perplexity by this event, sent for Kootub Khan and Julal Khan Julwany, and reproached them for not dissuading him from the step which had involved him in such a dilemma. Kootub Khan replied, "That the affair was by no means without remedy; and that, if permitted, he would settle it amicably." Sulim Shah, unsuspicious of the fidelity of the two chiefs, desired that they would go to the Prince Adil Khan, and conciliate him. They were, however, no sooner gone, than Sulim Shah revealed to his friends his intention of flying to Chunar, where the treasure was lodged, and resolved to raise an army to reduce his brother, whom he was at present in no condition to engage. Eesa Khan Meer Hajib dissuaded him from this measure, reminding him, "That he had with him ten thousand Firmully Afghans, besides many other faithful soldiers who had served with him before he ascended the throne, of whose fidelity he could have no doubt;" observing, "that it was the height of imprudence to trust the kingdom which God had given him to the caprice of fortune, while he had it in his power to defend it by instantly taking the field." "Do not (said Eesa Khan) cast off the friends whom you have acquired in your prosperity, with a vain hope to find others in the hour of adversity. The wisest course for you, is to appear at the head of your army, and to take the field. This will at once secure your wavering troops, and intimidate the enemy."

Sulim Shah, encouraged by this advice, resolved to stand his ground, and recalled Kootub Khan and the other chiefs, who had

52. This fast is kept in commemoration of the intended sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham.

not yet set out to accommodate matters with the Prince Adil Khan, to his presence. He told them, that on reconsideration he was resolved not to place his faithful chiefs in the hands of his enemies; and forthwith ordering his troops under arms, marched out of the city, and formed them on the plain. The officers, who had promised to favour the Prince Adil Khan, seeing their King in the field, were ashamed to desert him, and felt it their duty to fight; a disappointment which so greatly disconcerted Khowas Khan, that, although his troops behaved with great bravery, he was overthrown. After the action, the Prince Adil Khan fled, in the first instance, to Patna; but soon after disappearing, was never again heard of; while Khowas Khan and Eesa Khan retreated to Mewat, to which place Sulim Shah sent an army, which was defeated at Firozepoor. The royal army being soon after reinforced, the insurgent chiefs were obliged to retreat among the mountains of Kumaoon. Sulim Shah detached Kootub Khan in pursuit, who effected nothing beyond plundering the countries lying in the neighbourhood of the hills. Sulim Shah meanwhile marched to Chunar, and being informed of the treasonable correspondence Julal Khan Julwany had maintained with the Prince Adil Khan before the late battle, he caused him to be put to death, together with his brother, who was concerned in the same conspiracy. On his arrival at Chunar, the King, having secured the treasure of his father, sent it to Gualiar, and returned to Agra. At this time, Kootub Khan, finding that Sulim Shah was no stranger to the part he had taken in the late disturbances, and apprehensive of returning to court, fled to place himself under the protection of Heibut Khan, governor of Lahore, then known by the title of Azim Hoomayoon. Sulim Shah, however, having despatched orders for his being delivered into his hands, Kootub Khan was sent prisoner to Gualiar, with many other suspected persons, among was Shahbaz Khan Lohany, the King's brother-in-law, who was deprived of his sight. The governor of Lahore and Shoojaat Khan, governor of Malwa, were about this time called to court. Azim Hoomayoon evaded the order; but the latter, obeying the summons, had the address to clear himself from all suspicion, and was permitted to resume his government.

The King now moved towards Rohtas, to bring to Agra the treasure which his father had deposited in that place. On the route, Syeed Khan, the brother of Azim Hoomayoon, having left

the camp suddenly, fled to Lahore, and the King, concluding that some insurrection was in agitation, returned immediately to his capital, where, having assembled his forces from all quarters, he marched to Dehly, and on this occasion ordered the new city built by Hoomayoon Padshah to be walled in with stone. At Dehly he was joined by Shoojaat Khan from Malwa, and having remained only a few days to organize his army, he took the route of Lahore. Azim Hoomayoon, Khowas Khan, and other disaffected chiefs, with more than double the King's forces, met him at Amballa. Sulim Shah, arriving within sight of the insurgents, ascended a rising ground for the purpose of reconnoitring, and after viewing for some time their disposition, said, "It is not consistent with my honour to trifle with these rebels;" and having ordered his line out, he advanced against them. It happened fortunately for him, that on the preceding night a dispute had arisen among the confederate generals as to the succession to the throne. Khowas Khan, still a friend to the family of his patron Sheer Shah, insisted on search being made for the Prince Adil Khan; while Azim Hoomayoon affirmed, "That empire was no man's inheritance, but belonged to him who had the longest sword." This so plainly indicated his own ambitious views, that faction arose in the camp, and on the next day, when the troops were formed, Khowas Khan withdrew with his division without going into action at all. This circumstance so discouraged the army of the confederates, that their resistance was faint, and Sulim Shah gained an easy victory.

In the year A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546), in the midst of this good fortune, Sulim Shah narrowly escaped with his life from a daring attempt of Syeed Khan, the brother of Azim Hoomayoon. This chieftain, with ten faithful friends, in armour, mixed without discovery among the royal troops, and advanced towards the King as if about to, congratulate him. An elephant driver, who stood near the royal person, recognizing Syeed Khan, struck him with his spear. In spite of this circumstance, Syeed Khan and his band cut their way through the guards sword in hand, and escaped. The insurgents (styling themselves Neeazies) retreated after this defeat to D'hunkote, near Roh, in the mountains. Sulim Shah pursued them as far as the new fort of Rohtas, which his father had built; and having directed Khwaja Veis Sheerwany to continue the pursuit, he returned by the route of Agra to Gualiar. Shoojaat Khan, governor of Malwa, on going up to the fort one day, in front of

the King, was attacked by one Othman, a person whom he had deprived of his right hand some time before, and who now, concealing himself by the road-side, rushed out, and inflicted a dagger wound on Shoojaat Khan; who without further enquiry, conceiving the act had been preconcerted with the King, fled with precipitation towards Malwa with all his troops. The King pursued him as far as Mando; but hearing that he had fled to Banswalla, he returned, leaving Eesa Khan Soor, with twenty thousand horse, at Oojein, to watch his motions. These events occurred in the year A.H. 954 (A.D. 1547).

Khwaja Veis Sherwany having been some time before deputed to carry on the war against the Neeazies, engaged them near D'hunkote, but was defeated by Azim Hoomayoon, and pursued as far as Nowshehra. Sulim Shah, hearing of this circumstance, sent another army against the insurgents, which compelled them in turn to retreat to D'hunkote. A third action took place at Sumballa, in which the Neeazies were overthrown with great slaughter, and Azim Hoomayoon's mother, together with all his family, were taken prisoners. After this defeat, the Neeazies were compelled to seek protction among the Gukkurs, in the mountains of Kashmere. Sulim Shah, finding that he should have little peace without effectually putting down this rebellion, marched in person to the Punjab, and for the space of two years carried on war against the united force of the Gukkurs and Neeazies.

In this expedition, a person having concealed himself one day in a narrow path, by which Sulim Shah was ascending the mountain of Mankote, rushed on him with a drawn sword A.H. 955 (A.D. 1548). Sulim Shah had scarcely time to draw to defend himself; but having slain the assassin, he perceived the sword of the ruffian to be one that he had formerly given to Yekbal Khan, one of his own officers. The Gukkurs and Neeazies, driven from place to place, and unable to face the King's troops, Azim Hoomayoon endeavoured to enter the kingdom of Kashmere; but the ruler of that country, apprehensive of Sulim Shah's resentment, not only opposed and defeated him, but sent the heads of Azim Hoomayoon, his brother Syeed Khan, and Shahbaz Khan to the King. Sulim Shah, thus secure against further disturbance in that quarter, returned to Dehly.

Much about this time, Kamran Mirza, flying from his brother Hoomayoon, who was now on his march from Persia to

the East, took protection with Sulim Shah; but being ill received, he retired to the mountains of Sewalik, and eventually joined the Gukkurs. Shortly after this, Sulim Shah received advices that Hoomayoon Padshah had crossed the Indus. The King, when he gained the information, was under the operation of leeches. He instantly started from his seat, and issued orders to march, and on that very evening encamped six miles distant from Dehly. He there halted for his artillery, which was drawn out by men till the oxen, which were grazing in the country, could be collected. The guns being very heavy and unwieldy, one or two thousand men were required to drag them; yet in this manner he proceeded with considerable expedition till he reached Lahore. Meanwhile Hoomayoon Padshah retreated, as we shall have occasion to mention in the sequel; and Sulim Shah, returning to Dehly, eventually retired to Gualiar, where he took up his residence.

Sulim Shah, while taking the diversion of the chase near Attehr, was waylaid by a banditti instigated by some of his enemies; but having perceived them, he was able not only to avoid, but to seize the whole band. On examination, they implicated many of his chiefs, who were executed without much investigation; after which the King became so extremely suspicious, that numbers of officers suffered death on slight suspicions.

Khowas Khan, a man justly renowned for his personal courage, his honour, and his great abilities in war, and who had been raised to distinction by the late Sheer Shah, was driven to revolt; and, after flying from place to place, came to Taj Khan Kirany (who owed his preferment to him), and was then governor of Sumbhul. In the year A.H. 957 (A.D. 1550), Taj Khan, in violation of a solemn oath, and of the laws of hospitality, assassinated Khowas Khan, in order to recommend himself to Sulim Shah. His corpse was, however, afterwards conveyed to Dehly, where it was interred; and such is the veneration in which the name of Khowas Khan is held, even at the present day, that his tomb is frequented, and the common people, considering him a saint, go there to offer prayers for success in their undertakings.

Not long after this event, of which Sulim Shah was said to be the instigator, that Prince became afflicted with a fistula, of which he died, in the year A.H. 960 (A.D. 1553), having reigned nine years. Like Sheer Shah, he was magnificent in

his court equipage, and studied the convenience of travellers. From Bengal to the Indus he built an intermediate post-house between each of those which his father had erected, requiring that all who passed along the great road should be entertained at the public expence. In this year also died Mahmood Shah, King of Guzerat, and Boorhan Nizam Shah, King of Ahmudnuggur. In commemoration of the remarkable circumstance of these monarchs dying almost at the same time, the father of the author wrote a short epitaph, in which the words,

زوال خسروان
"The ruin of kings,"

exhibit the date (i.e. 960.)

Among the most extraordinary events of this reign, is the insurrection produced by Sheikh Allayee. The story is as follows:—The father of Sheikh Allayee was Sheikh Hussun, who professed himself to be a holy man, in the town of Byana; but he adopted opposite tenets to those of Sheikh Sulim of Seekry. Sheikh Hussun dying, was succeeded by his eldest son, Sheikh Allayee, a person as remarkable for his ambition as for his learning. It happened that one Sheikh Abdoolla, a Neeazy Afghan, and a pupil of Sheikh Sulim, having returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca, arrived at Byana, and professed the Mehdvy doctrines of Syeed Mahomed Joonpoory. He and Sheikh Allayee becoming intimate, the latter imbibed the Mehdvy tenets, and abandoning the doctrines of his father and ancestors, quitted his house in town, and, in conformity with the practice of the Mehdvies, took up his residence outside of Byana; and with a considerable number of adherents, abandoning all worldly pursuits, gave himself up wholly to devotion, under the firm conviction of predestination. He preached daily with such persuasive eloquence, that many persons, becoming riveted to the spot, would not quit him, and abandoning their families, became converts to his doctrines, and ranged themselves among the disciples of Syeed Mahomed Joonpoory, the founder of the sect; so that, in some instances, men employed in agriculture or trade made vows to devote one-tenth of their receipts to charity and to religious purposes.

Several instances occurred wherein fathers abandoned their children, sons their fathers, husbands their wives, and wives their husbands, and devoted themselves to worship and retirement from the world; it being a principle among the sect to divide in common

among their brethren all they possessed or received in charity. In cases where members of the sect got nothing for two or three days, they have been known to fast, resigning themselves entirely to their fate without complaint. It was there practice to go armed and in every instance where they saw any person doing what they conceived contrary to the holy law, they warned him to abstain; but if he persisted, they used to attack and put him or them to death. Many of the magistrates themselves, being Mehdvies, connived at these proceedings, and those who even did not approve, were afraid to check and to punish them. Sheikh Abdoolla, perceiving to what lengths the zeal of Sheikh Allayee had carried him, recommended him to go on pilgrimage to Mecca, by way of removing him for a time from the sect, and he accordingly left Byana with a retinue of three hundred and seventy followers. On his arrival at Khowaspoor, the famous Khowas Khan came out to meet him, and embraced his tenets; but shortly after, disgusted with the conduct of the Mehdvies, he gave them up. Sheikh Allayee, considering the defection of so great a man as Khowas Khan of too much importance to be allowed to pass unnoticed, he upbraided him with his apostasy, and, giving up his intention of proceeding to Mecca, returned to Byana. On the accession of Sulim Shah, Sheikh Allayee was sent for to Agra, to be present at the coronation; but he behaved so as to offend the King, who received him with great coolness, which the holy man resenting, matters proceeded to such lengths, that Moolla Abdoolla of Sooltanpoor eventually pronounced sentence of death on Sheikh Allayee. He was tried in the presence of the King by Meer Ruffeea-ood-Deen Anjoo, Moolla Julal Danishmund, Molla Abool Futteh Tahnesurry, and sundry other eminently learned men, to ascertain if his pertinaciously disrespectful manner to the King was consistent with his situation as a subject, or was enjoined by any precept of the Koran. Sheikh Allayee failed to plead any thing in extenuation in his defence. Sulim Shah, however, promised not only to pardon him, but to make him Mohtisab, "Censor of Morals," throughout his kingdom, provided he would abandon the Mehdvy tenets. But refusing to apostatise from his doctrines, Sulim Shah caused him to be banished to Hindia, south of the Nerbudda. Behar Khan, one of the King's officers, was governor of Hindia, and he with all his followers shortly became converted by the persuasive eloquence of Sheikh Allayee. Molla Abdoolla, his inveterate foe, procured

him to be sent for to Agra, where he underwent a second trial before a council of holy men, and was accused of personating the Imam Mehdy himself. Sulim Shah was informed by the same Moolla Abdoolla, that a large portion of his army, and many even of his own relations, had become the disciples of Sheikh Allayee, and he declared that the very throne was in danger. Sulim Shah, rejecting all that Moolla Abdoolla had said, sent Sheikh Allayee to Behar to be examined by Sheikh Burry, his own religious preceptor, with a determination of acting according to his opinion Meanwhile the King went to Lahore. Sheikh Allayee, being sent to Behar, was tried and condemned by Sheikh Burry, and the sentence was submitted to the King for approval. A pestilence breaking out at this time, Sheikh Allayee was seized with the disease, and being brought before Sulim Shah, he was required to abjure his tenets; but he remained firm to the last, and having been ordered to be stripped and whipped, he died under the third lash.

Shortly after this event, which took place in the year 955, Sulim Shah died, and was succeeded by his son, the Prince Feroze, then twelve years of age who was placed on the throne by the chiefs of the tribe of Soor at Gualiar. He had not reigned three days, when Moobariz Khan, the son of Nizam Khan Soor, at once the nephew of the late Sheer Shah, and brother-in-law of Sulim Shah, assassinated the young Prince, and ascending the throne, assumed the title of Mahomed Shah Adil.

Nizam-ood-Deen Ahmud Bukshy states, in his history of Akbur, that Sulim Shah frequently told his wife, Beeby Bye, if she had any affection of her child Feroze, to consent to the execution of her brother Moobariz Khan, or she might rely on his putting his nephew to death on the first opportunity. She always replied, "My brother is too fond of dissipation and pleasure to encumber himself with the load of anxiety which belongs to a King." But it happened otherwise; for on the third day after the death of Sulim Shah, Moobariz Khan, having entered the female apartments, slew with his own hand the unhappy Prince, whom he dragged from the arms of his mother, Beeby Bye, his own sister.

MAHOMED SHAH SOOR ADILY

As soon as Moobariz Khan had secured the musnud of the dynasty of Soor, he assumed the title of Aadil Shah; but the

lower orders of the people having rejected the letter *a* in the beginning, and added the letter *y* to the end of the word, were in the habit of calling him Adily, by which name he is known to posterity. Adily having always devoted himself to pleasure, neglected even the common acquirements of reading and writing. He hated men of learning, and kept company with illiterate persons like himself, whom he raised to the highest dignities in the state; among whom, one Hemoo, an Indian shopkeeper, whom his predecessor Sulim Shah had made superintendent of the markets, was intrusted with the whole administration of affairs.

In the year A.H. 960 (A.D. 1552), the King, in the mean time, heedless of what passed, spent his time in excess among the inmates of his haram. Having often heard much in praise of the munificence of former kings, particularly of Mahomed Toghluk, and mistaking prodigality for liberality, he opened the treasury, and lavished riches on all ranks without distinction. As he rode out, he discharged amongst the multitude golden-headed arrows, which sold for ten or twelve rupees each. This wanton extravagance soon left him without any of the treasure of his predecessors; and the people gave him the nickname of Andly, which in the Indian language signifies, equally, one who is blind, or who, acting as such, envinces himself a fool.

When Hemoo found himself invested with the whole executive power of the state, his pride and insolence (though formerly a man of sense) knew no bounds. This naturally created him enemies among the Afghan chiefs, who, having conspired against his life, revolted from his authority. The King became daily more and more despicable in the eyes of his subjects, while all regularity in the government ceased. One day, during a public audience, he began to distribute estates and governments to his chiefs; among others, he ordered the province of Kunowj to be taken from Mahomed Khan Firmully, and to be given to Surmust Khan Surrabunny. Sikundur Khan, the son of Mahomed Khan, a brave young man, being present, said aloud to the King, "Is my estate then to be conferred on a seller of dogs?" Mahomed Khan Firmully, who was present, endeavoured to check the impetuosity of his son; but he only inflamed his passion the more. He charged the King in plain terms with a design to extirpate his family. Surmust Khan, to whom the estate had been given, and who was a man of uncommon strength and stature,

seized Sikundur Khan by the throat; but that young man, drawing his dagger, stabbed him to the heart, and laid him dead at his feet. Perceiving the desperate situation in which he stood, he attacked all those who endeavoured to oppose him, killing several chiefs, and wounding others. He next attacked the king himself, who, leaping from the throne, ran into the seraglio, and on Sikundur Khan's pursuing him, shut the door in his face, which stopped his progress, and enabled Mahomed Shah to draw the bolt and secure himself. The desperate youth, finding himself disappointed, rushed back into the audience-chamber, and dealt death on all sides, till at length Ibrahim Khan Soor, the King's cousin and brother-in-law, attacking Sikundur Khan with some soldiers, they cut him to pieces (A.H. 961, A.D. 1553). Dowlut Khan Lohany with his own hand slew Mahomed Khan Firmully, the youth's father, though he could not be responsible for his son's rashness. It is said that Mahomed Khan Firmully having met Taj Khan Kirrany on that day, on his way to the audience-chamber, asked him whither he was going; to which the other replied, "that affairs had taken such an extraordinary turn at court, that he was determined to push his fortune, and would be glad that Mohomed Khan Firmully would share it with him." Mahomed Khan Firmully answered, "That he aspired to no higher fortune than what he possessed, for which he was as usual about to pay his respects;" but such as we have seen was his reward. Taj Khan, as soon as he left the fort, took the route of Bengal, with all his dependents. Troops were despatched in pursuit, and came up with him at Chibra Mow, about eight miles from Agra; but he defended himself so ably, that he contrived to ensure a safe retreat to Chunar. In his progress, he seized the public money and other effects belonging to the crown, and gave away an hundred elephants to his brethren and others of his tribe, who held lands in the province of Khowaspoor Tanda. By their aid he collected a formidable army, which obliged the King to take the field in person; and the insurgents meeting him on the banks of the Ganges above Chunar, were defeated and dispersed.

The King, however, becoming jealous of the popularity of Ibrahim Khan Soor, his brother-in-law, gave private orders to seize him. His wife, the King's sister, hearing of his design, acquainted her husband, who fled from Chunar to his father, Ghazy Khan, governor of Hindown. He was pursued by Eesa

Khan Neeazy, and overtaken at Kalpy, where an engagement ensued, in which Eesa Khan, being defeated, was compelled to relinquish all further pursuit. Ibrahim Khan, rendered desperate, soon after raised a considerable army, and, getting possession of the city of Dehly, ascended the throne, and assumed the ensigns of royalty. From thence he marched to Agra, and reduced the circumjacent provinces.

Mahomed Shah Adily returned from Chunar to suppress this usurpation. On the road thither, he received a deputation from Ibrahim Khan Soor, promising that, if the King would send Hoossein Khan and other chiefs with assurances of forgiveness, he would submit. The King complied with this request, and Ibrahim Khan prevailed on them by presents, by promises, and by address, to espouse his cause. Mahomed Shah Adily, finding himself betrayed, fled to Chunar, and contented himself with the government of the eastern provinces, while Ibrahim Khan retained possession of the western territory.

Ibrahim Khan no sooner ascended the throne of Dehly, than another competitor arose in the province of Punjab, in the person of the Prince Ahmud Khan, another nephew of the late Sheer Shah, whose sister was married to Mahoined Shah Adily. Ahmud Khan, having procured the aid of Heibut Khan and other chiefs, who had been created nobles by the late Sulim Shah, assumed the title of Sikundur Shah, and marching with ten or twelve thousand horse towards Agra, encamped at Kurra, within twenty miles of that city. Ibrahim Khan opposed him with seventy thousand horse; and some notion of the splendour of his train may be formed when it is stated that no less than two hundred officers occupied tents lined with velvet, each having the privilege of beating the nobut.[53]

Sikundur Shah, seeing this formidable army, began to repent, and made overtures for peace, merely requiring to be allowed to retain Punjab. Ibrahim, elated with his own apparent superiority, refused to listen to terms, and both armies engaged. Sikundur Khan intrusted the ensings of royalty to one of his officers, and remained during the action with a select body of horse in a grove at some distance. Ibrahim Khan in the onset broke through the

53. Musical band, composed of nine instruments, confined to kings, but conferred by them on governors, to be used only in their governments, and in the absence of any of the royal family.

enemy's army; but his troops having quitted their ranks and engaged in plunder, Sikundur Khan took advantage of it to rush upon them, and creating a panic in the army of Ibrahim Khan, his troops dispersed, and were defeated. Ibrahim Khan, abandoning his capital, retreated to Sumbhul; while Sikundur Khan took possession both of Agra and Dehly. He had not long enjoyed his good fortune, however, when he was obliged to repair to Punjab, to oppose Hoomayoon Padshah, who, having returned from a long exile, was now advancing to recover his dominions. During the absence of Sikundur, Ibrahim Khan marched to Kalpy, while at the same time Mahomed Shah Adily detached his Vizier Hemoo, with an army well appointed in cavalry, elephants, and artillery, from Chunar, with a view to recover the western empire. Hemoo attacked Ibrahim Shah at Kalpy, and having defeated him, he was compelled to fly to his father at Byana, pursued by Hemoo, who besieged him in that city for three months.

Meanwhile, Mahomed Shah Soor, ruler of Bengal, asserted his rights, and led an army against Mahomed Shah Adily. This circumstance obliged that Prince to recal Hemoo from the siege of Byana; and Ibrahim Khan, emboldened by his retreat, pursued him till he overtook him near Agra; but being again defeated, he was compelled to rejoin his father at Byana. The restless spirit of Ibrahim Khan now induced him to march towards Punna, where having engaged the Raja Ramchunder, he was defeated and taken prisoner. He was treated, however, with the utmost respect, till the Afghans of Meeana interposing, obtained his release, and acknowledged him their leader. Under him these Afghans engaged in war with Baz Bahadur, ruler of Malwa, who had declared his independence; but the ill fortune of Ibrahim Khan still pursued him. He was again defeated, and fled to Orissa, where in the year A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554), that province being occupied by Sooliman Kirany, one of the generals of the Emperor Akbur, Ibrahim Khan was made prisoner, and suffered an ignominious death.

Hemoo joined his master Mahomed Shah Adily at Chunar, where he received advices that the Emperor Hoomayoon, having defeated Sikundur Khan, had occupied Dehly and Agra. Hemoo, however, still pursued the war against Mahomed Shah Soor of Bengal, who, avoiding him by crossing the hills near Rohtas, entered the country of Bundelcund, whither being pursued by Hemoo, the two armies came to action at the village of Chu-

purg'hutta, thirty miles from Kalpy, and Mahomed Shah Soor of Bengal was slain. Mahomed Shah Adily, after this victory, instead of proceeding to Agra, returned to Chunar, to assemble more troops in order to carry on the war against Hoomayoon; but he was soon after informed of that monarch's death, which induced him to detach Hemoo, with fifty thousand horse and five hundred elephants towards Agra, not daring to leave Chunar himself, on account of the factions which prevailed among his countrymen the Afghans.

Hemoo, arriving before Agra, the Mogul nobles who were there, conceiving themselves too weak to oppose him, retreated to Dehly, whither he pursued them. Tardy Beg Khan, governor of Dehly, gave him battle, but was defeated, and fled to the Punjab, leaving Hemoo in possession both of Agra and of Dehly. Hemoo now prepared to proceed to Lahore; but Beiram Khan Toorkoman, who had been left by the will of Hoomayoon guardian of his son Akbur, detached Khan Zuman Khan towards Dehly, himself following with the young King. Hemoo met the Moguls on the plains of Paniput, and charging them with the utmost valour, threw them into confusion; but the Afghans, as usual, abandoning themselves to plunder, were in their turn attacked by the Moguls, and totally defeated. Hemoo, their general, was taken prisoner, and being carried before Akbur, suffered death.

After the death of this chieftain, the fortunes of Mahomed Shah Adily declined daily. Khizr Khan, the son of Mahomed Shah Poorby of Bengal, in order to revenge the death of his father, slain in the battle of Kalpy, raised an army, and, assuming the title of Bahadur Shah, wrested by force a great part of the eastern provinces out of the hands of Mahomed Shah Adily, whom he eventually defeated and slew.

SIKUNDUR SHAH SOOR

Sikundur Soor, after having ascended the throne at Agra, in the year A.H. 962 (A.D. 1554), made a magnificent festival, and calling together all his chiefs, spoke to them to this effect: "I esteem myself as one of you: having thus far acted for the commonweal, I claim no superiority. Bheilole raised the tribe of Lody to glory and reputation; Sheer Shah rendered the tribe of Soor illustrious; and now Hoomayoon, the Mogul, heir to his father's conquests, is

watching an opportunity to destroy us all, and to re-establish his government. If, therefore, you are sincere, and will set aside private faction and animosities, we may still retain our kingdom; but if you think me incapable of rule, let an abler head and a stronger arm be elected from among you, that I also may swear allegiance to him: I promise most faithfully to support him, and will endeavour to maintain the kingdom in the hands of the Afghans, who have retained it by their valour for so many years." The Afghan chiefs, after this appeal, answered with one accord, "We unanimously acknowledge you, the nephew of our Emperor Sheer Shah, our lawful sovereign." Calling then for a koran, all swore both to observe allegiance to Sikundur, and to maintain unanimity among themselves. In a few days, however, the chiefs began to dispute about governments, honours, and places, and the flames of discord were rekindled, and blazed fiercer than ever, so that every one reproached his neighbour with the perfidy of which each was equally guilty. Meanwhile Hoomayoon having marched from Kabul towards the Indus, Tartar Khan, who commanded in Punjab, fled from the new fort of Rohtas to Dehly, and the Moguls occupied without opposition all the country as far as Lahore. Sikundur Shah, on receiving these advices, detached forty thousand horse, under Tartar Khan and Heibut Khan, to oppose the Moguls; but this army being defeated, not only lost all its elephants and baggage, but the fugitives never drew rein till they arrived at Dehly. Sikundur Shah, though sensible of the disaffection and factious disposition of his chiefs, marched with eight thousand horse towards Punjab, and on engaging Beiram Khan, the tutor of the Prince Akbur, near Surhind, was defeated and fled to the Sewalik mountains, from whence he was expelled and sought refuge in Bengal, where he assumed the reins of government, and shortly after died. He was succeeded by Taj Khan Kirrany, and the remainder of his history is detailed in that of the dynasty of the Poorby Kings.

HOOMAYOON PADSHAH

(HIS SECOND REIGN)

We have already seen that Hoomayoon, having arrived at Kuzween in Persia, deputed Ameer Beiram Khan to the Persian court at Ispahan. That chieftain, accordingly, having waited on Shah

Tamasp at the palace of Nilak, between the cities of Abhur and Sooltania, received an answer indicating the King's wish to have an interview with Hoomayoon. The royal fugitive accepted the invitation with joy, and in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, in the year 951 (A.D. 1544), he was honourably received by Shah Tamasp, the son of Shah Ismael Sufvy, and was entertained with becoming dignity.

Shah Tamasp one day in conversation asked Hoomayoon by what means his weak enemy became so powerful? Hoomayoon replied, "By the enmity of my brothers." The Persian monarch then told him, "Your manner of treating brothers is not such as they ought to experience." This conversation occurred one day while the Kings were at dinner, and as soon as they had finished, the Prince Beiram Mirza, brother to Shah Tamasp, approached the latter with a basin and ewer for him to wash his hands. This ceremony being over, he turned to Hoomayoon, and resuming the discourse said, "This is the way you ought to have treated your brothers." Hoomayoon, out of compliment to the King, immediately assented, which so much offended the Prince Beiram Mirza, that he never forgave him while he resided at court: on the contrary, he took every opportunity to calumniate Hoomayoon, and frequently hinted that it was by no means the interest of Persia that a prince of the house of Teimoor should sit on the Indian throne. This opinion Beiram Mirza inculcated into all who had the King's ear, and it is believed by this means the prospects of Hoomayoon were so much injured, that he was at one time apprehensive of his life or of suffering imprisonment (A.H. 952, A.D. 1545).

Meanwhile Sooltana Begum, the King's sister, and Kazy Jehan Kuzveeny, as also Noor-ood-Deen Hukeem, one of the King's privy counsellors, taking compassion on Hoomayoon's situation, united to effect a reconciliation, and to reinstate him in the favour of Shah Tamasp. The wit of the Sooltana was exerted on this occasion, who having presented the King with a copy of verses of her own composing, introduced the name of Hoomayoon, and extolled his devotion to Ally. Shah Tamasp, who was a zealous Sheea, a sect which differs from the Soonnies, in whose tenets Hoomayoon had been brought up, conceiving hopes of converting his guest, told his sister at the time, that if Hoomayoon could be brought to embrace and to enforce the

Sheea doctrines in India, he would assist him to recover his empire. The Sooltana having acquainted Hoomayoon with these particulars, he assented, observing, "That he had always privately been well disposed to the Sheeas, out of which had partly originated the animosity of his brothers."

Shah Tamasp, soon after, in a private conference with Ameer Beiram Khan Toorkoman, enquired particularly as to the political condition of Hindoostan, and promised that his son Moorad Mirza (then an infant), with his general Boodagh Khan Kajar, should accompany Hoomayoon with ten thousand horse to attack and expel his brothers out of Kabul, Kandahar, and Budukhshan. Orders having been given for the requisite preparations, Hoomayoon took leave of Shah Tamasp. In the meanwhile, Hoomayoon requested to be allowed to make a tour through Tubreez and Ardbeel, to visit the tomb of Sheikh Suffy previously to proceeding on his expedition. To this the King assented, and gave orders to all governors through whose territories Hoomayoon passed to supply him with all necessaries, and to treat him in a manner becoming his rank. Hoomayoon, having performed this journey, joined the young Prince Moorad Mirza, with whom he proceeded towards Kandahar. Having, in the first instance, reduced the fort of Gurmseer,[54] he caused the khootba to be read in his own name. Askurry Mirza, who governed the province for the Prince Kamran Mirza, on hearing of the approach of Hoomayoon, sent the young Prince Akbur to his uncle at Kabul, and prepared the fort of Kandahar to stand a siege.

Hoomayoon invested Kandahar on the 7th of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 952 (March 21, A.D. 1545). The siege lasted for six months, when he deputed Beiram Khan Toorkoman to wait on Kamran Mirza, then at Kabul. The Hazaras attacked Beiram Khan on the road; but they were defeated, and that chief obtaining an audience of Kamran, demanded the cession of Kandahar and its dependencies, at the same time requiring an unqualified resignation of all the provinces which he had usurped. Kamran refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Hoomayoon, and his messenger returned without effecting his object.

54. My acquaintance with the geography of Persia does not enable me to say whether we should read *a fort of the summer climate*, or the fort of Gurmseer, properly so called. *Translator*.

The Persian troops with Hoomayoon now began to evince great impatience at the length of the siege of Kandahar, and to show discontent at being commanded by Moguls. These circumstances might have injured Hoomayoon seriously, had he not been joined at this time by several of his old officers, such as Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, Alugh Mirza, Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, Mirza Meeruk, Sheer Afkun Beg, Fuzeel Beg, and others, who, having quarrelled with Kamran Mirza, left his service. This opportune assistance did not come alone, for a part of the garrison of Kandahar at the same time also deserted, and joined him. These circumstances revived the spirits of Hoomayoon's army in proportion as they depressed those of the beseiged, so that Askurry Mirza proposed to capitulate. Honourable terms were granted, the place surrendered, and Askurry Mirza received pardon for his former defection.

The fort of Kandahar, according to stipulation, was delivered over to the infant Persian prince Moorad Mirza, who, as the winter had set in, together with his generals, Boodagh Khan Afshar, Abool Futteh Sooltan Afshar, Soofy Wully, and Ahmud Sooltan Shamloo, took up their quarters in the fort, but refused admittance to the Mogul troops. This conduct created so much jealousy, that several of Hoomayoon's officers deserted him, and went to Kabul: among others, was Askurry Mirza, who, being suspected of disaffection, was pursued and brought back prisoner.

Hoomayoon, finding a state of inaction unpropitious to his affairs, marched towards Kabul; but hearing on the road of the death of the Persian prince Moorad Mirza at Kandahar, he returned, in order to obtain possession of the fort, as a place of security till he should make further conquest. The Persian generals refused to cede it, but Hoomayoon resolved if possible to secure it, and urged Beiram Khan Toorkoman, Alugh Mirza, and Hajy Mahomed to contrive some project for effecting this object. Hajy Mahomed Khan, and a few enterprising men, disguised like camel-drivers, having gained admission into the fort among some camels which were supplying it with provisions, fell upon the guards at the gates, and overpowered them, while Beiram Khan and Alugh Mirza rushing in at the same time, with a chosen body of horse, secured the fort. The Persian general, whose life was spared, returned by Hoomayoon's permission to Persia, and Beiram Khan was appointed to the government of Kandahar.

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Hoomayoon instantly marched to Kabul, where he was joined by his brother Hindal Mirza, and by his cousin Yadgar, the son of Nasir Mirza, brother of Babur, who having fled from Shah Hoossein Arghoon in Sind, now arrived at Kabul. Hoomayoon encamped in the environs of the city, in sight of the army of his brother Kamran Mirza, and was every day joined by some deserters from him: among others was Kaplan Beg, one of Kamran Mirza's principal generals, who coming over with his adherents, so much weakened the power of his master, that Kamran was compelled to retire within the town, which he shortly after evacuated without fighting, and fled to Ghizny. The King sent the prince Hindal Mirza in pursuit, and on the 10th of Rumzan, A.H. 952 (October 26, A.D. 1545), entered Kabul, where he found his son Akbur, then four years old, with his mother, the Begum. Taking up his boy in his arms, he exclaimed, "Joseph by his envious brethren was cast into a well; but he was eventually exalted by Providence, as thou shalt be, to the summit of glory."

Kamran Mirza found the gates of Ghizny shut against him, and was compelled to seek refuge at Zemeen Dawur, among the Hazaras; but being ill received, he went to Bhukkur, to Shah Hoossein Arghoon, who conferred on him his daughter in marriage, and prepared to support his cause. Hoomayoon meanwhile left his son Akbur in Kabul, under the charge of Mahomed Ally Toghay, and marched in person, in the year A.H. 953 (A.D. 1546), to reduce Budukhshan; while Yadgar Nasir Mirza, being convicted of an attempt to stir up a sedition in the army, suffered death.

Hoomayoon, having passed the Hindoo Koosh, and encamped at Teergiran, was opposed by Sooliman Mirza with the forces of Budukhshan, who was defeated in the very first charge. The King marched from thence to Talikhan, where, having fallen sick, factions broke out in his army; but on his recovering at the end of two months, they soon subsided.

Kamran Mirza, having heard of Hoomayoon's attack on Budukhshan, made an excursion to Ghorebund, and falling in with a caravan of merchants on the road, robbed them of their camels, horses, and goods; after which, coming to Ghizny, he raised a party in his favour in that city, and cut off the governor, Zahid Beg. From Ghizny he proceeded by rapid marches to Kabul, where having arrived as the guards were opening the gates in the

morning, he took the place by surprise. Mahomed Ally Toghay, the governor, was killed as he stood in his bath; and Fuzeel Beg and Mutroo, the Prince Akbur's foster brothers, were deprived of sight. Hissam-ood-Deen Ally, the son of Meer Khuleefa, was put to death, and the Prince Akbur delivered over to the charge of some eunuchs.

Intelligence of these transactions reaching Hoomayoon, he intrusted the government of Budukhshan to Sooliman Mirza, and that of Koondooz to his brother Hindal Mirza: himself returning to Kabul, where having first defeated the advanced guard of Kamran Mirza, which opposed him at Ghorebund, he fell in subsequently with Sheer Afkun Beg and the main body, encamped at some distance in the rear. This army was also overthrown, and Sheer Afkun Beg fell in the action. Hoomayoon now proceeded to Kabul, and having sat down before that city, daily skirmishes ensued with the enemy. Kamran Mirza, hearing of a caravan passing, in which was a number of fine horses, he detached Sheer Ally Beg with a strong party to seize and bring it into the city. Hoomayoon gained intelligence of this design, and marched round the walls, to cut off Sheer Ally Beg's retreat, who was attacked and defeated with great loss. In this state of affairs, the Prince Sooliman Mirza from Budukhshan, Alugh Mirza, and Kasim Hoossein Sooltan, with several officers detached by Beiram Khan, the governor of Kandahar, as reinforcements, joined Hoomayoon, while Kurrachar Khan and Ooloos Beg, having deserted from the city, joined his army. Kamran Mirza, exasperated at the defection of these two officers, murdered the three sons of Ooloos Beg and threw their mangled bodies over the walls; he also bound Kurrachar Khan's only son to a stake, and exposed him on the battlements. Hoomayoon gave his brothers to understand that if they put Kurrachar Khan's son to death, they should both suffer the same fate if taken. Kamran was in consequence deterred from his intended cruelty, and on that very night he evacuated the place, and fled towards the hills, leaving Hoomayoon a second time at liberty to take quiet possession of Kabul. On his retreat, Kamran Mirza was plundered and stripped of his very clothes by the Hazaras; but when they knew him, they conducted him in safety to Ghorebund. Not conceiving himself safe among them, he hastened to Bulkh, where Peer Mahomed Khan, governor of that city, rendered him assistance in subduing Budukhshan, on-

which occasion they expelled the troops of Sooliman Mirza and his son Ibrahim.

Kurrachar Khan, Ooloos Beg, and some other officers, being about this time offended with Khwaja Ghazy, Hoomayoon's vizier, insisted on his being disgraced, and on Kasim Hoossein Sooltan being appointed to his office. Hoomayoon, satisfied with the conduct of his minister, refused to accede to this demand, which induced them to desert Hoomayoon and to join Askurry Mirza, who had united with Kamran at Budukhshan. The King went in pursuit of the renegades; but being unable to overtake them, he returned to Kabul, and recalled Ibrahim Mirza and Hindal Mirza to court. On his way to join Hoomayoon, Ibrahim Mirza falling in by accident with Kumur Ally Sufvy, one of the renegade chiefs, cut him off, and brought his head to the King; and Hindal Mirza meeting with Sheer Ally, another of the same party, made him prisoner.

Meanwhile Kamran Mirza left Kurrachar Khan in Kooshoom, and went in person to Talikhan. Hoomayoon hearing of this arrangement, detached Hindal Mirza and Hajy Mahomed Koka, with a considerable force, to expel Kurrachar Khan; but he obtained intelligence of their approach, and acquainted Kamran Mirza in time to defeat their purpose; for by making rapid marches to Kooshoom, Kamran intercepted Hindal in the act of crossing the river at Talikhan. Hindal's troops being separated, he was defeated, and a great part of his division destroyed, with the loss of all his baggage.

Hoomayoon, however, having in a few days advanced with his army from Kabul to support Hindal, Kamran fell back on Talikhan in such disorder as to be obliged to abandon all his booty and baggage; and on the following day found himself closely invested in Talikhan. Thus reduced to extremities, and despairing of aid from the Oozbuks, to whom he had applied, Kamran Mirza requested his brother's permission to retire from public life, and go on pilgrimage to Mecca. Hoomayoon consented; but both Kamran Mirza and Askurry Mirza proceeded only about ten parasangs on their way, when finding that Hoomayoon did not send troops to seize them, they repented of their resolution, and, trusting to his generosity, returned to their brother's camp, and threw themselves on his clemency. The King, on hearing of their approach, sent persons to meet them, and, on their arrival, treated

them with every respect; after which they returned together to Kabul. In the year A.H. 956 (A.D. 1549), Peer Mahomed Khan, the ruler of the Oozbuks, having made some incursions into Hoomayoon's dominions the latter marched towards Bulkh to oppose them. On this occasion both Kamran Mirza and Askurry Mirza, who accompanied him, began to excite disaffection amongst his troops; but Hoomayoon took no effectual steps to prevent their designs. Arriving in the environs of Bulkh, Shah Mahomed Sooltan Oozbuk opposed Hoomayoon with three thousand horse, and checked his progress. On the second day the Oozbuks, being joined by Peer Mahomed Khan, Abdool Azeez Khan, the son of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, and the Princes of Khoozar, mustered thirty thousand horse, with which they gave battle to Hoomayoon. Sooliman Mirza, Hindal Mirza, and Hajy Mahomed Koka opposed and defeated the advanced parties of the Oozbuks, and even pressed Peer Mahomed Khan so severely, that he was compelled to retreat within the walls of Bulkh.

The King, desirous of following up the blow, wished to lay close siege to the place; but on this occasion he suffered his own judgment to be over-ruled by some of his generals, who, being suspicious of Kamran Mirza, advised him to encamp at some distance from Bulkh, which, they concluded, must surrender in the course of a few days. This fatal advice was accordingly adopted, and there being no encamping ground near, the King was obliged to fall back to a considerable distance. The troops, unable to conceive the cause of retreating, fancied there must be immediate danger; while the enemy, construing the retrograde movement into a real flight, sallied, and by this mistake led to the disaster which followed. The Oozbuks fell on the divisions of Sooliman Mirza and Hoossein Koolly Sooltan, who commanded the rear-guard, and forced them to retire on the main body, where the King commanded in person. Hoomayoon bravely opposed them hand to hand, and coming in contact with the Oozbuk officer who led the attack, dismounted him. He was gallantly supported by his brother, Hindal Mirza, Tardy Beg Khan, and Tooluk Khan Kocheen; but finding themselves deserted by the troops, they were reluctantly compelled to save themselves by flight.

After this unfortunate affair Hoomayoon retreated to Kabul, on the road to which place he was deserted by Kamran Mirza, who had taken no part in the action. Hoomayoon, justly resent-

ing the conduct of his brother, wrote to Ally Sheer Khan, one of Kamran's officers, making him great promises to seize his master, and send him prisoner to court; at the same time, he detached Sooliman Mirza and Hindal Mirza in pursuit. Kamran laid aside his state, and intended to escape by the route of Zohak and Bamyan, through the desert of the Hazaras towards Sind; but Kurrachar Khan and Hoossein Koolly Sooltan, who remained in Hoomayoon's camp, wrote to him privately, and acquainted him with all that passed at the King's court. As the greatest part of Hoomayoon's troops were detached from his person, these officers advised Kamran to attack Hoomayoon, promising to join him in the action. Kamran, availing himself of these overtures, returned by the Kupchak pass to Kabul, where he was opposed by Hoomayoon. Kurrachar Khan and his adherents went over to Kamran Mirza in the commencement of the action, according to their promise, and attacked the division in which Hoomayoon commanded, who with a few faithful retainers fought with desperation. Peer Mohamed Akta and Ahmud, the son of Hoossein Koolly Sooltan, were killed by the side of the King, who himself received a sabre wound in the head. At this time, too, his horse failing him, he was forced to quit the field, and fled to Bamyan, from whence he proceeded to Budukhshan. Kamran Mirza thus obtained possession of Kabul the third time.

Hoomayoon was now in great distress for money to pay the few troops who adhered to him, and was obliged to borrow the horses, camels, and merchandise of some great caravans, with which he mounted his cavalry, and paid his troops. He also sent privately Shah Bodagh Khan, Tooluk Khan Kocheen, Mujnoon Khan, and others, to the number of ten persons, to support his interest at Kabul, and to send him intelligence of what passed in that city. Of all these persons, Tooluk Khan alone remained true to him. Meanwhile, Sooliman Mirza, Ibrahim Mirza, and Hindal Mirza, who had gone in pursuit of Kamran, returned with their troops to join the King, who in about forty days found himself in a condition to make an attempt again to recover his kingdom; for which purpose he marched towards Kabul. Kamran Mirza opposed him on the banks of the Punjur river; but being defeated with great slaughter, he shaved his head and beard, and escaped in the disguise of a mendicant to the mountains of Lumghan. Askurry Mirza was taken prisoner, and Kurrachar Khan fell in

the battle. This victory once more enabled Hoomayoon to enter Kabul in triumph. Here he devoted himself to pleasure for one whole year, when he was roused by intelligence that Kamran Mirza was again in his vicinity, at the head of fifteen hundred horse, while some of his officers, leaving him, went to Ghizny. Hoomayoon now marched against Kamran, who fled to the Indus; and the former returned without effecting any other object. Kamran, hearing of his brother's retreat, returned among the Meimundy Afghans, where he was shortly afterwards joined by parties of Khuleelzies and Dawoodzies from Lumghan. Hoomayoon again took the field; and wrote to Beiram Khan Toorkoman, who still held the government of Kandahar, to march and seize those officers who had retired to Ghizny; for it appears they had invited Kamran Mirza to join them, for which purpose he was now marching by the route of Pishawur, Bungush, and Goordaz. In the year A.H. 958 (A.D. 1551), Beiram Khan, however, having reached Ghizny before Kamran, conciliated the chiefs, and brought them to Kabul; and Kamran being disappointed of his expected succours, retired to Pishawur, while Hoomayoon proceeded to Kabul. Before his arrival, Hajy Mahomed Koka, one of the disaffected chiefs, found means to escape to Ghizny, from whence he was persuaded to return.

At this time Askurry Mirza preferred a petition to the King, soliciting his release from prison, and permission to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca. He was sent for the present, by way of greater security, to Sooliman Mirza, governor of Budukhshan; but his request was subsequently acceded to, and he died in the year 961 (A.D. 1554), on his way across the deserts of Arabia. He left one daughter, who was afterwards married to Yoossoof Khan, an inhabitant of Mushed.

Kamran Mirza continued to raise troops among the Afghans, and maintained a private correspondence with Hajy Mahomed Koka at Ghizny. This correspondence being detected, the Hajy suffered death. Hoomayoon again marched against Kamran Mirza; but was surprised in his camp near Khybur, in a night attack, on the 21st of Zeekaad, A.H. 958 (Nov. 19, A.D. 1551), on which occasion Hindal Mirza lost his life. Kamran gained little advantage by this accident; for being subsequently defeated, he was obliged to seek shelter among the Afghans. After this success, Hoomayoon returned to Kabul, and out of affection to the

memory of Hindal Mirza, who had expiated his former disobedience by his blood, he gave the daughter of that Prince, Ruzeea Sooltana, to his son Akbur in marriage. He conferred on them at the same time all the wealth of Hindal, and appointed Akbur to the command of his uncle's troops, and to the government of Ghizny.

A few months after these events, the Afghans again rose in favour of Kamran Mirza; but Hoomayoon invaded their country, and laid it waste with fire and sword, till they abandoned Kamran's cause, and expelled him from their country.

Kamran, now flying to Hindoostan, was induced to solicit an asylum with Sulim Shah Soor; but meeting with a cold reception there, he departed from the court of Dehly, and sought protection from the Raja of Nagrakote: being expelled thence also, he joined Sooltan Adam Gukkur in the Punjab.

At this period, one Mirza Heidur Doghlat reigned in Kashmeer, who requested the assistance of Hoomayoon in quelling some disturbances in his kingdom. Hoomayoon, accordingly, marching towards India, crossed the Indus. On this occasion, Sooltan Adam Gukkur, apprehensive of Hoomayoon's resentment in case he afforded protection to Kamran, seized that Prince, and acquainted Hoomayoon he was ready to deliver him into his hands. Moonyim Khan was deputed to Sooltan Adam for the purpose of receiving him, and Kamran was accordingly brought to the royal presence.

The Mogul chiefs were all of opinion that he should suffer death, in order to prevent further disturbances in the government; but Hoomayoon, unwilling to stain his hands in his brother's blood, was content to deprive him of sight. In the year A.H. 959, (A.D. 1552), some days after the sentence was carried into effect, Hoomayoon went to see him. Kamran immediately arose, and walking somesteps forward to meet him, said, "The glory of the King will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate." Hoomayoon burst into tears, and wept bitterly. Kamran Mirza eventually obtained permission to proceed to Mecca, by the way of Sind, and having resided there three years, died a natural death in the year 964 (A.D. 1556). He left three daughters and one son, Abool Kasim Mirza, who, some time after his father's decease, was put to death by order of Akbur, in the fort of Gualiar.

Hoomayoon, being now free from the restless spirit of Kamran Mirza, began to extend his dominions, and turned his thoughts towards Kashmeer, Sulim Shah Shoor, the King of Dehly, hearing of this, advanced to the Indus; and Hoomayoon's officers represented to him, that, if he should enter Kashmeer, there being but one pass by which he could retreat, Sulim Shah might cut him off. Hoomayoon, deaf to their representations, persisted in his resolution; but a mutiny arose in his army, and the greater part of his officers refused to proceed, while others actually returned to Kabul. Hoomayoon was consequently compelled to give up his purpose, and recrossed the Indus. On his retreat, he caused the fort of Bikram to be built, wherein he left a garrison under Sikundur Khan Oozbuk.

The King, having arrived in Kabul, sent his son Akbur to his government of Ghizny, under the charge of Julal-ood-Deen Mahomed, Vizier. In the year A. H. 961 (A.D. 1553), the King had another son born to him at Kabul, whom he named Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, an account of whom will appear in the reign of Akbur.

In the course of this year, Hoomayoon became jealous of Beiram Khan, owing to the calumny of some of his courties. They stated that he was carrying on intrigues with the Persian government, and the King thought it necessary to march to Kandahar. Beiram Khan, conscious of his innocence came out when he heard of his approach, with five or six attendants only, to congratulate Hoomayoon on his arrival, and to lay his offerings at his feet; and the latter, perceiving how he had been deceived, satisfied Beiram Khan for the reason of his coming, and spent two months with him. During this time, the enemies of Beiram Khan were disgraced, and himself loaded with favours. Beiram Khan, however, apprehensive that insinuations like those which had lately been thrown out, if repeated, might at last operate on his master's mind, earnestly entreated that the government might be bestowed on some other chief, and that he might be employed at court. Hoomayoon refused his consent, conceiving such a measure might injure Beiram Khan's reputation, and when they parted, the charge of the government of the district of Zumeen Dawur was made over to him, into which he removed two of his own dependents.

It was at this time that letters were received from some of the inhabitants of Dehly and Agra, acquainting Hoomayoon of the death of Sulim Shah Soor. They also stated that the Afghan tribes being engaged in a civil war, a favourable opportunity presented itself for Hoomayoon to return and take possession of his Kingdom. Being in no condition to raise a sufficient army for the enterprise, Hoomayoon paid little attention to the invitation, and became extremely melancholy. Being one day on a hunting party, he told some of his nobles, that he was very uneasy in his mind regarding Hindoostan. One of those who were in favour of the enterprise, observed, that there was an old method of divination, by sending a person before, and asking the names of the three first persons he met, from which a conclusion good or bad might be drawn. The King, being naturally superstitious, humoured the fancy, and sent three horsemen in front, who were to come back and acquaint him of the answers they received. The first horseman who returned, said that he had met with a traveller whose name was Dowlut.[55] The next said that he met a man who called himself Moorad.[56] And the third, that he met with a villager whose name was Saadut.[57]

The King evinced great joy upon this occasion, and thought he could only collect fifteen thousand horse, determined to undertake the expedition into India. Having left Moonyim Khan in charge of the government of Kabul, and making over his youngest son, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, to his hands, Hoomayoon, in the month of Suffur, A.H. 962 (December, A.D. 1554), commenced his march from his capital. He was overtaken at Pishawur by Beiram Khan, with a body of veterans from Kandahar, and on the day he crossed the Indus he appointed Beiram Khan his general in chief, and ordered him to lead the advance, accompanied by Khizr Khan, Tardy Beg Khan, Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, and Ally Koolly Khan Sheebany.

On the approach of the Mogul army, Tartar Khan, the Afghan governor of Punjab, commanding the new fort of Rohtas, having evacuated it, was closely pursued to Lahore, which the Afghans also vacating, Hoomayoon entered it without opposition. From Lahore he despatched Beiram Khan to Surhind, who occupied

55. Empire.
56. The object of desire.
57 Good fortune.

all the country up to that point. Hoomayoon having received intelligence that a body of Afghans, commanded by Shahbaz Khan and Nuseer Khan, were assembled at Depalpoor, ordered Shah Abool Maaly (a Syud, and an inhabitant of Toormooz, whom he used to honour with the appellation of son,) with a strong detachment against them. Shah Abool Maaly overthrew the enemy, and returned with much booty to Lahore.

Sikundur Shah Soor in the mean time had ordered Tartar Khan and Hubeeb Khan, with an army of thirty or forty thousand horse, from Dehly against Hoomayoon. Notwithstanding the great superiority in number of this force, Beiram Khan Toorkoman resolved to hazard an action, and having advanced boldly to meet the Indian army, pitched his camp on the banks of the Sutlooj at the town of Machywara. It being cold weather, the Indian Afghans kindled great fires of wood in their camp at night, of which Beiram Khan took advantage, and crossed the river with a thousand chosen horse. He now advanced to their camp without being discovered, when he began to gall those who crowded round the fires with arrows, which threw them into disorder. The Afghans (notorious for blundering),[58] instead of extinguishing their fires, which prevented them from seeing their enemies, who had a fair view of them, threw on more wood; and the whole of Beiram Khan's army having crossed the river, fell upon them on all sides, and routed them. The Afghans on this occasion lost all their elephants, their baggage, and a number of horses. Beiram Khan sent the elephants to Hoomayoon at Lahore, and remaining encamped at Machywara, he dispersed detachments in all directions, and occupied all the country up to the walls of Dehly. The King was greatly rejoiced when he heard of this victory, and conferred on Beiram Khan the title of Khan Khanan.[59]

When the news of Tartar Khan's defeat reached Sikundur Shah Soor, he exacted an oath of fidelity from his officers, and marched with eighty thousand horse, a large train of artillery, and a number of elephants, towards Punjab. Beiram Khan advanced as far as the fort of Nowshera, and prepared it for a seige by laying in provisions. Sikundur Shah Soor encamped before the

58. The term *Hooch*, awkward or blundering, is a common synonym for an Afghan in India.

59. Noble of nobles, which entitled him to rank next to the blood royal.

place, and Beiram Khan sent continual letters to Lahore to hasten the march of Hoomayoon, who soon after joined. Beiram Khan in the interim made repeated sallies from the city, and greatly distressed the enemy in his camp.

On the last day of Rujub, A.H. 962 (June 18, A.D. 1555), while the Prince Akbur was visiting the pickets of the camp, the Afghans drew up their forces and offered battle. The challenge was not refused, and the young Prince communicated the information with joy to his father. Hoomayoon gave the command of the right wing to Beiram Khan, and the left to Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, composed of the troops of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, Shah Abool Maaly, Ally Koolly Khan, and Tardy Beg Khan; these troops were directed to begin the action. The left wing having charged according to the orders which it received, the enemy were broken, and never after recovered from their confusion. The battle continued to rage for some time, during which Hoomayoon and Beiram Khan displayed great good conduct, while the Prince Akbur was distinguished by feats of personal courage. The Moguls, animated by the conduct of that young hero, seemed to forget that they were mortal. The enemy was driven off the field with slaughter, and their King, Sikundur Shah Soor, fled to the mountains of Sewalik.

This victory decided the fate of the empire; and the kingdom of Dehly fell for ever from the hands of the Afghans. On the following day Sikundur Khan Oozbuk and some other chiefs were detached to take possession of Dehly and Agra, which they occupied without opposition. Hoomayoon conferred the government of Punjab on Shah Abool Maaly, and ordered him to pursue the fugitives. In the month of Rumzan, A.H. 962 (July, A.D. 1555), Hoomayoon re-entered Dehly in triumph, and became a second time King of Hindoostan. Beiram Khan, to whose valour and talent the King was principally indebted for his restoration, was rewarded with the first offices in the state, and had princely estates assigned to him. Tardy Beg Khan was appointed governor of Dehly; Agra was assigned to Sikundur Khan Oozbuk; and Ally Koolly Khan was sent to Meerut and Sumbhul; to which province he departed with a considerable force.

Shah Abool Maaly, on account of disputes with the generals of his army in Punjab, had given time to Sikundur Soor to rally his forces; and the King accordingly permitted his son Akbur,

under the direction of Beiram Khan, to proceed against him. Much about this time a man of low birth, who became famous under the name of Kumbur-e-Diwana, raised an insurrection in Sumbhul, and, collecting a large force, plundered the provinces of the Dooab. He was, however, defeated and slain on the 5th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H. 963 (Jan. 19, A.D. 1556), by Ally Koolly Khan, and the revolt was totally suppressed.

On the evening of the 7th of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H. 963, (Jan. 21, A.D. 1556), Hoomayoon, after walking on the terrace of the library at Dehly for some time, sat down to enjoy the fresh air; after which, while in the act of descending the steps to go below, the moazin or crier of the royal chapel announced the hour of prayer. The King, as is usual, stood still on the occasion, and having repeated the creed of Islam, sat down on the second step till the crier had done. When about to rise, and endeavouring to support himself on a staff he held in his hand, it slipped along the marble, and the King fell headlong over. He was taken up insensible, and laid upon his bed, and although he soon recovered his speech, the physicians administered to him in vain; till, on the 11th of the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H. 963, (Jan. 25, A.D. 1556), about sunset, his soul took its flight to Paradise. He was buried in the new city, on the banks of the river; and a splendid monument was erected over him some years after, by his son Akbur. Hoomayoon died at the age of fifty-one, after a reign of twenty-five years, both in Kabul and India.

The mildness and benevolence of Hoomayoon's character were excessive, if there can be excess in such noble qualities. He was a prince of great intrepidity, and possessed the virtues of charity and munificence in a very high degree. He was skilled in the science of geography, and delighted in the society of learned men. He was regular in his devotions and ablutions, and never pronounced the name of God without having performed the latter ceremony. It is said on one occasion, having cause to send for one Meer Abd-ool-Hye, whose name signifies "Slave of the Eternal," he called him only Abdool. "Slave of," leaving out the last word because he had not bathed that morning, and begged his pardon accordingly.

Hoomayoon was of elegant stature, and of a bronze complexion. He professed the religion of Huneef, of the Soony persuasion. Kamran Mirza and some other Choghtay nobles

believed him to be of the Sheea persuasion, because he gave such encouragement to Kuzilbashies[60] and the inhabitants of Eerak to join his standard from his earliest years, so that many persons of eminence in Khorassan, devotees[61] of the holy family, found favour with him. Among others, was Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, his most intimate and attached friend, who professed the religion of the Imams. After the King ascended the throne, he elevated many Kuzilbashies (Persians) to high stations. It is said that Kamran Mirza was fond of talking to him on the subject of religion; so that one day, while they were riding together on their retreat from Hindoostan towards Lahore, they observed a dog lift up his leg against a tombstone: Kamran remarked, "I conclude the man who is buried there is a Rafzy" (heterodox). Hoomayoon replied, "Yes, no doubt; the dog is an orthodox brute." They were much in the habit of joking on such subjects; but the truth is, that on these occasions he merely wished to annoy Kamran, and to please Beiram Khan and those about him. There can be no doubt he was of the Hunefy persuasion,[62] as appears from several of his poems, which, though scarce, are still extant.[63]

AKBUR PADSHAH

The history of this sovereign has been transmitted to us by Sheikh Abool Fuzl, the son of Sheikh Moobarik, in an heroic poem consisting of one hundred and ten thousand couplets, from which the author, Mahomed Kasim Ferishta, has principally derived the materials for this reign.

Abool Fuzl relates, that when Hoomayoon became insensible

60. Persians.

61. Devoted to Ally, and his twelve descendants, who, assuming the title of Imam in Khorassan, gave rise to the Sheea religion, which prevails in Persia.

62. We may with safety take Ferishta's word for his religion, as, being himself a Sheea, he would gladly have acknowledged Hoomayoon to be of the same persuasion, had he not ample reason for knowing the contrary.

63. Here follows an ode, of this monarch's composition, chiefly on the delights of opium and pleasing intoxication, which it has not been thought necessary to translate.

after his fall, the Mogul chiefs despatched Ally Koolly Khan express to Punjab, to acquaint his son Akbur of the accident. This information reached the Prince in a few days at the town of Kullanoor. The officers who were present, after expressing their grief for the deceased, raised Akbur to the throne, on the 2nd on Rubbee-oos-Sany, A. H. 963 (Feb. 15, A. D. 1556), when he was only thirteen years and nine months old.

Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, distinguished by the title of Khan Khanan, became his minister, and had the whole civil and military power vested in his hands. The first orders issued from the throne, after despatching the letters announcing the succession, prohibited the exactions of the usual presents. Not many days after this, Shah Abool Maaly, who had been in great favour with Hoomayoon having evinced traitorous designs, was seized and imprisoned in Lahore. Some time after, however, he found means to escape out of the hands of Peihlwan Goolzar, the kotwal to whose charge he had been committed, and who killed himself in consequence. Tardy Beg Khan despatched all the ensigns of royalty form Dehly, under charge of Abool Kasim Mirza, the son of Kamran Mirza, and the following chiefs addressed letters of congratulation to the young King. Ally Koolly Khan Seestany, governor of Sumbhul; Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, governor of Agra; Bahadur Khan, governor of Depalpoor; and Moonyim Khan, the tutor of the Prince Mahomed Hukeem Mirza. Meanwhile the King had occasion to lead his army towards the hills, in order to attack Sikundur Shah Soor; and having defeated and compelled him to fly within the recesses of the mountains, the King's army returned. Akbur, shortly after, having subdued the country of Nagrakote, received D'hurmchund, the Indian prince of that province, into favour; but the rains coming on, he took up his residence at Jalundur. In the mean time, Scoliman Mirza, who had been left governor of Budukhshan, throwing off his allegiance, marched against Kabul, which was defended by Moonyim Khan, the tutor of the Prince Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother. Intelligence of this insurrection having reached Akbur, he detached Mahomed Koolly Birlas, Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Khan Atka, Khizr Khan, and other officers, to succour Moonyim Khan. Some of those chiefs entered Kabul, while others, encamping without the city, harassed the besiegers for the space of four months, when the garrison being at length worn out for want of provisions, Moonyim Khan

was compelled to suffer the Khootba to be name of Sooliman Mirza, who then raised the siege read in the and returned to Budukhshan.

During these transactions at Kabul, Hemoo, the vizier of Mahomed Shah Adily, advancing towards Agra with thirty thousand horse and foot, and two thousand elephants, obliged Sikundur Khan Oozbuk to retreat to Dehly, while Shady Khan another of Mahomed Shah Adily's generals, advanced with an army to the banks of the Rohut, where Ally Koolly Khan Seestany, who had received the title of Khan Zuman, opposed him with three thousand horse; but the latter was defeated with so severe a loss, that only two hundred of his men escaped from the field of battle, many of whom were drowned in the river.

Hemoo, elated with this intelligence, laid siege to Agra, and having reduced it proceeded to Dehly. Tardy Beg Khan, the governor, seized with consternation, sent expresses to all the Mogul chiefs in the neighbourhood, to come to his aid. Shortly after, being joined by Abdoolla Khan, Lall Sooltan Budukhshy, Ally Koolly Khan Indijany, Meeruk Khan Kolaby, and others, he conceived himself in a condition to give the enemy battle, without waiting for Khan Zuman, who by this time had obtained a considerable reinforcement, and was on his march to Dehly. Tardy Beg Khan accordingly moved to meet the enemy. Hemoo selected three thousand horse and some of his best elephants, which he retained near his own person in the centre, and during the heat of the battle he charged Tardy Beg Khan with such impetuosity, that he compelled him to quit the field. The right wing of the Moguls was routed, the flight became general, and the city of Dehly also surrendered. Tardy Beg Khan fled to Surhind, leaving the whole country open to the enemy. Khan Zuman, hearing of this disaster at Meerut, avoided Dehly, and proceeded to Nowshehra, on his way to join the King, who, during these transactions, was at Jalundur, and finding all his dominions, except the Punjab, wrested from him, was perplexed how to act. At length, feeling diffident of himself both from his youth and inexperience, he conferred on Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, the title of Khan Baba,[64] and reposing his whole trust in the prudence and wisdom of that chief, begged of him

64. This word signifies father, and the title and power in the present instance answered to that of regent or protector.

to take measures for retrieving his affairs. At the same time he assured him, in the most solemn manner, that he would pay no attention to any malicious accusations against him. The young King also required of Beiram Khan to swear on his part, by the soul of his deceased father Hoomayoon, and by the head of his own son, that he would be faithful to his trust. Atfer this, a council being called by Beiram Khan, the majority of the officers were of opinion, that as the enemy's force consisted of more than a hundred thousand horse, while the royal army could scarcely muster twenty thousand, it would be prudent to retreat to Kabul. Beiram Khan not only opposed this measure, but was almost singular in his opinion that the King ought instantly to give battle to the enemy. The voice of Akbur, which was in unison with the sentiments of Beiram Khan, decided the question. Hostilities being determined on, Khizr Khan (the husband of Sooltana Goolbudun Begum, the King's aunt), who was then governor of Lahore, was directed to attack Sikundur Khan Soor; while the King prepared to march in person against Hemoo. On reaching Nowshehra, he was joined by several of his defeated officers, who had assembled at that place. During his stay there, Beiram Khan, taking advantage of the King's absence from camp on a hunting party, caused Tardy Beg Khan to be seized and beheaded for abandoning Dehly, where he might have defended himself, When Akbur returned, Beiram Khan waited on him, and acquainted him with what he had done, at the same time excusing himself for not consulting the King, as he felt certain his clemency was such, that, notwithstanding Tardy Beg Khan's misconduct, he would have pardoned him. Beiram Khan remarked, that lenity at such a crisis would lead to dangerous consequences, as the only hopes left to the Moguls, at the present moment, depended on every individual exerting himself to the utmost of his power.

The King felt obliged to approve of this severe measure. The author of this work has understood, from the best-informed men of the times, that had Tardy Beg Khan not been executed by way of example, such was the condition of the Mogul army, and the general feeling of those foreigners, that the old scene of Sheer Shah would have been acted over again. But in consequence of this prompt though severe measrue, the Choghtay officers, each of whom before esteemed himself at least equal to

Keikobad and Keikaoos,[65] now found it necessary to conform to the orders of Beiram Khan, and to submit quietly to his authority.

Soon after this event, the army marched from Nowshehra towards Dehly. The advance guard consisted of the division of Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, Abdoolla Khan, Ally Kooly Khan Indijany, Mahomed Khan Jelabur Budukhshy, Mujnoon Khan Kakshal; and others, the whole commanded by Khan Zuman, who was created Surlushkur[66] (commander-in-chief). This corps was supported by another body of troops composed of the dependents of Beiram Khan, among whom were Hoossein Kooly Beg, Mahomed Sadik Khan Purwanchy, Shah Kooly Khan Mahrum, Meer Mahomed Kasim Khan Nyshapoory, Syud Mahomed Barka, and others. Hemoo, who had now assumed the title of Raja Vikramjeet, in Dehly, having attached Shady Khan and other Afghan chiefs to his interest, marched out of the capital to meet the King, with an army as numerous as the locusts and ants of the desert. His advance gaurd, consisting of Afghans, with some artillery, having fallen in with the Mogul Surlushkur, was routed with the loss of all its guns, an event which proved of great importance to Akbur. Hemoo, however, reached Paniput without further opposition; and hearing the King was near, distributed his elephants, in which he greatly confided, among his principal officers, and waited an attack.

On the morning of the 2d of Mohurrum, A.H. 964 (November 5, A.D. 1556), the Surlushkur having halted, was joined by the whole army, except a few select troops who remained to guard the King's person, and drawing up, offered battle. Hemoo began the action with his elephnats, in hopes of alarming the enemy's cavalry, unaccustomed to those animals; but the Moguls attacked them so furiously, after they had penetrated even to the centre of the army, where Khan Zuman Khan commanded, that, galled with lances, arrows, and javelins, they became quite unruly, and disdaining the control of their drivers, turned and threw the Afghan ranks into confusion. Hemoo, mounted on an elephant of prodigious size, still continued the action with great bravery, at the head of four thousand horse, in the very

65. Independent and arbitrary kings of Persia.

66. The Surlushkur of India answers to Seraskier of the Ottoman Porte.

heart of the Mogul army; but being pierced through the eye with an arrow, he sunk into his howda[67] from extreme agony. The greater part of his troops feared his wound was mortal, and forsook him. Raising himself again, Hemoo drew the arrow and with it the eye out of the socket, which he wrat in his handkerchief, and in spite of his painful situation, he continued to fight with unabated courage, endeavouring, with the few men who remained about his person, to force his retreat through the enemy's line. At length Shah Koolly Khan Mahrum levelled his lance against the diver of Hemoo's elephant, who, in order to save his own life, pointed to his master, and promised Shah Koolly Khan to guide the elephant wherever he diretced. He was now surrounded by a body of horse, and carried prisoner to Akbur, who was about two or three coss[68] in the rear. When Hemoo was brought into the presence, Beiram Khan recommended the King to do a meritorious act by killing the infidel with his own hand. Akbur, in order to fulfil the wish of his minister, drew his sword, and touching the head of the captive became entitled to the appellation of Ghazy,[69] while Beiram Khan, drawing his own sabre, at a single blow severed the head of Hemoo from his body.

During this action, fifteen hundred elephants fell into the hands of Akbur, who, marching from Paniput, entered Dehly without opposition. From that city he detached Peer Mahomed Khan, the steward of Beiram Khan's household, towards Mewat, wherein the treasure of Hemoo was deposited, a service which was accomplished with trifling loss. While these events transpired in India, the Persian army, commanded by Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, the son of Beiram Mirza, the son of Shah Ismael Sufvy, advanced by order of Shah Tahmasp, and laid seige to Kandahar, which fell into the hands of the Persians after a severe action that took place under the walls. In this engagement Shah

67. The howda is an open seat without a canopy, and is used in battle instead of the amary, which is more fitted for state occasions.

68. Five miles.

69. No single word in our language conveys the idea of this title, so highly prized among the Mahomedans: it signifies one who, by his deeds in war, has slain infidels, and propagated the true faith. Among Christians, knights of the cross might, perhaps, assume the title. Saladin was the Ghazy of the Saracens, and Richard Cœur de Lion of the Christians, in the wars of the Crusades.

Mahomed Kandahary, deputy of the minister Beiram Khan, commanded. At the same time news arrived that Khizr Khan, one of Akbur's generals, had been defeated by Sikundur Shah Soor, and obliged to fl· to Lahore.

Akbur, on hearing of these events, put his army in motion and marched towards the Punjab, on which Sikundur Shah Soor, who had advanced as far as Kullanoor, retreated to the fort of Mankote, built by his relative Sulim Shah Soor. At this place Akbur encamped for the space of three months, during which time the King's mother, and other ladies of the seraglio, together with several of the families of the Choghtay chiefs, returned from Kabul. They were escorted by the officer who had been sent there to afford aid to Moonyim Khan; but Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, with his mother and sister, remained at Kabul by the King's orders. The former was formally invested by patent with the management of that country, under the tutelage of Moonyim Khan during his minority.

The siege of Mankote lasted for six months, when Sikundur Shah opened negotiations to surrender, and Mahomed Khan Atka was sent into the fort for the purpose of concluding the terms. Sikundur Shah, unable to attend the King owing to his wounds, consented to evacuate the fort, and to cause his son, Sheikh Abdool Rahman, to enter the King's service and remain with him as a hostage for his own future forbearance from hostility, begging that he himself might be permitted to retire unmolested to Bengal. These terms being acceded to, Sheikh Abdool Rahman, in the month of Rumzan A.H. 964, (July, A.D. 1557), was presented to the King, and made offerings of several elephants. Sikundur Shah retired to Bengal, and Mankote was delivered up to Akbur, who having left a trusty governor in the place, proceeded on the road to Lahore. Beiram Khan, perceiving that the King had lately conferred favours on some persons whom he suspected to be his enemies, was so annoyed, that he withdrew for some days from the royal presence. During this time it happened, that while the King was amusing himself with an elephant fight, one of the animals became unruly, and chanced to run over the tent ropes of Beiram Khan. The minister, conceiving this circumstance was designed, sent Mahim Atka to acquaint the King "that he was sorry to perceive he had given him offence; and that if he had done so, he begged to be informed of what

he had been guilty." The King assured Beiram Khan that the circumstance to which he alluded occurred by mere accident; but the minister was by no means satisfied; nor could he be persuaded that the King's mind was not estranged from him. At length they reached Lahore.

On their arrival, Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Khan Atka, conceiving that he had offended Beiram Khan, waited on him, and took the most solemn oaths that he had on no occasion spoken disrespectfully of him to the King; meanwhile the army proceeded by easy marches to the south, and reached Dehly on the 25th of Jumad-oos-Sany, A.H. 965 (April 9, A.D. 1558). On the road a reconciliation took place between the King and the Regent, and the marriage of Sulima Sooltana Begum, the niece of the late Hoomayoon Padshah, with Beiram Khan, was celebrated at Jalundur with the King's consent, who was present at the nuptials.

In the same year, Khan Zuman, not only received the title of Ameer-ool-Oomra, but was raised to the rank of an officer of five thousand, and made governor of Joonpoor. Shortly afterwards, he seduced away from the King's body guard one of his troopers, who had been a favourite of Hoomayoon. The King sent an order to Khan Zuman to send the young man back; but some delay occurring, he was induced, at the instigation of Moolla Peer Mahomed, to march the army against him. Khan Zuman deputed one Furokh Ally, on his part, to court, to excuse his conduct; but Moolla Peer Mahomed, knowing that both Khan Zuman and Furokh Ally were the firm adherents of Beiram Khan, had sufficient influence not only to procure the messenger to be severely beaten, but subsequently to be pushed off the terrace of the palace, when he was killed. Khan Zuman at length allowed his favourite trooper to quit him; but instead of going to court, he retired to Suroorpoor, having been permitted to take with him one of his master's favourite mistresses, called Dilaram, originally a dancing girl. The young man subsequently engaging in a quarrel on her account lost his life; to revenge which Khan Zuman marched to Surrorpoor, and Meer Abdool Rahman, the governor, fled for protection to the court.

It was about this time that Moosahib Beg, the son of Khwaja Kullan, unmindful of the obligations he owed to Beiram Khan, began to treat him with disrespect, till at length he fell a

victim to his misconduct, and was put to death by order of the Protector. This event gave great offence not only to the Chogh-tay officers and nobles, but also to the King himself, who, shortly after quitting Dehly, proceeded to Agra; and the circumstance was still fresh in every one's mind, when Beiram Khan determined to cut off Moolla Peer Mahomed in the same way.

This person, formerly a retainer of Beiram Khan, was, on account of his abilities, preferred to the office of private tutor to the King; and having gained great influence with his Prince, he behaved with insolence towards the nobles of the court, making them wait whole hours for an audience, and at last sending them word that he could not see them at all. This conduct gave universal offence. Beiram Khan himself, on going one day to Moolla Peer Mahomed's house to enquire after his health, was stopped by the servants, and made to wait outside, and even when admitted, was only allowed to take one servant with him into the court-yard. This conduct so incensed the Protector, that without speaking to the King on the subject, he sent Moolla Peer Mahomed prisoner to a fort, from whence he was banished to Guzerat, and eventually to Mecca, on the plea of performing a pilgrimage; and Hajy Mahomed Khan Seestany, a townsman of the Protector, was appointed to succeed Moolla Peer Mahomed as the King's preceptor.

Akbur was highly enraged at this proceeding; but Beiram Khan, by way of diverting his mind, projected an expedition against Gualiar. That fortress still remained in possession of Soheil Khan, an officer of Sulim Shah, the son of Sheer Shah, who held it for Mahomed Shah Adily. Soheil Khan, hearing of Akbur's intentions, wrote to Ram-Sa, a descendant of Raja Man-Sing, saying, that as his ancestors had been masters of Gualiar, and as he was not capable of holding the place against the King, he would put it into the possession of the Raja for a reasonable sum. Ram-Sa available himself of this offer, and moved towards the fort; but Yekbal Khan, who possessed an estate in the neighbourhood of Gualiar, having raised his vassals, attacked and defeated the Hindoo chief, who fled into the dominions of the Rana.[70] After which Yekbal Khan, having invested Gualiar, Soheil Khan surrendered it into his hands (A.H. 964, A.D. 1556).

70. The Rana of Oodipoor.

In the course of the same year, Khan Zuman, in order to recommend himself, and to effect a reconciliation with the King, after all that had happened regarding the trooper, marched with his troops and subdued all the districts near Joonpoor and Benares, which till then remained in the hands of the adherents of the Afghan dynasty.

In the month of Rujub A.H. 965 (May, A.D. 1556), Mahomed Ghows, the brother of Sheikh Bheilole, who on account of his attachment to the Mogul dynasty had retired to Guzerat, now returned to court with his family; and being favourably received Beiram Khan was requested to provide him with a suitable establishment. Mahomed Ghows, relying too much on his personal interest with the King, neglected to pay that attention to the minister which he always expected, and Beiram Khan made so many excuses and delays that Mahomed Ghows found his stay at court disagreeable, and quitting it, retired to his old family residence at Gualiar. The King was much vexed with Beiram Khan for his conduct on this occasion; and he, observing a visible alteration in Akbur's manner towards him, proposed an expedition against Baz Buhadur, ruler of Malwa, to the command of which Bahadur Khan, the brother of Khan Zuman, governor of Depalpoor, was nominated.

About this time the King, being on a hunting party near Sikundra, was joined by Mahim Atka, who stated that the Queen-dowager was extremely ill at Dehly, and wished to see him. He accordingly proceeded to Dehly, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan Nyshapoory, an officer of five thousand, who then commanded in the city, came out to meet him. Apprehensive, however, lest Beiram Khan should suppose that the King's journey to Dehly had originated in an invitation from him, and fearing that he might in consequence be removed, as Moosahib Beg had been on a former occasion, Shahab-ood-Deen communicated his fears to Akbur, and begged that he might be permitted to retire, on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Surprised to find how much the minister was dreaded; yet by way of courtesy to Beiram Khan, as well as to remove Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud's fears, Akbur wrote to Beiram Khan, telling him that he had come to Dehly, not by invitation of any person, but merely to pay his respects to his sick mother. Beiram Khan replied, that "he should never entertain resentment against any person whom

his Majesty was pleased to honour with his favour;' he, moreover, deputed Hajy Mahomed Khan Seestany, and Tursoon Beg, to Dehly, with assurances of his loyalty. The enemies of Beiram Khan at court procured the seizure and confinement of his messengers. This circumstance was no sooner made known at Agra, than many of the minister's adherents began to quit him, and proceed to the court at Dehly, where Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud, finding the King disposed to listen to accusations against the falling minister, gave full vent to his animosity, in which he was joined by many of the courtiers whom he had attached to his interest. In short, so many insinuations were thrown out against Beiram Khan, particularly one of a design in favour of Abool Kasim Mirza, the son of the late Kamran Mirza, that Akbur became alarmed, and thought it necessary to curtail the Protector's authority. Accordingly, when Mahomed Khan and Tursoon Beg arrived in Dehly, instead of being admitted to an audience, they were seized and imprisoned, as has been related.

This breach between the King and Beiram Khan is related, with other particulars, by Abool Fuzl. "One day," says that historian, "while the King was at Agra, one of his elephants being *must*,[71] attacked and killed another of Beiram Khan's, who, on the spur of the moment, commanded the keeper of the royal elephant to be put to death, without first speaking to the King. Akbur was highly incensed, the more so, on finding that the man was not to blame, having lost all command over the animal. Soon after this," continues Abool Fuzl, "while Beiram Khan was taking his pleasure in a barge on the river, one of the elephants which had been carried down to the water, ran furiously against the boat, and had nearly sunk it, but for the great efforts of his driver. The minister, naturally suspicious, imagined these accidents were actually plots against his life; and he required the King to punish the driver. In order to satisfy the Protector, and to remove his suspicion, Akbur ordered the elephant driver to be sent to him to be punished at his discretion, when Beiram Khan caused him to suffer death. Akbur, much incensed at

71. The word used to denote the condition of an elephant in the rutting season. The violence of these animals on such occasions may easily be imagined by those persons who saw the elephant which was killed at Exeter 'Change, in 1825, or who read the accounts of his wild conduct.

these two instances of his minister's cruelty, came to the resolution of depriving him of office; a measure which required great firmness and much address." Some authors mention a scheme suggested to the King by his nurse to get possession of the seals; while others say, that she discovered it was the Protector's design to seize and confine him; a plot she is stated to have accidentally overheard, in a conversation between Beiram Khan and the Queen-dowager. "This," say they, "was the cause which determined Akbur to quit Agra," but Abool Fuzl does not mention it. He informs us, and with great probality, that the idea of shaking off the trammels of the minister was first communicated to Adam Khan Atka, and Mahim Atka, by the young King, who, tired of tutelage, thought he was capable of acting for himself. When it became known the messengers from Beiram Khan had been imprisoned, his ruin was easily foreseen by every body. A few days after, Akbur issued a proclamation, announcing to his people that he had taken the sole management of affairs into his own hands, requiring that henceforward no orders from court but those issued under his own seal should be obeyed.

Shah Abool Maaly, a favourite noble of the late Hoomayoon Padshah, had been long confined in Lahore; but having some time before this period found means to escape, he joined Kumar Gukkur, and accompanied him in an expedition against Kashmeer. These chiefs were defeated with great slaughter; and Shah Abool Maaly, retiring to Depalpoor, instigated Bahadur Khan Seestany to rebel; but the latter repenting of his conduct, a quarrel ensued, and Shah Abool Maaly retired towards the Indus, whence he fled to Guzerat, and eventually came to Joonpoor; where being seized by Khan Zuman, he was sent prisoner to Agra, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment in the fort of Byana.

In the year A.H. 966 (A.D. 1558), Beiram Khan, finding himself out of favour at court, marched to Malwa, with the intention of reducing that country, and establishing an independent principality. At Byana, finding that Bahadur Khan Seestany and other chiefs, on whose assistance he calculated, were unwilling to aid him, Beiram Khan procured the release of Shah Aboo Maaly from confinement, and intended, through his aid and tha of Khan Zuman of Joonpoor, to attack and expel the Afghans from Bengal, and fix himself in that quarter. Before he hac

proceeded far, however, he changed his resolution, and took the route of Nagoor, with the avowed design of making a pilgrimage to Mecca; while Bahadur Khan Seestany, Yekbal Khan, and many other chiefs who had joined him, took leave and departed. On reaching Nagoor, Beiram Khan gave up the notion of going to Mecca, and assembled troops, in order to establish himself in Punjab.

The King, informed of these proceedings, sent Meer Abdool Luteef Kuzweeny, his preceptor, with a message to him; saying, "Till now, our mind has been taken up with our education, and the amusements of youth, and it was our royal will, that you should regulate the affairs of our empire. But it being our intention henceforward to govern our people by our own judgment, let our wellwisher withdraw from all wordly concerns, and, retiring to Mecca, far removed from the toils of public life, spend the rest of his days in prayer."

Beiram Khan, on receiving this communication, professed obedience, and sent the ensigns of state, his elephants, banners, and drums, by Hoosein Koolly Khan, to the King, and returning to Nagoor, began to prepare for his departure for Mecca. He dismissed all his retainers; but Wuliy Beg and Ismael Khan (his own relations), as well as Shah Koolly Khan Mahrum, Hoossein Khan Oostajloo, Sheikh Guddayee, and Khwaja Moozuffur Ally Toormoozy, refused to quit him. Of all those who abandoned him at this time, most had been his associates and attendants for many years, and owed every thing to his favour; but all obligations were in a moment forgotten; and on the occasion of leaving him, they even carried with them most of his camels and camp equipage. Among those who left him was Shah Abool Maaly; who having joined Akbur while on a hunting-party, and neglecting to dismount when he made his obeisance, was instantly confined.

Beiram Khan proceeded as far as Bhickanere; but repenting of his resolution to give up public life, returned to Nagoor, where he again began to assemble troops. The King, informed of this circumstance, marched to Jahjur. Moolla Peer Mahomed, lately returned from the exile to which he had been condemned by Beiram Khan, was considered a fit person to carry on the war against him; and on this occasion he received the title of Peer

Mahomed Khan.[72] In the year A.H. 967 (A.D. 1559), the King, meanwhile, having returned to Dehly, sent orders to Moonyim Khan, the governor of Kabul, to repair to court.

On the approach of the royalists, Beiram Khan marched to Punjab, closely pursued by Peer Mahomed Khan. On reaching Bituhnda, he was induced to throw all his baggage into that fort, then commanded by Sheer Mahomed Khan, one of his former adherents. No sooner had this chief got them into his possession than he expelled the escort, and appropriated Beiram Khan's property to himself. The ex-minister proceeded to Depalpoor, which was also in the hands of one of his old adherents, Dervish Mahomed Oozbuk; but when he sent his secretary, Khwaja Moozuffur Ally, to wait on him, Dervish Mahomed seized and sent him to the King. All hopes being thus at an end, Beiram Khan marched towards Jalundur. At this time, Peer Mahomed Khan was recalled, and Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Khan Atka proceeded to occupy Punjab, and to seize Beiram Khan. A battle ensued at Machiwara, which was contested with bravery on both sides. Mahomed Khan's troops were at first broken, but, at length, several of Beiram Khan's officers being killed, his followers fled, and he sought protection in the mountains of Sewalik. After this event, the King appointed Khwaja Abdool Mujeed Hirvy to the government of Dehly, under the title of Asuf Khan, and marched in person to Lahore. On his arrival at Lodhana he was met by Moonyim Khan from Kabul, who was graciously received, hououred with the title of Khan Khanan, and created prime minister.

The King's army having advanced near the mountains of Sewalik, a detachment of light horse entered the hills, where the zemindars of that country combined in support of Beiram Khan. They were, however, so vigorously attacked, that the exile, in the utmost distress, sent his slave Jumal to the King, representing his unfortunate condition, and imploring pardon. Akbur despatched Moolla Abdoola, a native of Sooltanpoor, to him, with assurances of forgiveness, and with directions to conduct him to court. Ac-

72. The reader need hardly be informed that the title of Khan is hereditary in India, and belongs only to the nobility. The conferring of the title of Khan on a Moola, or a learned man, was as if a professor of literature or science should, on that account, be elevated to the peerage.

cordingly, in the month of Rubbee-ool-Sany, A.H. 968 (December, A.D. 1560), he was met, at some distance from the camp, by a considerable number of chiefs deputed to receive him, and was brought into the presence, with every mark of distinction. On entering the court, he hung his turban round his neck, and advancing rapidly, threw himself, in tears, at the foot of the throne.

Akbur, stretching forth his hand, caused him to rise, and placed him in his former station at the head of the nobles. A splendid dress was now brought; and the King addressed him in the following words: "If Beiram Khan loves a military life, the government of Kalpy and Chundery offer a field for his ambition. If he choose rather to remain at court, our favour shall not be wanting to the benefactor of our family; but should he be disposed to seek devotion in retirement, let him perform a pilgrimage to Mecca, whither he shall be escorted in a manner suitable to his rank. Beiram Khan replied, "The royal confidence being once shaken, how can I wish to remain in the presence? The clemency of the King is enough, and his forgiveness is more than a reward for my former services. Let me, therefore, avert my thoughts from this world to another, and be allowed to proceed to the holy shrine." The King assented, and ordered a proper retinue to attend him, at the same time assigning to him a pension of fifty thousand rupees[73] annually for his support. Beiram Khan soon after took leave of the King, who, with a few attendants, returned to Agra.

Beiram Khan proceeded to Guzerat, in order to embark for Mecca, and reached the suburbs of Puttun,[74] then governed by Moosy Khan Lody. During his stay there he went to visit a spot called Sahasnuk, so called from the thousand temples erected in its vicinity. One evening, in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul of the same year A.H. 968 (January, A.D. 1561), he was with a number of friends, accompanied by musicians, in a boat on the lake, where they remained the whole night. On his return in the morning, Beiram Khan was accosted by one Moobarik Khan Lohany, a person whose father he had slain in battle with his own hand. The wretch, pretending to embrace him, drew his dagger, and stabbed Beiram Khan to the heart; and a mob of Afghans falling on his retinue, plundered it. After his death, Mahomed Ameer

73. 5000*l*.
74. Nehrwala Puttun.

Dewana, Baba Zeinoo, and some other of his attendants, conveyed his widow and his son, Mirza Abdool Ruheem, then only four years old, to Ahmudabad; whence Itimad Khan, the ruler of Guzerat, sent the whole family, with a suitable escort, to the King at Agra. The history of Mirza Abdool Ruheem will be found in its proper place in this work.

Beiram Khan was one of the most distinguished officers of the Mogul court. He was descended from a line of ancestors who served for many generations in the family of the illustrious Teimoor Sahib Kiran. His pedigree is as follows: Mahomed Biran Khan Toorkoman, the son of Seif Ally Beg, the son of Yar Ally Beg, the son of Sheer Ally Beg. In the female line, he is descended from Ally Shukur, Toorkoman Baharloo. When Zowzun Hussun Sooltan conquered Erak, and Sooltan Aboo Syeed Mirza lost his life, Sheer Ally Beg, who was then in his service, attached himself to Sooltan Mahomed, the son of Sooltan Aboo Syed Mirza; but meeting with little encouragement to continue with him, he came to Kabul, and in the course of six months raised an army and marched in the direction of Shiraz, with the intention of establishing himself in an independent kingdom. In this endeavour, he was joined by some Toorkomans, and absolutely reached Fars; but being defeated by the troops of Zowzun Hussun, he fled to Khorassan, and eventually lost his life in battle, near Hirat. Sheer Ally Beg's eldest son, Yar Ally Beg, went to Koondooz, and entered the service of Khoosrow Shah; whom he quitted, and enrolled himself under the banners of Babur, on which occasion he seduced several of the officers of Khoosrow Shah from their duty. Yar Ally Beg died in the service of Babur, and his son, Seif Ally Beg, became governor of Ghizny. At his death, his son, Beiram Khan, retired to Bulkh; but being subsequently brought into notice at the court of Hoomayoon, he became his bosom friend, and was selected on that account as governor to his son.

In the end of the year 968, Adam Khan Atka was appointed command an army destined for the conquest of Malwa. Baz Bahadur, the ruler of the principality, spent his time in idle pleasures at Sarungpoor; and such was his indolence, that, although aware of the expedition of the Moguls, he allowed them to approach within twenty miles of his capital, before he could be prevailed on to quit the pillows of ease, and prepare for action.

The contest was short: the Moguls, on the first onset, broke his troops, captured his property and family, and sent him with streaming eyes and a broken heart towards Boorhanpoor (A.H. 969, A.D. 1561).

Adam Khan, after the victory, made provision for the government of Malwa, and distributed the spoil among his followers, reserving for himself the treasure, the royal ensigns, and the ladies of the haram of Baz Bahadur. He sent nothing but a few elephants to the King. Akbur, conceiving that Adam Khan intended to render himself independent, marched to Malwa. He first appeared before Gungrar, the governor of which place, on the part of Baz Bahadur, delivered it up without opposition. Akbur thence made a night march, and in the morning arrived before Sarungpoor. Adam Khan, unaware of the King's approach, was coming out with an intention to besiege Gungrar; but on making the discovery, he paid his respects, and accompanied him into the city. Adam Khan, suspecting the true cause of the King's visit, laid at his feet the treasure and spoil he had reserved for himself, alleging, by way of excuse, that he had reserved them till he should have the honour of presenting them in person. The King saw through this flimsy disguise, but preferring clemency to rigour, allowed the circumstance to pass without further notice, and soon after returned to Agra. One day while hunting in the vicinity of Nurwur, a royal tigress crossed the road. Akbur, without hesitation, urged on his horse, and with a single stroke of his sabre cut her across the loins, and stretched her dead on the plain. The nobles present, in excess of joy, ran to kiss the royal stirrup, and offered up thanks to God for his preservation.

He had only been a few months at Agra when Sheer Khan, the son of the late Mahomed Shah Adily, with forty thousand Afghans, advanced from Bengal to reduce the province of Joonpoor. Sheer Khan was opposed by Khan Zuman with twelve thousand cavalry, and sustained a total defeat. Bahadur Khan Seestany, the brother of Khan Zuman, distinguished himself much on this occasion; indeed, both were esteemed among the bravest soldiers of the age; but presuming too much on their character, they neglected to send to court the elephants taken in the battle, which are always considered the property of the crown. The King, though prepared to allow due credit to the brothers for their gallantry, could by no means overlook so gross an infringement

of his prerogative, and therefore determined on marching towards Joonpoor; but on reaching Kurra, sensible of their misconduct, they advanced to congratulate Akbur, and presented him not only with the elephants and all the spoils they had taken, but made other suitable offerings. The King, whose generosity and clemency were equalled only by his spirit, returned every thing except what belonged of right to the crown, and giving them at the same time a gentle reproof for their neglect, he secured their attachment by his princely behaviour and courtesy. During the march to Agra, on the third day, they were permitted to return to their government of Joonpoor.

At this time, Mahomed Khan Atka, governor of Punjab, and Adam Khan Atka, ruler of Malwa, arrived at court according to orders, bringing with them suitable presents. The government of Malwa was now conferred on the King's old preceptor, Peer Mahomed Khan, and the office of prime minister devolved on Mahomed Khan Atka. In the year A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561), the King, proceeding to Ajmere, visited the shrine of Khwaja Moyeen-ood-Deen Chishty; and shortly after, on his arrival at Sumthur, Raja Poorunmul consented to give his daughter to him in marriage, and suffered himself and his son Bhowany Dass[75] to be enrolled among the number of the nobles of the court. At Ajmere, Akbur, having performed his devotions, detached Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, the governor, to invest the fort of Merta, subject to Maldew, Raja of Marwar. The King, quitting Ajmere suddenly, returned in three days and nights, attended by a retinue of six persons only to Agra, a distance of more than one hundred and thirty coss.[76]

Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein having reached Merta, Raja Jugmul and Raja Devy Dass, two of the principal chiefs of Marwar, threw themselves into Merta, and prepared for defence. They were closely besieged by the Mirza; who in a few days carried mines under one of the bastions, and formed a practicable breach. A select body of troops, led by the Mirza in person, advanced to the assault: but the storming party was opposed with such bravery that it was obliged to retreat; and on the next morning the

75. This is, I believe, the first instance of a Hindoo chief being ennobled, or employed in any situation of high trust under the Mogul government.

76. Two hundred miles.

Moguls found the breach built up by the enemy. The siege being protracted for some months, and the garrison unable to hold out longer for want of provisions, proposed to capitulate. Terms were granted, by which the besieged were allowed to march out without arms, but with permission to retain their horses. Jugmul, according to stipulation, left all his money and effects in the fort; but Devy Dass, who had been averse to the capitulation, collected five hundred of the garrison, and having burnt all they could not convey with them, rushed out with a determination to cut their way through the enemy. The Mirza, having heard of their intention, caused them to be attacked; but the Rajpoots, fighting with desperate valour, succeeded in making good their retreat, with the loss of two hundred and fifty of their number killed. Among these was Devy Dass himself, whose head his soldiers carried off when they saw him mortally wounded, that it might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, after having occupied Merta, wrote an account of his success to the King, by whom he was honoured with marks of his approbation.

Peer Mahomed Khan, governor of Malwa, taking up his residence in Shadyabad Mando, carried on the war against Baz Bahadur with such success that he compelled him to quit his dominions. He took the strong fort of Beejygur, and put the garrison to the sword, as they obliged him to risk an assault. Baz Bahadur took protection under the ruler of Boorhanpoor, within the limits of Kandeish; and by his aid he made frequent incursions into Malwa, and kept the country in a state of ferment and alarm. Peer Mahomed Khan marched against Boorhanpoor, and sacked the town, when a cruel massacre of the inhabitants ensued, and among these sufferers were many holy men. Baz Bahadur, shortly after, induced Moobarik Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, and Tooffal Khan, ruler of Berar, to aid him, and he advanced towards the Moguls. The latter retreated to Beejygur, where, contrary to the advice of his officers, Peer Mahomed Khan gave battle to the confederates. He was defeated in the action, and eventually drowned in the retreat while crossing the Nerbudda. The confederates pursued the Moguls from place to place as far as Agra, so that Baz Bahadur, in the year A.H. 969 (A.D. 1561), recovered all his dominions in Malwa. Subsequent to these disasters, Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, governor of Kalpy, was appointed to carry on the war against Baz Bahadur, whom

he succeeded in expelling a second time from Malwa. Baz Bahadur fled to the mountains of Koombulmere; and Abdoolla Khan, established himself in Mando, and took up his residence in that city.

Syud Beg, the son of Masoom Beg, a member of the Sufvy family, arrived about this time at the court of Agra, in character of ambassador from the King of Persia, bringing handsome offerings. He received in return presents to the amount of two lacks of rupees.[77] Mahomed Khan Atka, having some time before been appointed minister at Dehly, with the title of Shahab-ood-Deen, acquired great influence at court; and Adam Khan Koka, whom we have before seen commanding the army in the first conquest of Malwa, being jealous of his power, endeavoured to effect his ruin; but his intrigues to that end were discovered, and exposed him to shame. Adam Khan had determined in his own mind on the destruction of the minister, and only sought for an opportunity to effect it. At length, one day while Shahab-ood-Deen was sitting in the hall of audience, reading the Koran aloud, Adam Khan entered and saluted him. The minister took no notice of him; for it is not customary on such occasions to do so. Adam Khan, on the impulse of the moment, drew his dagger and stabbed the minister to the heart. Having committed this murder, Adam Khan left the room hastily, and ascended one of the terraces, where he remained till he was seized. The King, who was sleeping in the inner apartments, on hearing the noise, and on ascertaining the cause, arose, and without changing his sleeping dress, went to the spot. He was horror-struck at the scene. The body of his minister lay weltering in his blood, while the murderer stood stupified on the neighbouring terrace. The first impulse of Akbur was to draw his sword, and put him to death, but recollecting his dignity, he returned it into the scabbard, and sternly asked the assassin, why he had killed the Vizier? Adam Khan made no reply, but clasping the King's hands, begged for mercy. Akbur shook himself from him with disgust, and ordered his attendants to throw him over the terrace-parapet, which was twelve guz[78] from the ground. Mahim Atka the unfortunate minister's father, died with grief within forty days. It is proper to observe here, that a nurse's husband and her male relations are called

77. 20,000*l*.
78. Twenty-two feet.

Atka : the wet nurse herself, in Toorky, is called Anka : a foster-brother is termed Koka.[79] Moonyim Khan, formerly governor of Kabul, who was present when the murder was committed, and was supposed to be an accomplice, fled to Lahore, where he was seized and sent to Agra : but as the proofs were insufficient to convict him, he was acquitted, and afterwards became a favourite with the King. The title and estates of the minister were conferred on Mirza Azeez Koka, his eldest son, but not the office. In the year A.H. 970 (A.D. 1562), Adam Gukkur, disturbing the peace of Punjab, the officers of that country were ordered to reduce him, and to place Kumal Gukkur at the head of the tribe. This person had on a former occasion escaped death under extraordinary circumstances. Sulim Shah, having taken a number of Gukkurs in war, ordered a prison wherein they were confined at Gualiar to be blown up by gunpowder; on which occasion Kumal Gukkur had the good fortune to escape, being only thrown to some distance, without receiving any considerable injury. Kumal Gukkur, uniting with the Moguls, marched against his countrymen, and having subdued Adam Gukkur, the latter was made prisoner.

Khwaja Moyin, the father of the famous Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, arrived this year, from Toorkistan, at Lahore, where he was met by his son and escorted to Agra, when even Akbur himself went out to congratulate him on his arrival. Not long after this event, Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, suspicious of being seized, fled to Ajmere, and went into rebellion. Hoossein Koolly Khan Zoolkudr, (nephew of the late Beiram Khan, Khan Khanan,) having been appointed to the government of Nagoor, was directed to proceed against the insurgents. Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen receiving intelligence of Hoossein Koolly Khan's approach, left Ajmere and retreated to J'halore on the Guzerat frontier; and Hoossein Koolly Khan, on reaching Ajmere, obtained possession of that fort by capitulation, from one of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen's officers. At this time Shah Abool Maaly, a favourite officer of the late Hoomayoon Padshah, returned from a pilgrimage to

79. It is observable among nations where much deference is paid by the lower classes to rank, that the relatives of wet nurses identify themselves in a great measure with the children they rear, and a mutual and common interest subsists between them through life. Among the Tartars this feeling is very prevalent; and it exists in a considerable measure both in Ireland and in Scotland at the present day.

Mecca; and hearing of the defection of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen joined him, and marched with a body of horse towards Narnoul. Hoossein Koolly Khan detached two chiefs, Ahmud Beg and Yoosoof Beg, to oppose Shah Abool Maaly, while he marched in person against the Mirza. The first detachment of the royal army was drawn into an ambush, and defeated with great slaughter by Shah Abool Maaly, the two generals having fallen in the action. But Abool Maaly was subsequently compelled to fly before another army sent by the King against him, first to Punjab, and eventually beyond the Indus, when he found protection with the Prince Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's younger brother, at Kabul. In the year A.H. 971 (A.D. 1563), that Prince gave to Shah Abool Maaly his sister in marriage; and raised him to the first office in the principality, which at this time paid little or no homage to Akbur. He had not been many months at Kabul, however, before Shah Abool Maaly, aspiring to the government, assassinated the Prince Mahomed Hukeem Mirza's mother,[80] a woman of uncommon talents, and who, in reality, conducted all the business of her son's government. After which, Shah Abool Maaly assumed the office of regent during the minority of the young Prince. Sooliman Mirza, Prince of Budukhshan, hearing of these proceedings, attacked the usurper, who lost his life in the war. Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein, after the retreat of Shah Abool Maaly, fled to Ahmudabad in Guzerat.

It was at this time that the King was nearly being assassinated by a retainer of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein. The circumstances are as follows :—While passing on the road to Dehly, one Kootloogh Folad, a slave of Mirza Shurf-ood-Deen, joined the King's retinue, and looking upwards, fixed an arrow in his bow, and pointed it towards the sky, as if going to shoot at some object in the air. The attendants, supposing that he was directing it at a bird, did not interrupt him, till having lowered the direction of the arrow towards the King, he discharged it, and lodged it span-deep into Akbur's shoulder. The weapon was still fast in the flesh, when the assassin was cut to pieces. The arrow, indeed, was with some difficulty extracted at the time, before all the attendants, while the King did not shrink from the operation. In about ten days, the wound having healed, Akbur returned to

80. Mahomed Hukeem was only half-brother to Akbur, being born of a different mother.

Agra, and soon after appointed Asuf Khan Hirvy governor of Kurra and Manukpoor.

Without remaining many days at Agra, Akbur proceeded to Nurwur, to hunt elephants; and directed Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, governor of Malwa, to send his trained elephants to assist in the chase. Abdoolla Khan having lately evinced symptoms of revolt, the King made a sudden incursion into Malwa, in spite of the periodical rains, and was joined by Mahomed Kasim Khan Nyshapoory, jageerdar of Sarungpoor, on the route; but no sooner had the army arrived at Oojein than Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, with all his forces and treasure, retreated to Guzerat. The King pursued him about fifty miles, with a small body of cavalry; but he was so steadily opposed by Abdoolla Khan, in the end, that he was compelled to retreat. The King fell back on Mando, where he spent some time in viewing the buildings erected by the kings of the Khiljian dynasty. During his residence there, he received in marriage the daughter of Meeran Moobarik Khan, ruler of Kandeish, who came to pay his respects and do homage. Having provided for the government of Malwa, by the nomination of Kurra Bahadur, the King returned towards his capital. On the road, he fell in with a herd of wild elephants near Seepry Kolarus.[81] He ordered his cavalry to surround and drive them into a kedda, or fold, constructed for the purpose; which was effected with some difficulty. One of the male elephants, finding himself confined, broke through the palisadoes, and got into the plain. Three trained elephants were sent after him, but before he was overpowered he afforded much sport.

In the year A.H. 972 (A.D. 1564), Khwaja Maazim, the husband of the King's aunt, was committed to prison, where he died. In the same year, also, the old wall of Agra, built of bricks, was demolished, and the foundation of the new wall, of red stone, was laid, which was completed at the end of four years.

Owing to the intrigues of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, so often mentioned, it was currently reported, that the King had taken such a dislike to all of his tribe, that he intended to seize and imprison the whole of the Oozbuk chiefs. This rumour gained such credit, that Sikundur Khan and Ibrahim Khan, Oozbuks, beside others who had governments in the neighbourhood of

81. In the present day there are not such forests near Seepry Kolarus as to afford shelter for droves of elephants.

Joonpoor and Behar, went into open revolt. Khan Zuman and his brother Bahadur Khan Seestany, who, though their mother was a native of Isfahan, and they were born in Erak, yet being of Oozbuk descent on their father's side, identified themselves with the insurgents. Asuf Khan Hirvy, governor of Kurra, also withheld a part of the King's treasure in his hands, and took part with them, so that, in a short time, the rebels mustered a force of thirty thousand horse, with which they ravaged the territories of Behar and Joonpoor.

The King, without appearing to notice the revolt, proceeded on a hunting party towards Nurwur, in an opposite direction from the scene, but he took secret measures to dissolve the confederacy. Ashruf Khan Moonshy was employed privately to endeavour to bring Sikundur Khan Oozbuk over from his faction; and Lushkur Khan Bukhshy was sent with a body of horse to seize the treasure of Asuf Khan Hirvy. The story regarding this treasure is as follows :—

When Asuf Khan was raised to the rank of a noble of five thousand horse, and procured the government of Kurra Manikpoor, he obtained permission of the King to subdue a country called Gurra, at that time governed by a Rany (a Hindoo queen) whose name was Doorgawutty, as celebrated for her beauty as for her good sense. Asuf Khan Hirvy heard of the riches of this country, and visited with constant depredations, till at length he marched with a force of between five and six thousand cavalry and infantry to Gurra. The Queen opposed him with an army of fifteen hundred elephants, and eight thousand horse and foot. Under these circumstances a sanguinary battle took place, in which the Queen, who was on an elephant, having received an arrow in her eye, was unable to give orders; but apprehending the disgrace of being taken prisoner, she snatched a dagger out of the girdle of the elephant driver, and stabbed herself. Her country fell into the hands of Asuf Khan Hirvy. Asuf Khan next proceeded to Chouraghur, and took it by storm, and the son of the Rany, or Queen, who was but an infant, was trodden to death in the confusion. Independently of the jewels, the images of gold and silver, and other valuables, no fewer than a hundred jars of gold coins of the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy also fell into the hands of the conqueror. Of all this booty Asuf Khan presented to the King only a small part; and of a thousand elephants, which

he took, he sent only three hundred indifferent animals to the King, and none of the jewels.

Finding that Lushkur Khan was unable to subdue Asuf Khan, the King determined to march in person to Gurra. Leaving Nurwur, therefore, he continued his route for some days; but was seized with a fever owing to the extreme heat which prevails in that sandy soil, and returned to Agra. On this occasion he detached Shaheen Khan Julabir, Shah Boodagh Khan, Mahomed Ameen Diwana, and other officers, against Sikundur Khan Oozbuk. This army was defeated, and the principal officers, Shah Boodagh Khan and Mahomed Ameen Diwana, were taken prisoners. The King having sufficiently recovered, sent Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan, with another army against the Oozbuks, and in the month of Shuval, A.H. 973 (April, A.D. 1566), followed in person.

On reaching Kunowj, Akbur selected a body of horse, and made a forced march towards Lucknow to surprise Sikundur Khan; but the latter gained information of this movement, and evacuating the place joined Khan Zuman, with whom he crossed the Ganges. The King, proceeding to Joonpoor, was met by Asuf Khan Hirvy, who now sued for pardon; and through the mediation of Mujnoon Khan was admitted to the presence, and restored to favour. A few days afterwards Asuf Khan Hirvy was detached with five thousand horse against the confederated Oozbuk chiefs. On arriving at the ferry of Hundia, Asuf Khan was opposed by the enemy, and instead of endeavouring to force the passage of the river, he exhausted the time in idle negotiations, for which he had no authority. The King, informed of his negligence, deprived him of his office as governor of Joonpoor, on which both Asuf Khan and his brother quitted the army, and again retired to Gurra.

Moonyim Khan was ordered to take charge of the division which Asuf Khan had thus forsaken; but the confederates, under Sikundur Khan and Bahadur Khan, having in the mean time crossed the Jumna, raised disturbances in the Dooab, while Khan Zuman defeated a body of the King's troops on the banks of the Ganges. Akbur, informed of these events, sent a division, under the command of Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk, to arrest the progress of the Oozbuks. At this time, Khan Zuman, repenting of the part he had taken, deputed his mother and Ibrahim Khan Oozbuk to convey a number of elephants and other presents to the King:

and through the intercession of Moonyim Khan he was not only pardoned, but all his estates and honours were restored to him.

Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk having overtaken Sikundur Khan Oozbuk and Bahadur Khan Seestany, was on the point of attacking them, when he received a message from the latter, acquainting him that his brother, Khan Zuman, had sent his mother with presents to the King, to intercede for pardon, and proposed, therefore, that he should suspend hostilities, till he heard the result of that negotiation. Meer Moiz-ool-Moolk paid no regard to the communication, but proceeded to the attack, obliging Sikundur Khan to fall back, with great loss, on the main body of the army, commanded by Bahadur Khan. The royalists, on the retreat of Sikundur Khan, concluding the victory was complete, pursued the enemy without observing any order; but they were received so steadily by Bahadur Khan Seestany, that in the end they sustained a total defeat; and flying, panic-struck, could not be induced to stand, and face the pursuers, so that the insurgents gained an entire victory; nor did the royalist general halt, with the scattered remains of his army, till he conveyed news of his own disaster to the King at Kunowj.

Akbur, in the mean time, having concluded terms with Khan Zuman, went to Chunar and Benares; but the news of the late action no sooner reached Khan Zuman than he again revolted, and occupied Ghazipoor and the adjacent country. The King very naturally accused Moonyim Khan, through whose mediation Khan Zuman had been pardoned, of betraying him; and having caused the mother of the latter to be confined in Joonpoor, proceeded with all expedition against him. Bahadur Khan Seestany, taking advantage of the King's absence, attacked Joonpoor, and carried it by escalade, where he released his mother,[82] and placed Ashruf Khan, the governor, with all the principal persons in the garrison, in confinement.

Akbur, on learning the capture of Joonpoor, and conceiving the war in that quarter to be of the first importance, relinquished the pursuit of Khan Zuman, and returned thither. Here he issued orders, commanding all the governors of the neighbouring provinces to join him with their forces. Bahadur Khan, seeing such formidable preparations in the provinces which remained loyal,

82. She was the mother both of Khan Zuman and Bahadur Khan Seestany.

evacuated Joonpoor, and fled towards Benares, as Akbur approached, and despairing of success, addressed the King a second time for pardon, which was granted; and the restoration of his estates and honours also took place. It was observed by one of the kings of old, "If a king's subjects only knew the pleasure there is in conferring a favour, they would never approach him but with a request;" and in reality there is a gratification in having it in one's power to pardon, far superior to that of indulging in revenge. The King, after passing his royal word, ordered Khan Zuman to court; but he excused himself, pretending "that shame for his past offences alone prevented him from appearing in the presence, till time should have convinced his Majesty of his loyalty; but that when the King should return to Agra, both he and his brother Bahadur Khan would at a future time pay their respects." In the year A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566), on his arrival at Agra, Akbur deputed Mehdy Kasim Khan, with four thousand horse, to march against Asuf Khan Hirvy, and expel him from Gurra, of which he still retained possession.

Khan Zuman, so far from having reformed, took this opportunity to strengthen his party, and sought an alliance with Asuf Khan Hirvy; but the latter, finding himself neglected by Khan Zuman, retreated sullenly to Gurrà, to which place he was pursued by Bahadur Khan, defeated, and taken prisoner. Asuf Khan's brother, Vizier Khan, escaped during the action; and having rallied the troops, returned at night, surprised the conquerors, and rescued Asuf Khan. The brothers now proceeded to Gurra, which they retained in their hands in spite of the King.

About this time an envoy arrived, on the part of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, from Kabul, acquainting him that Sooliman Mirza, chief of Badukhshan, had from the time he defeated and slew Shah Abool Maaly continued to read the Khootba in his own name; that he had appointed one Mirza Sooltan to rule in Kabul on his behalf, but that Mahomed Hukeem Mirza having expelled him, Sooliman Mirza was again preparing to invade Kabul. Under these circumstances, he earnestly entreated the King's aid to oppose him. The King, dreading the encroachments of his northern enemies more than those in the eastern provinces, ordered the officers in Punjab to place themselves under the orders of Mahomed Koolly Khan, governor of Mooltan, and march to the aid of Mahomed Hukeen Mirza, as soon as they should learn

for certain of Sooliman Mirza's advance on Kabul. Fureedoon Khan Kabully was also sent from the presence, with his corps, to support Mahomed Hukeem Mirza; but before the King's orders reached Punjab or Mooltan, Sooliman Mirza had invested Kabul, and Mahomed Hukeem Mirza being unsupported, was compelled to evacuate it. He fled to the eastward, and retreating in the direction of the Indus, was met by Fureedoon Khan, marching to his assistance. This chief recommended Mahomed Hukeem Mirza to seize upon Lahore, as an equivalent for the loss he had sustained, and assured him that Akbur was in no condition to oppose him, being already engaged in a war with the Oozbuks, who had seized all the eastern provinces; he observed, also, that being once in possession of Lahore and the Punjab, he would find little difficulty, at some future time, in expelling Sooliman Mirza from Kabul. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza did not hesitate to adopt this advice; and taking measures to put it into execution, marched towards Lahore, in conjunction with Fureedoon Khan. The Prince's design, however, was soon made public; and the officers of Punjab, particularly Kootub Khan Atka and Peer Mahomed Khan,[83] threw troops into the city of Lahore, and prepared for its defence. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, meanwhile, arrived before Lahore, and in vain used every art and persuasion to gain over those officers to his interest.

Akbur, conceiving no time should be lost in counteracting his brother's plans, laid aside for the present his projected expedition against the Oozbuks in the Dooab, and directed his march to Lahore. Agra was left under the government of his faithful general, Moonyim Khan, and on the 14th of Juman-ool-Awul A.H. 974 (Nov. 28, A.D. 1566), the King moved to the north. The news of his arrival at Surhind having reached Lahore, the citizens began to beat their drums, and to sound their trumpets for joy. This unusual noise attracted the attention of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, who was asleep at the time: he asked what it meaned, and was told that the King in person had come expeditiously from Agra. Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, believing that Akbur was close on Lahore, mounted his horse on the spur of the moment, and retreated precipitately with his cavalry towards Kabul; and fortunately reached that city so opportunely as to take it by surprise,

83. This person is distinct from him who was the King's preceptor, and who lost his life in crossing the Nerbudda. Vide p. 128.

Sooliman Mirza having retired to Budukhshan during the winter. The King, in the mean time, advanced slowly to Lahore, where he spent a few days in hunting, and was suddenly joined by Vizier Khan, the brother of Asuf Khan Hirvy, who had come to court to obtain pardon for the offences of his brother and himself; which was not only granted, but they were directed to act in conjunction with Mujnoon Khan Khakshal, for the protection of Kurra Manukpoor.

About this time the sons and descendants of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza went into rebellion. This Prince derives his descent in the paternal line from Ameer Teimoor Korkan, as is stated in the memoirs of Babur, his mother being the daughter of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza. During the reign of Hoomayoon, he evinced the blackest ingratitude to that monarch, but he was generously pardoned. His eldest son, Alugh Mirza, fell in action against the Huzaras, and his youngest son, Shah Mirza, died a natural death. Alugh Mirza left two sons, Sikundur and Mahomed; though Hoomayoon Padshah used to call the eldest by the name of his father, Alugh Mirza, and the youngest by that of his uncle, Shah Mirza.[84] Taking these children under his own especial care, he caused them to be educated at court; and on the accession of Akbar Padshah to the throne, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza returned to India, and had the district of Sumbhul conferred on him for his maintenance. Notwithstanding his advanced age, Mahomed Sooltan Mirza had four sons afterwards; viz.

1. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza.
2. Ibrahim Mirza
3. Hoossein Mirza.
4. Akil Mirza.

All of whom were enrolled among the nobles of Akbur's court, while still in their minority; and after attending the King's army in the late war against the Oozbuks of Joonpoor, they retired to their estates at Sumbhul. When the King subsequently proceeded against Mahomed Hukeem Mirza in the Punjab, these four chiefs, in conjunction with their nephews, Sikundur and Mahomed, (entitled Alugh Mirza, and Shah Mirza,) went into rebellion, and collecting a number of disaffected persons, commenced to levy contributions on the King's provinces. The jageerdars in their

84. See genealogy of the Mogul dynasty.

vicinity, however, treating them as common marauders, expelled them from Sumbhul, from whence they proceeded to Malwa. Moonyim Khan, in the mean time, contrived to obtain possession of the person of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza and placing him in confinement in Byana, he remained there till he died a natural death.

The Oozbuk chiefs, availing themselves of the King's absence, took Kunowj and Oude, and extended their conquest on all quarters. These events obliged him to return to Agra, where having collected his troops, he proceeded to Joonpoor. Khan Zuman Khan, who was then besieging Yoosoof Khan in the fort of Sheergur, hearing of the King's approach, retreated to Kurra, in which place his brother, Bahadur Khan Seestany, had closely beset Mujnoon Khan and Asuf Khan Hirvy. The King continued in pursuit of Khan Zuman; and on reaching the town of Ray Barely, heard that he had crossed the Ganges, and was in full retreat to Malwa, either to join the sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, or to form an alliance with the Kings of the Deccan. This information determined Akbur, if possible, to overtake him. In the year A.H. 974 (A.D. 1566), on arriving at the ferry of Manukpoor, in the evening, no boats being procurable, he mounted his elephant, and, contrary to the advice of his officers, urged the animal into the river which was then deep. He had the good fortune to pass in safety without the necessity of the elephant swimming; but his body guard, one hundred of whom plunged into the stream, gained the opposite bank with difficulty. With this small party Akbur proceeded, and in the morning, appeared before the enemy's camp, where Asuf Khan Hirvy and Mujnoon Khan joined him with the garrison of Kurra.

The enemy, little supposing the King would attempt to cross the river without his army, passed the night in festivity, and could hardly believe their senses when they heard the royal nukara.[85] They lost no time, however, informing their line and a battle ensued, which commenced at nine o'clock, on Monday the 1st Zeehuj, A.H. 975 (June 6, A.D. 1566). Baba Khan Kajar, who commanded the King's advanced party, penetrated into the camp of the insurgents, but was repulsed by Bahadur Khan Seestany: and falling back in confusion on the King's line, created some

85. The royal kettle-drum.

disorder. Bahadur Khan Seestany, following up his advantage, penetrated to the spot where the King commanded in person. Akbur found it necessary to dismount from his elephant, and take to his horse; but an arrow having killed Bahadur Khan's charger at this very moment, he was obliged to retreat on foot, and his party dispersed. The King now commanded his elephants to advance rapidly, and the enemy were driven off the field. Khan Zuman received an arrow wound, which he was in the act of extracting, when his horse also fell; and before he could mount another, the elephant called Hursook, pushing forward, trod him to death. Bahadur Khan was taken prisoner during the action; and when brought before the King, he was asked what injury he had sustained to provoke him to draw his sword against him? He made no defence, but exclaimed, "Praise be to God that he has reserved me once more to see your Majesty's countenance." The King ordered him to be taken care of; but the fate of Khan Zuman being still unknown, some of the officers put him to death without orders. The heads of the two brothers were sent to Punjab and Kabul. Jan Ally Beg Oozbuk, Yar Ally Beg, Mirza Beg, Khooshal Beg, Mirza Shah Beg, and Ally Shah Budukhshy, were all made prisoners; and having accompanied the King as far as Joonpoor, they were trodden to death by elephants. After this victory, the government of Joonpoor was conferred on Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan. Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, who was now besieged in the fort of Oude, was compelled to fly to Gorukpoor. The rebellion of the Oozbuks was thus considered at an end, so that in the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 975 (July, A.D. 1567), the army returned to Agra. After these events, the King marched against Rana Oody Sing, who had not yet submitted to the Mogul arms. Having reached Shewpoor, the governor, evacuating the place, took refuge with Soorjun Ray, the Raja of Runtunbhore; and Akbur, having left a garrison in Shewpoor, proceeded to the fort of Gungrar, on the frontier of Malwa. The sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza, now in Mando, hearing of his approach, were not without apprehension for themselves; and Alugh Mirza dying about this time, the other Mirzas fled to Guzerat.

The King left Malwa under charge of Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan Nyshapoory, and marched from Gungrar to Chittoor. Here the Rana leaving eight thousand Rajpoots with an ample

supply of provisions in the fort, retired with his family to a country he deemed more inaccessible. Akbur, having invested Chittoor, employed five thousand workmen of different descriptions to conduct the siege. The approaches were made by *sabat*, a description of defence for the besiegers peculiar to India.[86] The *sabats* are constructed in the following manner. The zigzags, commencing at gunshot distance from the fort, consist of a double wall, and by means of blinds or stuffed gabions covered with leather the besiegers continue their approaches till they arrive near to the walls of the place to be attacked. The miners then proceed to sink their shafts, and carry on their galleries under ground, for the construction of the mines, in which having placed the powder and blown up the works, the storming party rushes from the *sabat*, or superior galleries, and assaults the place.[87] On the present occasion, two *sabats*, or superior galleries, having been constructed, two mines were carried under bastions at different spots, and they were both fired at the same time. It happened that one of them exploded before the other, and a practicable breach was formed. Two thousand men, prepared to storm, advanced immediately, under the supposition that both mines had been sprung, and the parties divided, in order to enter both breaches at once. One of the mines, however, exploded, only just as one of the parties got close over it, when five hundred men were killed, besides a number of the enemy who were crowded on the bastion. Of the Moguls, fifteen

86. The arts of mining and the construction of military field-works seem to have been familiar to the nations of India for many ages. The skill they displayed at the siege of Ahmudnuggur in 1595, against the Moguls, and in those of Kerowly in 1807, and of Bhurtpoor in 1826, against British troops, from whom they could not have learned the science of mining, bespeaks the fact; while our armies in Nepal in 1814, and in the late Burmese war, experienced the facility and rapidity with which nations unacquainted either with Mahomedans or Europeans are accustomed to construct military field-works, and the judgment they display in the selection of advantageous positions for them.

87. It is curious to perceive how completely this mode of attack corresponds with the practice of Vauban and the best engineers of modern times, and serves to show how scientific and methodical the Moguls were in the conduct of sieges two centuries and a half ago. The double walls alluded to are the contents of the trenches thrown up on each side of the approaches. The stuffed gabions were rolled on in front of the workmen, as is customary at the present day in Europe.

officers suffered on this occasion, among whom were Syud Jumal-ood-Deen Khan Barha, Murdan Koolly Shah and others. The consequence was, that both attacks failed. Other mines were directed to be constructed, and as the works were in progress, the King, while in the batteries, observed Jugmul, the governor of the place, superintending the repairing of the breaches, and giving his orders by torchlight. Akbur, seizing a matchlock from one of his attendants, fired at him, and was so fortunate as to lodge the ball in Jugmul's forehead. The spirit of the besieged fell with their governor; and in their despair, they performed the ceremony of the jowhur, and putting their wives and children to death, burned them with the corpse of their chief on a funeral pile. The King, perceiving what was in progress within the fort, advanced under the cover of night to the breaches, and found them abandoned, so that he entered the fort without opposition. Day light appeared, and still not a soul was to be seen of the garrison; all had retired to their temples, and, as usual, refused quarter. The King, mounting his elephant, ordered the temples to be stormed, when ten thousand Rajpoots fell in the assault, while, with the exception of one Noosrut Ally, not a Mahomedan lost his life. The command of Chittoor being confered on Asuf Khan Hirvy, the King returned to his capital.

On the road to Agra, a tiger being roused, Akbur directed no one to approach it; but riding forward himself, he discharged several arrows at him. The animal remained quiet below some rising ground, on which the King had taken post. Akbur now fired a musket-shot, which having struck the brute he rushed directly upon him. Adil Khan, one of the attendants, gallantly interposing, wounded the tiger severely with his sword, and other men having run in, cut the tiger in pieces with their swords.

At Agra Akbur received advices that Ibrahim Mirza and Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, having separated from Chungiz Khan,[88] the ruler of Guzerat, had returned to Malwa, and commenced hostilities by laying siege to Oojein. Kullich Khan Indijany and Khwaja Gheias-ood-Deen Kuzveeny Bukhshy were accordingly deputed to expel them; and on their approach, the

88. After the expulsion of Hoomayoon's generals from Guzerat, Bahadur Shah recovered his kingdom, which retained its independence up to the time at which the present history has arrived.

Mirzas retreating precipitately, crossed the Nurbudda, and again sought refuge in Guzerat.

In the month of Rujub, in the year A.H. 976 (December, A.D. 1568), the King marched from Agra to reduce Runtunbhore, then in possession of Raja Soorjun Ray, who having purchased the fort from Hijaz Khan, an officer of Sulim Shah's time, resolved to defend it. On the 22d of Rumzan, A.H. 976 (March 17, A.D. 1569), the King invested the place, and caused a battery to be constructed on an adjoining hill, called Mudun; where he posted a few guns, a measure no one had ever before attempted. At every discharge a number of the houses were laid in ruins, till at length Raja Soorjun Ray capitulating, he was permitted to march out unmolested with all his family.

Akbur, after this conquest, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Khwaja Moyin-ood-Deen Chishty, at Ajmere, and returned to Agra; from whence he proceeded to visit the venerable Sheikh Sulim Chishty, in the village of Seekry. As all the King's children had hitherto died, he solicited the Sheikh's prayers, who consoled him, by assuring him he would soon have a son, who would live to a good old age. Shortly after, the favourite Sooltana, being then pregnant, on Wednesday the 17th of Rubee-ool-Awul, in the year A.H. 977 (Sept. 2, A.D. 1569), was delivered of a son, who was called Sulim. On this occasion the King published an act of grace to all prisoners; and having performed a pilgrimage on foot to the shrine of Khwaja Moyin-ood-Deen, at Ajmere, returned by the route of Dehly, enjoying the diversion of the chase on his road back.

Preparations were now made for the siege of Kalunjur. Raja Ram Chundur, who had obtained possession of this fort from the officers of Sulim Shah, had heard of the fate of the garrison of Chittoor, and accordingly made terms for delivering Kalunjur to the King. On the 3d of Mohurrum, A.H. 978 (June 7, A.D. 1570), the King had another son born to him in the house of the venerable Sheikh Sulim, whom he called Moorad. On this occasion, also, he made another pilgrimage to Ajmere, and ordered the town to be fortified with a stone wall. From thence he proceeded to Nagore, where Chunder Sein, the son of Raja Maldew, and Kullian Mull, the Raja of Bhikanere, came out to meet him with valuable presents. The King having received the daughter of Raja Kullian Mull in marriage, marched from

Nagore to Ajoodhun, when having visited the shrine of Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen Gunj Shukur, he proceeded to Depalpoor, where Mirza Azeez Koka, the governor, made handsome presents.

On the 1st of Suffur, A.H. 970 (June 24, A.D. 1577), the Emperor marched towards Hissar Feroza, and proceeded by the route of Ajmere to Agra. Sikundur Khan Oozbuk, who had been long wandering among the woods of Bengal, was now introduced by Moonyim Khan, governor of Joonpoor, to the King, and on due contribution received the royal pardon.

The King considering the village of Seekry a particularly propitious spot, two of his sons having been born there, he ordered the foundation of a city to be laid, which, after the conquest of Guzerat, he called Futtehpoor. The government of Guzerat being torn by intestine factions, Akbur thought proper to proceed thither in person; and having marched to Ajmere, and paid his devotions at the sainted shrines, and solicited the prayers of Khwaja Syud Hoossein Khing-Sowar, he detached his general, Khwaja Kullan, in advance, following himself with the main body of the army. In the mean time he appointed Ray Sing to the government of Jodpoor, the former residence of Raja Maldew. When arrived within two marches of Nagore, the King received advice of the birth of another son, on the second of Jumad-ool-Awul A.H. 980 (Sept. 9, A.D. 1572), in the house of Sheikh Daniel, whom he called Daniel Mirza.

The King's army appearing before Puttun, in Guzerat, Sheer Khan Folady, an officer of rank in the Guzerat kingdom, abandoned his post and fled. The government was conferred on Syud Ahmud Khan Barha, and the army marched in the course of a week in the direction of Ahmudabad. Before it had proceeded two stages, Moozuffur Shah, King of Guzerat, came to meet Akbur, and was introduced by Meer Aboo Toorab Shirazy, who, though a native of Guzerat, was of true Syud descent, and born of Persian parents.

On the following day, Etimad Khan, Syud Chand Khan Bokhary, Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, Mullik Ashruf, Wujee-ool-Moolk, Aluf Khan Hubshy, Joojhar Khan Hubshy, and other Guzerat chiefs, came to pay their respects; but as the Hubshies[89] were

89. Abyssinians.

strongly suspected of disaffection to the Moguls, they were for the present kept under restraint. The city of Ahmudabad fell in this manner without a blow into the hands of Akbur Padshah, as will appear in detail in the history of the kings of Guzerat. Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, however, was still at the head of an independent army at Baroach, and his brother, Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, at the head of another considerable force near Surat. Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, also, one of the Guzerat officers who had joined the King, fled at this time, in order to create an insurrection (A.H. 980, A.D. 1572). It was thought proper, therefore, that the other Guzerat chiefs should be placed under restraint. On the arrival of the army at Cambay, the King appointing Mirza Azeez Koka governor of Ahmudabad, proceeded towards Baroach; but Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, hearing of Akbur's approach, and suspecting the fidelity of Roostoom Khan Roomy, one of his officers, put him to death; and having resolved to avoid the Mogul army by about forty coss (sixty miles), determined to march into Punjab, and create an insurrection in that quarter. The King receiving intelligence of Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's intentions at nine o'clock at night, took a small body of horse with him, leaving in camp his son, the Prince Sulim, under charge of Khwaja Jehan and Kullich Khan Indijany, and marched with expedition to cut off Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's retreat. Next day on reaching the river Mhendry, which runs by the town of Surtal, the King found his party reduced to forty troopers, and he could perceive Ibrahim Hooseein Mirza encamped with one thousand men on the opposite bank of the river. At this crisis Syud Mahmood Khan Barha, Raja Bhugwandas, Raja Man-Sing, Shah Koolly Khan, Soorjun Ray, Raja of Runtunbhore, and other chiefs,[90] who had been detached to Surat, and had been recalled, joined the King with seventy horsemen. With this small reinforcement, without waiting for more troops, which would shortly have arrived, Akbur resolved to attack the enemy. His whole party did not exceed one hundred and fifty-six men. Raja Man-Sing led the advance, and having crossed the river first, instantly charged Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza; but he was so galled by the enemy's archers, that he was compelled to fall back; and the King, who was with

90. The employment of these Hindoo chiefs is a remarkable feature in the policy of Akbur; and to it chiefly must be ascribed the rapid progress of his power.

this band of Rajpoots, found it necessary to halt in a lane, formed by hedges of the prickly pear,[91] which did not admit of more than three horsemen riding abreast. In this situation, three of the enemy's horsemen galloped up the lane, and attacked Akbur as he stood in advance of his men. Raja Bhugwandas gallantly threw himself forward, and received one of the horsemen on his spear, dismounted him, and having instantly charged another, the remaining horsemen fled, and was pursued by Raja Bhugwandas and his brother. The latter displayed, on this day, the heroism of Roostoom and Isfundyar, and penetrating beyond the lane, he repeatedly charged through a body of one hundred men, and eventually lost his life. The King, meanwhile, following him galled the enemy with arrows, till perceiving Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, he charged full at him, but the latter having a more speedy horse effected his escape. We hardly know any instance of a King having displayed so much individual courage and intrepidity as Akbur did throughout this transaction, though it must be admitted he exposed his own person very unnecessarily. The King, contenting himself with this achievement, desisted from pursuit, and waiting till his army arrived, marched and laid siege to Surat. In this place was Goolrokh Begum, the daughter of Kamran Mirza, and wife of Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza.[92] On the appearance of the Dehly troops, the Princess fled to the Deccan, leaving the officers of her husband to defend the place, but carrying with her an infant son, Moozuffur Mirza. Meanwhile the other Mirzas having collected troops in the vicinity of Puttun, held a council of war, in which it was resolved that Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza, and his younger brother Musaood Hoossein Mirza, should prosecute a predatory warfare in Punjab, and that Mahomed Hoossein Mirza and Shah Mirza, in conjunction with Sheer Khan Folady, should attack Puttun, in order to make a diversion thereby in favour of Surat.

Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza having reached Nagore, Ray Sing, governor of Jodpoor, went in pursuit, and coming up with him one evening, at a place where there was no water but what Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza had secured, was induced to attack him without a moment's delay; on which occasion many persons on both sides lost their lives (A.H. 981, A.D. 1573). Ibrahim Hoos-

91. A species of coarse Euphorbia, admirably calculated for hedges.
92. She was, consequently, Akbur's first cousin.

sein Mirza's horse being killed, his army gave way; but mounting another horse, he fled towards Dehly, and giving up his intentions on Lahore, proceeded to his paternal estate of Sumbhul. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, Shah Mirza, and Sheer Khan Folady, still conducted the siege of Puttun, defended by Syud Ahmud Khan Barha, till Mirza Azeez Koka, coming to its relief with the army from Ahmudabad, the Mirzas gave him battle. Mirza Azeez Koka had at first the disadvantage by both his wings being thrown into disorder, when Roostoom Khan, and Mootullub Khan rallying the troops, made another and successful charge, when they broke the army of Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, who fled towards the Deccan.

As soon as the batteries were constructed at Surat for besieging the place, the inhabitants of the town, unable to resist, surrendered, and the King having gained his object, marched to Ahmudabad. Shurf-ood-Deen Hoossein Mirza, who having fled ten years before had found protection with the Raja of Buglana, a prince of the Deccan, attempted at this time to penetrate through the hills, and unite with the other Mirzas now in revolt; but being seized by the Raja with whom he had sought an asylum, he was delivered up into the King's hands, when after being degraded he was sent to the fort of Gualiar, where he eventually died. The mother of Chungiz Khan, the late regent of Guzerat, at this time preferred a complaint to Akbur, that Joojhar Khan Hubshy had put her son to death. The King, who only wanted an excuse to get rid of Joojhar Khan, caused him to be trod to death by an elephant; and having distributed the several districts of Guzerat among the relatives of Mirza Azeez Koka, he returned to Agra, which he reached on the 2d of Suffur A.H. 981 (June 4, A.D. 1573).

Meanwhile Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza arrived at Sumbhul, and hearing that the chiefs of Punjab, udner Hoossein Koolly Khan, were engaged in besieging the fort of Nagrakote, he resolved to march to that quarter, which he expected to find unprotected; and after plundering it, he intended to join his friends in Guzerat, by the route of Sind. Hoossein Koolly Khan, learning his intentions, raised the siege of Nagrakote, and pursued Ibrahim Mirza throughout Punjab, till he reached Tutta on the Indus, where, having heard that he had gone to some distance on a hunting excursion, he attacked his camp. Musaood Hoossein

Mirza, Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza's brother, who commanded in his absence, sent off an express to his brother; but before Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza arrived, Musaood Hoossein was defeated and taken prisoner, having lost many men in the action. Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza having returned from hunting, and perceiving the situation in which he was placed, made up his mind to death, and rallying a part of his men renewed the action, but being defeated, he fled to Mooltan. Here he was intercepted by the Bullochies, by whom he was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, and shortly after beheaded by Mukhsoos Khan, the governor of Mooltan. This chief, in company with Hoossein Koolly Khan, carried the Mirza's head, and all his effects, to Agra. Akbur ordered the head to be placed above one of the gates of Agra; and caused his brother Musaood Hoossein Mirza to be confined in the fort of Gualiar till his death. In the month of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H. 981 (July, A.D. 1573), advices arrived from Mirza Azeez Koka, that Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, one of the former chiefs of Guzerat, and Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, having united their arms, occupied several districts in that province, and were then besieging Ahmudabad. Under these circumstances, the presence of the King seemed absolutely necessary to retrieve the affairs in that quarter. The rainy season had commenced, and it being impracticable to march a large army, he selected two thousand of his most efficient cavalry, and sent them on before him; while Akbur, attended by three hundred persons, chiefly nobles, mounted on camels, and accompanied by led horses, followed at the rate of four stages every day, and overtook his troops at the city of Puttun, when he mustered altogether three thousand men and horses. Having organised this little force, he directed Mirza Abdool Ruheem, the son of Beiram Khan Toorkoman, to take command of the advance, and the remainder was formed into three divisions; a centre and two wings, reserving a hundred men as his personal guard. With this force the King marched to Ahmudabad (A.H. 981, A.D. 1573). On his approach, he sent forward an officer to give notice to the besieged; and on arriving within four miles of the city, he ordered the nobut to beat. The enemy were astonished, but instantly prepared for action. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, having drawn up his troops, went with a few horse to the banks of the river to reconnoitre; and perceiving Soobhan Koolly Khan, who had been sent on by the King to examine the ford,

asked him whose army it was? Soobhan Koolly Khan replied, that it was an army commanded by the King in person. The other said, "It is impossible; for it is only fourteen days since one of my spies saw him in Agra; and I perceive none of the royal elephants." Soobhan Koolly Khan replied, "It is only nine days since he marched, and it is clear no elephants could have accompanied him."

Mahomed Hoossein Mirza returning immediately to his camp, directed Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, with five thousand horse, to watch the gates of Ahmudabad, and prevent a sally, while he marched with seven thousand horse to oppose Akbur. The King had by this time reached the banks of the river, expecting every moment to be joined by part of the garrison; but the gates being commanded by the enemy, that aid became impracticable. Akbur accordingly crossed the river, and drew up on the plain. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, at the head of fifteen hundred Moguls, attacked the centre of the royalists, Shah Mirza charged the right, and the Afghans and Rajpoots, under Sheer Khan Folady, the left. The battle raged with fury on both sides, when the King, with his personal guard of a hundred men, charged Mahomed Hoossein Mirza in flank. That Prince, now losing all presence of mind, fled, which being observed by his troops, on the right and left, they broke in confusion. Mahomed Hoossein Mirza received a wound in his face; his horse was also wounded, notwithstanding which he endeavoured to leap him over a hedge of the Euphorbia plant; but, owing to the weakness of the animal, they both fell, and he was made prisoner. Several persons contending for the honour of taking him, the King asked him who took him? Mahomed Hoossein Mirza, holding down his head, replied, "Nobody : the curse of ingratitude overtook me;" and indeed he spoke truth. After the action, the King sat down below a rising ground, with about two hundred horse, waiting for Mirza Azeez Koka to join him, when a body of troops appearing, and most of his own men being at a distance, his small party began to be alarmed. The person he sent to enquire who they were, brought word that they consisted of the division of Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, Guzeratty; who, having learned the fate of the other detachment, was now coming to retrieve the day. Akbur caused his two hundred men to gall them with arrows as they advanced; and as the drummers neglected to beat the signal for rallying, he went him-

self, and made them strike the nukara.[93] Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, on hearing this instrument, and perceiving the King was in person with the party, retreated with precipitation. Meanwhile Raja Ray Sing, in whose charge Mahomed Hoossein Mirza had been left, perceiving the state of affairs, put him to death without waiting for orders; and Yekhtyar-ool-Moolk, falling from his horse in his retreat, was killed by one of the King's guards. The besieged governor of Guzerat, being now enabled to quit the city, came to pay his respects, and Akbur entered Ahmudabad on the same day; where having re-established Mirza Azeez Koka in his government, he proceeded by the route of Ajmere to Agra.

In the course of the same year, Dawood Khan, the son of Sooliman Kirany, ruler of Bengal, took up arms. Moonyim Khan, Khan Khanan, was sent against him, and after several actions compelled him to sign a treaty; but the King, dissatisfied with the instrument, committed the management of Bengal to Raja Todur Mul, and sent him with orders either to expel Dawood Khan or compel him to pay tribute. Dawood Khan, being threatened at the time with a civil war by Lody Khan Afghan, who discovered an inclination to usurp his authority, consented to pay tribute. Having shortly after seized Lody Khan, he put him to death; and being relieved from that domestic danger, he broke the treaty with Moonyim Khan, and attacked him at the confluence of the Soane and the Ganges, where Dawood Khan was defeated, and having lost his fleet of boats, he fled. Moonyim Khan instantly crossed the Soane, and laid siege to Patna.

The King, informed of these events, left Agra in the depth of the rains, with as many troops as could be embarked in a thousand boats, remaining for a few days only at Benares, in order to admit of the union of the forces marching by land. After the junction of all his forces, he sent back the young princes and the ladies of the haram, and embarking the whole of his army, sailed down the river to Patna. At this time he received the news of the reduction of Bhukkur on the Indus, by Kubeer Khan, who had been sent into that quarter. Having arrived within a few miles of Patna, the King heard that Eesa Khan Neeazy, one of the enemy's principal generals, had marched out of the fort and fought Moonyim Khan, but that he had been

93. The nukara is a large sonorous drum, and is attached to the head-quarters of the army.

defeated and lost his life, so that Patna was on the point of being evacuated. The King, therefore, detached Alum Khan, with three thousand horse, to occupy Hajypoor,[94] which fell without opposition (A.H. 983, A.D. 1575). Dawood Khan, intimidated by these misfortunes, deputed a person to make terms. The King insisted on his unconditional submission; observing to his messenger, "Tell Dawood Khan I have a thousand men in my army as good as he, and if disposed to put the point to issue in single combat, I will myself meet him." Dawood Khan, confounded at this message, embarked in a boat at the water-gate after it was dark, and retreated towards Bengal. Patna was evacuated in the night, and on the morning the King pursued the enemy chiefly for the sake of obtaining their elephants. Four hundred of these aniuals fell into his hands during the retreat; and having placed Patna and the government of the surrounding districts in charge of Moonyim Khan, he returned to Agra.

This year Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of Guzerat, and Khan Jehan, of Lahore, having come to court to offer congratulations, returned to their respective governments. Akbur, at this time, having conferred the title of Moozuffur Khan on Khwaja Moozuffur Ally Toormoozy, appointed him to command a force against the fort of Rohtas, and himself made a tour to the shrine of the saints at Ajmere; when, having bestowed upwards of two lacks of rupees[95] in charitable donations, he returned to Agra.

Meanwhile Moonyim Khan, who had been lately directed to subdue Bengal, arrived at the fort of Gurhy, which may be considered the key of that province. Dawood Khan fled into Orissa, whither he was pursued by Raja Todur Mul, with part of the King's army; but Jooneid Khan, the son of Dawood Khan, having defeated Raja Todur Mul in two actions, Moonyim Khan marched to his aid. The united Mogul troops now engaged Dawood Khan; when Goojur Khan, an Afghan chief of distinguished courage, who commanded Dawood Khan's advanced guard, attacked the advance of Moonyim Khan, commanded by Khan Alum, when the latter was defeated and slain. This event caused the advance to fall back on the main body, to which confusion was communicated. Moonyim Khan, observing the disorder,

94. Hajypoor and Patna lie immediately opposite each other, on both banks of the Ganges.

95. 20,000*l*.

hastened to the spot with a small body to restore order. Goojur Khan, however, attacked him in person, and wounded him in several places, so that for a while he was obliged to quit the field; but having rallied his troops he led them back to the charge, when Goojur Khan was killed, and Dawood Khan's army was defeated, with the loss of all their elephants. Raja Todur Mul went in pursuit, and came up with Dawood Khan on the shore of the China Sea,[96] who, finding no means of escape, resolved to make a stand. Raja Todur Mul sent intelligence of his situation to Moonyim Khan, who in spite of his wounds hastened to the spot. Dawood Khan shortly after submitted. He was allowed to retain Orissa and Cuttack, but relinquished all pretensions to Bengal and Behar; after which Moonyim Khan returned to his government. In ancient times, from the period of Mahomed Bhukhtyar Khiljy to that of Sheer Shah, the city of Goor had been the capital of Bengal; after, which, owing to its insalubrity, it had been abandoned for Khowaspoor Tanda, and was now greatly decayed Moonyim Khan, however, admiring the spot, gave orders for its repair, and made it his residence; but he fell a victim to its unhealthy climate, and died on the 9th of Rujub, A.H. 983 (Oct. 12, A.D. 1575). Hoossein Koolly Khan, Toorkoman, who bore the title of Khan Jehan, was nominated governor in his stead.

At this period Sooliman Mirza of Budukhshan, being expelled by his grandson, Shahrokh, was obliged to seek protection at the court of Agra; from whence having taken leave, he proceeded on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Some time after, he returned to Budukhshan, and recovered his dominions. At this time some of the nobles, envious of the elevation of Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of Guzerat, accused him of treasonable designs. He was accordingly recalled from his government, and appeared at court without delay; notwithstanding which he was for some time imprisoned, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, of Nyshapoor, appointed to succeed him.

Hoossein Koolly Khan had not time to take possession of his government in Bengal, before Dawood Khan Kirany, having been joined by several Afghan chiefs both of Bengal and Behar, seized Khowaspoor Tanda without opposition; and finding himself at the head of fifty thousand horse, retook great part of Bengal.

96. Ferishta, copying from Abool Fuzl, calls the Bay of Bengal the China Sea

Hoossein Koolly Khan assembled all the imperial officers in that quarter, and advanced against Gurhy, which fell into his hands; on this occasion, also, he defeated the enemy with the loss of fifteen hundred men; after which, he proceeded to the spot where Dawood Khan was encamped. Moozuffur Khan now joined the King's army with a body of troops raised in Behar, Tirhoot, and Hajypoor, and Hoossein Koolly Khan attacked Dawood Khan's camp on the 15th of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 983 (July 23, A.D. 1575). Dawood Khan drew up his army to receive him. Kala P'har, one of the Bengal officers, charging the left wing of the imperialists, threw it into temporary disorder; while Moozuffur Khan, who commanded the right of the Mogul army, gained some advantage over the enemy's left. Hoossein Koolly Khan charged the centre in person, and was received with great steadiness; but at length victory declared in favour of the King's troops, and the Afghans were defeated. Dawood Khan was taken prisoner; and on being brought before Hoossein Koolly Khan, Toorkoman, was put to death, while his son, Jooneid Khan, who had been wounded in the action, died a few days after. Hoossein Koolly Khan now took possession of all Bengal, and sent the elephants and other spoils to the King.

In the year A.H. 984 (A.D. 1576), Moozuffur Khan marched against Rohtas, and sent Maasoom Khan to attack Hoossein Khan Afghan, who was hovering about with a body of marauders in that quarter. Maasoom Khan engaged and defeated him, and took possession of his districts; but Kala P'har, with eight thousand horse, surrounding Maasoom Khan, thought to oblige him to surrender. Maasoom Khan, breaking down the wall of the town in which he had taken post, rushed unexpectedly on the enemy. In the action which ensued, Maasoom Khan's horse was killed by a stroke of the trunk of Kala P'har's war elephant, called Ayaz, and he himself was in imminent danger of being crushed to death, had the elephant not been severely galled by arrows at the moment, which rendered him so unruly, that he turned back on the Afghan troops, carrying off Kala P'har, so that his army, supposing that he fled, quickly followed him. On this occasion, Kala P'har was overtaken by the Moguls, and killed. In the same year, also Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, having taken the fort of Sewana, which had belonged to Raja Chunder Sein, the son of Mal Dew, proceeded with an army against the

Raja of Gunjowty, who was compelled to seek refuge in the woods, while Shahbaz Khan besieged and took Sheergur, then in possession of the Raja's son. Having been subsequently directed to besiege Rohtas, he proceeded in that direction; while Khwaja Moozuffur Ally took the field against the Afghans. The Afghans in Rohtas, distressed for supplies, surrendered, and Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, leaving that fort in charge of his brothers, proceeded to court.

The King, in this year, went to Ajmere, and employed Shahbaz Khan Kumbo against Koombulmere, a strong fortress in the possession of the Rana of Oodipoor, which was taken in a masterly manner. In the mean time, the King marched by the route of Banswala and Mando, to the Deccan frontier, and having learned that Moortuza Nizam Shah, King of Ahmudnuggur, was afflicted with insanity, thought the present a favourable opportunity to occupy that country. He was, however, diverted from his project at present by domestic affairs, and returned towards Agra by the way of Ajmere, where he appointed Moozuffur Khan to the high office of Minister. From Ajmere the King marched to Dehly, and from thence towards Kabul. On this journey, a comet appeared every night (A.D. 1576). At Ajoodhun, Akbur visited the tomb of the famous Sheikh Fureed-ood-Deen; and giving up his intention of going to Kabul, returned to Futtehpoor Seekry.

The great mosque in Futtehpoor was finished during this year (A.H. 986, A.D. 1576). In the following year, Meeran Moobaruk Khan, ruler of Kandeish, having imprisoned Moozuffur Mirza,[97] who, with his mother, had sought an asylum at Boorhanpoor, was compelled to deliver them into the King's hands. In the course of the same year, Hoossein Koolly Khan, Toorkoman, governor of Bengal, died.

In the year A.H. 987 (A.D. 1577), a great fire happened in the Furash Khana at Futtehpoor, which consumed many tents lined with velvet and brocade of great value.

After the death of Hoossein Koolly Khan, the Afghans begans to raise insurrections in Bengal and Behar. Mirza Azeez Koka, late governor of Guzerat, was released from his confinement, and sent with a considerable army to suppress them.

97. It will be recollected, that Moozuffur Mirza was the son of Ibrahim Hoossein Mirza by Goolrokh Begum. Vide, p. 146.

Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother, taking advantage of the moment, made an attempt on Lahore, and sent Shadman Koka with a thousand horse, in advance. This officer, on crossing the Indus, was attacked by Koowur Man-Sing, in the Punjab, and routed; but on Mahomed Hukeem Mirza's reaching Rohtas,[98] Koowur Man-Sing retreated to Lahore. The Prince, finding Rohtas was likely to be defended obstinately by Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushedy, marched to Lahore, and invested it on the 11th of Mohurrum, A.H. 989 (February 15, A.D. 1579); in which place Raja Man-Sing, Syud Khan, and Raja Bhugwandas, had taken post.

Notwithstanding the war in Bengal and Behar, the King marched from Agra to the relief of the north-western provinces; but on hearing of his approach, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza retreated to Kabul. On the King's arrival at Surhind, having learned that Shah Munsoor Shirazy had been carrying on a treasonable correspondence with his brother, he was executed. On reaching Rohtas, in Punjab, Syud Yoosoof Khan, the governor, came to pay his respects, and the army marched on to the Nilab; but finding it impracticable to throw a bridge across, owing to the rapidity of the stream, it crossed in boats. In consequence of this, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza's officers in Pishawur fled. On the army reaching Julalabad, the Prince Sulim was left there, and the Prince Moorad proceeded with the advanced guard of the army. At the pass of Shooturgurduna, within thirty miles of Kabul, this division was attacked by Furedoon Khan, a general of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, and lost almost all its baggage. On the 2d of Suffur, A.H. 989 (March 6, A.D. 1579), Mahomed Hukeem Mirza opposed the Prince Moorad in person. Koowur Man-Sing and Toozuk Khan Atka having advanced, the elephant-swivels opened a fire. By mere accident an officer of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, and three other persons, standing near him, were killed: on which he took to flight, losing many persons of distinction in the retreat. The King heard of this victory at Soorkhab, and entered Kabul without opposition on the 7th of Suffur, A.H. 989 (March 11, A.D. 1579). Mahomed Hukeem Mirza fled to Ghoorbund, and sent a deputation to the King, begging forgiveness, which being as readily granted, Kabul was restored to

98. There is a town of this name in Punjab, as well as in Behar, built by Sheer Shah Soor.

him, and on the 14th of Suffur (March 18), the army returned towards Agra.

Having reached the Nilab (Indus) the King ordered a fort to be built on its bank, which he called Attock,[99] signifying, in the Indian language, the barrier; for, according to the supersititious notions of the Hindoos, it was held unlawful for them to cross that river. The King having arrived at Lahore on the 19th of Rumzan (October 13), conferred the government of that province on the Raja Bhugwandas, and in a few days marched to Futtehpoor Seekry, which now became the capital.

The disturbances in Bengal still continuing, Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, who had been placed under restraint, was released, and sent to reinforce the army in that quarter. At this time the King was taken dangerously ill of a bowel-complaint; and as his Majesty had adopted the habit of eating opium, as Hoomayoon, his father, had done before him, people became apprehensive on his account. He recovered shortly after, and gave away large sums in charity. In the month of Mohurrum, A.H. 991 (January, A.D. 1583), Mirza Azeez Koka came from Bengal to pay his respects, and returned to his government In the month of Shuval (September), the King went to Priag, where he caused the fort of Allahabad to be built, at the confluence of the Jumna and Ganges. Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat, who had been at large since the occupation of that country by Akbur, had gained so considerably on the King's favour, as to procure for him a handsome estate; on which having resided many years, he suddenly fled to Guzerat, and in concert with Sheer Khan Folady created an insurrection. Itimad Khan Guzeratty, was now appointed governor, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan Nyshapoory recalled to court. After the arrival of the new governor, Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, quitting Ahmudabad, came to Puttun, and halted some days; but most of his followers who had formed connections in Guzerat, unwilling to undertake the journey to court, deserted to Moozuffur Shah, who collected a considerable force.

Itimad Khan, leaving an officer in charge of Ahmudabad, went to Puttun, where Shahab-ood-Deen still remained encamped; and

99. Ferishta must be in error. The town of Attock existed, I believe, long before the time of Akbur. He, perhaps, built the present fort.

Moozuffur Shah, marching to Ahmudabad, got possession of it without difficulty. Itimad Khan having now prevailed on Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan to return with him, they both marched back to recover the capital; but Moozuffur Shah, coming out to oppose them, defeated and compelled them to fall back on Puttun; from whence Itimad Khan sent an express to acquaint Akbur of the state of affairs.

In the year A.H. 989 (A.D. 1581), informed of these events, the King sent Mirza Abdool Ruheem, commonly called Mirza Khan, the son of the late Beiram Khan, Toorkoman, together with the officers stationed in Ajmere, to reinforce Itimad Khan; but before the arrival of Mirza Khan, Moozuffur Shah took Baroach, held by Mirza Kootb-ood-Deen Atka, in jageer, and having put him to death, obtained possession of fourteen lacks of rupees belonging to the King, beside all the private property of Kootb-ood-Deen Khan, estimated at more than ten crores.[100] Moozuffur Shah, now repairing to Ahmudabad, was enabled to raise a large army. Mirza Khan, in the mean while, arrived at Puttun, and forming a junction with Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, and other officers, mustered an army of eight thousand good horse, and marched to Ahmudabad. On reaching the village of Surkech, within six miles of the city, Moozuffur Shah, on the 15th of Mohurrum, A.H. 992 (January 29, A.D. 1584), opposed him with an army of thirty thousand horse; when a sanguinary battle took place, in which Mirza Khan was completely victorious. He forced the enemy to fly before him into the town of Ahmudabad, through which the Guzeratties were driven, and expelled with great slaughter, by the opposite gate. Being soon after joined by Kullich Khan, and some officers from Malwa, Mirza Khan pursued Moozuffur Shah towards Cambay, and drove him among the mountains of Nadote, where he made another feeble attempt to oppose the Moguls, but was expelled from his position by Mirza Khan's artillery, and eventually sought refuge in the vicinity of Joonagur with the Jam.

Mirza Khan, returning to Ahmudabad, detached Kullich Khan to besiege the fort of Baroach, which he recovered out of the hands of Nuseer Khan, the brother-in-law of Moozuffur Shah. After a siege of seven months, Nuseer Khan evacuated the fort, and escaped to the Deccan. Moozuffur Shah, soon after, assisted

100. Ten millions.

by Jam Ameen; the Prince of Joonagur, advanced to a spot within sixty coss (ninety miles) of Ahmudabad; but no sooner had Mirza Khan marched to oppose him, than he fled to the jungle, without waiting his approach. After some time, however, having collected a number of Bheels, Colies, and Girassias,[101] he made a third attempt to recover his dominions; but was defeated at Siranty, and compelled to seek refuge with Ray Sing Katty, Raja of Julwara. After a period of five months Mirza Khan was recalled to court; but Moozuffur Shah again appearing in arms, the Mirza received the title of Khan Khanan, and returned as governor to Guzerat. In this year, Boorhan Nizam, the son of the late Hoossein Nizam Shah, and brother of Moortuza Nizam Shah Bheiry, King of Ahmudnuggur, left his brother and came to the court of Agra, where he was graciously received. Not long after, Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy, one of the most learned men of that age, came also from the Deccan, and had an honourable office assigned to him near the King's person. In the year A.H. 993 (A.D. 1585), Syud Mooztuza Subzwarry and Khoodawund Khan Hubshy, having been defeated by Sulabut Khan,[102] took refuge at the Mogul court. The King, who had long entertained thoughts of invading the Deccan, sent all the refugees from Ahmudnuggur to reside with Mirza Azeez Koka, who was now appointed governor of Malwa, with orders to take advantage of circumstances, and march into the Deccan. At the same time, Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy having received the title of Azd-ood-Dowla,[103] was also sent thither, to aid in arrangements for the same purpose.

Mirza Azeez Koka shortly after marched to the southern frontier, and finding Raja Ally Khan, the ruler of Kandeish, well inclined towards Moortuza Nizam Shah, he deputed Shah Futteh-oolla-Shirazy to wait on him, and endeavour to bring him over to the interest of Akbur; but his mission entirely failed, and Mirza Mahomed Tuky Nuzeery, and Behzad-ool-Moolk, officers of Moortuza Nizam Shah, marched to attack Mirza Azeez Koka, then

101. The hill-tribes of Guzerat.

102. These persons were chiefs of the kingdom of Ahmudnuggur; the distractions of which are related in their proper place, in the history of the kings of the Deccan.

103. This is the first instance of the title of Dowla being given, which became so common in the subsequent reigns.

encamped at Hundia (A.H. 993, A.D. 1585). The latter, declining an action, suddenly decamped, and marching by an unfrequented route, entered the Deccan at Elichpoor, which he plundered for the space of three days; but as soon as the Deccany generals, joined by Raja Ally Khan, reached Elichpoor, Mirza Azeez Koka, without halting to oppose them, retreated by the route of Nundoorbar.[104]

While these events transpired, orders were sent to recall Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, from Guzerat, to court, while Moozuffur Shah, taking advantage of his absence, raised from eight to ten thousand men, and contrived to lay waste the country. In this year, Shahrokh Mirza, grandson of Sooliman Mirza, ruler of Budukhshan, having been expelled from his dominions by Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, came to court, and was enrolled among the nobles. In the same year, also, the marriage of the daughter of Raja Bhugwandas with the Prince Mahomed Sulim Mirza,[105] the Emperor's eldest son, took place; and in the following year (A.H. 994, A.D. 1586), occurred the death of Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother. Akbur having again appointed Mirza Khan governor of Guzerat, nominated Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy Sudr to act under him. The King now proceeded to Punjab, and during the journey Sadik Mahomed Khan was raised to the government of Bhukkur; and Koowur Man-Sing, the son of Raja Bhugwandas, was sent to Kabul, to escort the infant children of Mahomed Hukeen Mirza to Lohore; and the son of Koowur Man-Sing was invested with the chief authority at Kabul.

The King having arrived at Attock on the Nilab, detached Sharokh Mirza, Raja Bhugwandas, Shah Koolly Khan Mahrum, and other officers of distinction, with five thousand horse, to subdue the territory of Kashmeer; while Zein Khan Koka was despatched, with another army, against the Afghans of Swad and Bijowr. A force was also organised under the command of Koowur Man-Sing, to attack the Roshnye Afghans, who are known by the appellation of Zundaka Kafur. It is related, that a person

104. If there be no mistake in the manuscript, Mirza Azeez Koka must have marched two hundred miles to the westward, and passed through Kandeish, then an enemy's country, instead of returning direct to Hundia, which he might have done in four or five days.

105. He afterwards ascended the throne under the title of Jehangeer.

from Hindoostan, assuming the title of Peer Roshnye, converted these people to his tenets. After the death of Peer Roshnye, his son, Julala, then only fourteen years of age, came to Akbur, but after staying a short time at court, he fled to the Afghans; in conjunction with whom he raised insurrections, and interrupted the communication between Kabul and Hindoostan. The King, having ascertained the real state of the affairs of the Afghans of Swad and Bijowr, sent a detachment consisting of the troops of Syud Khan Gukkur, Sheikh Feizy, Moolla Sheery, and Saleh Aakil, as reinforcements to Zein Khan Koka; in addition to which troops he also sent Hukeem Abool Futteh Geelany, with several other officers of distinction. In spite of these forces, Mirza Zein Koka's army was completely defeated by the Afghans, and Raja Beerbul and Moolla Sheery, together with other officers of note, besides eight thousand men, were killed; while Zein Khan Koka and Hukeem Abool Futteh, with great difficulty, reached the King's camp at Attock, in the year A.H. 995 (A.D. 1586-7). Koowur Man-Sing, who had been detached against the Roshnye Afghans met with better success, having defeated them at the Khyburpass with great slaughter. The King now returned from Attock to Lahore, from whence he directed Koowur Man-Sing to proceed to Kabul, and assume the government for the purpose of keeping the Afghans in check. In this year the daughter of Ray Sing was married to the Prince Royal, Mahomed Sulim Mirza.

The army which had been detached to Kashmeer, under Shahrokh Mirza and Raja Bhugwandas, being reduced to great distress by the snow and rain, as also by scarcity of provisions, was under the necessity of making peace with the Kashmeerians; having secured the monopoly of saffron, and the privileges of coining money for the King. The King, however, refusing to ratify the terms, sent the Ameer-al-Behr,[106] Mahomed Kasim Khan of Kabul, with another army, to reduce it, which was affected in the mode related in the history of Kashmeer; owing chiefly to the

106. Ameer-al-Behr, or commander-at-sea, is an ancient Arabian title, and answers so entirely to that of admiral, that one might almost imagine that the Moors introduced it through Spain into Europe, where the word Behr, signifying, ocean, being dropped amir-al or admiral has been adopted, to signify a naval commander only. Thus we recognise in the word Miramolin, Amir-ool-Momineen, commander of the faithful.

dissensions which prevailed among the inhabitants themselves. In this year, Sooliman Mirza, the grandfather of Shahrokh Mirza, came from Kabul, and had an interview with the King at Lahore. About the same time, also, an ambassador who had arrived from Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk joined the King at Attock, and received his audience of leave on his return; on which occasion he was accompanied by Hukeem Humam, the brother of Hukeem Futteh Oolla Geelany, and Meer Sudr-Jehan, one of the Sadat,[107] Hoosseiny of Kunowj. This ambassador conveyed presents to his court valued at about 150,000 rupees.[108] In the year A.H. 996 (A.D. 1588), Julala, having made head against the royal troops, slew Syud Hamid Khan Bokhary, and compelled Koowur Man-Sing to fly to Bungush. The King, therefore, deputed Abdool Mootullub Khan, Mahomed Koolly Beg, and Humza Beg Toorkoman, against him; and these chiefs having given Julala a signal overthow, cut off great numbers of his followers. In this year, the birth of the Prince Sooltan Khoosrow,[109] son of the Prince Royal, by the daughter of Raja Bhugwandas, took place; on which occasion, the King made a great festival. At the same period, Mahomed Sadik Khan, according to orders, invested the fort of Sehwan, on the Indus; and Jany Beg, ruler of Sind, was compelled to acknowledge the King's authority; after which Mahomed Sadik Khan proceeded to Bhukkur. In the beginning of the month of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 996 (February, A.D. 1589), Zein Khan Koka was appointed to the government of Kabul, and Koowur Man-Sing was recalled to Lahore. In the latter end of the same month, Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, and Shah Futteh Oolla Shirazy, were recalled from Guzerat; and Mahomed Sadik Khan was also recalled from Bhukkur. In this year, Koowur Man-Sing was appointed to the government of Behar, Hajypoor, and Patna; while the management of Kashmeer was intrusted to Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushuddy, in the room of Mahomed Kasim, who had lately suffered a defeat from the assaults of the zemindars. Mahomed Sadik Khan was employed, during this year, against the Yoosoofzye Afghans of Swad and Bijowr, Ismael Koolly Khan being recalled, and deputed governor to Guzerat, in the room of Kullich Khan,

107. Syuds lineally descended from Hoossein.

108. 15,000*l*.

109. He reigned after his father, under the title of Shah Jehan and was the father of Aurungzeeb.

who had succeeded Mirza Khan in that office. On the 23d of Jumad-oos-Sany, in the year A.H. 997 (April 27, A.D. 1589), the King proceeded on a tour to Kashmeer, having heard much in praise of its beautiful situation. On reaching Bhimbur, at the entrance of the mountains, he quitted his army, and leaving his family behind with the Prince Moorad Mirza, Akbur proceeded with a small retinue to Sreenuggur, the capital of Kashmeer; at which place the learned Azd-ood-Dowla Shirazy, who had lately come from Guzerat, died. The king was much grieved at his loss; and Sheikh Feizy wrote an appropriate epitaph on the occasion.

Having gratified his curiosity at Kashmeer, Akbur resolved to proceed to Kabul. On the road Hukeem Futteh-Oolla Geelany, a man famous for his learning, and one of the King's companions, died at Dhuntoor, and was buried at Baba Hussun Abdall. On the arrival of the court at Attock, Shahbaz Khan Kumbo was directed to reduce the Yoosoofzye Afghans, who infested the roads, while the King proceeded to Kabul; where he was met, on their return, by Hukeem Humam and Meer Sudr Jehan, who had been sent to the court of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk.

The King remained for two months, enjoying himself amid the pleasure-gardens of Kabul, distributing presents and charity among its inhabitants. Hearing, at this time, of the deaths both of Raja Bhugwandas and Raja Todur Mul, he conferred the government of Kabul on the Admiral Mahomed Kasim; and left that city on the 20th of Mohurrum, A.H. 998 (Nov. 19, A.D. 1589), on his return to Lahore. The charge of Guzerat was in this year made over to Mirza Azeez Koka, ruler of Malwa, and Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, Nyshapoory, succeeded him as governor of Malwa.

Mirza Azeez Koka, having arrived at Guzerat, led an army against the Jam, a zemindar of that country,[110] who, in alliance with Dowlut Khan, the son of Jam Ameen, ruler of Joonagur, opposed him with twenty thousand horse. A sharp conflict ensued, in which Mahomed Ruffeea Bukshy, Mahomed Hoossein Khan, and Meer Shurf-ood-Deen (nephew of Meer Aboo Toorab), all officers of rank, were killed on the part of the Moguls, besides a vast number of men; while, on the other side, the eldest son of the Jam, and his vizier, together with four thousand Rajpoots, lost

110. This Hindoo chief was, probably, the ruler of Nowanuggur, with whose descendants the English have within the last few years been engaged in war.

their lives on the field of battle. The victory was, however, claimed by the Moguls, under Mirza Azeez Koka.[111]

Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, having about this time taken possession of Budukhshan, threatened to attack Kabul. Akbur, in consequence, held his court for some years in Lahore. At this time, Mirza Jany Beg, ruler of Sind, notwithstanding the proximity of the court, having refused to repair to the presence, the King directed Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, with several officers, and army accompanied by one hundred elephants, and a respectable park of artillery, to attack the Bullochies of Sind.

In the year A.H. 999 (A.D. 1590), Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Khan, the governor of Malwa, dying, he was succeeded by the King's second son, the Prince Moorad Mirza, under the tutelage of Ismael Koolly Khan. The Prince, having arrived in the neighbourhood of Gauliar, heard that Mudkurn, a zemindar in that district, was in arms, and disturbed the public peace. He accordingly marched against him, and drove him into the woods, where he shortly after died of his wounds. His son Ramchunder, having paid his respects, was placed in his father's situation, and confirmed in his paternal estates. The Prince, marching on from thence, soon after arrived in Malwa.

The King, in the mean time, sent ambassadors to the four kings of the Deccan; Feizy, the brother of the learned Sheikh Abool Fuzl, to Aseer and Boorhanpoor;[112] Khwaja Ameen-ood-Deen to Ahmudnuggur; Meer Mahomed Ameen Mushudy to Beejapoor; and Mirza Musaood to Bhagnagur.[113] Mirza Azeez Koka, governor of Guzerat, hearing that Jam Dowlut, ruler of Joonagur, was dead of his wounds, marched his army in that direction, and after a siege of seven months made himself master of that strong place.

In the course of the same year, Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan,

111. As no specific object is stated by the historian to have been obtained by the Moguls, we may fairly doubt how far they gained a victory. We should rather think, from the manner in which the circumstance is mentioned, this action was a complete defeat on their part, and that, therefore, no farther operations were then prosecuted against the Jams.

112. The hill fort of Aseer, situated at the distance of twelve miles from Boorhanpoor, was the summer residence of the kings of Kandeish, whose capital was Boorhanpoor.

113. The modern Hydrabad.

laid siege to the fort of Sehwan, on the banks of the Indus. Mirza Jany Beg, ruler of Sind, with a numerous army and a train of artillery in boats, advanced against him, and arriving within fourteen miles of his camp, sent forward a hundred boats full of artillery-men and archers, to attack the Moguls. Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, though he had but twenty-five boats, boldly engaged the Sindian fleet in the night, and having killed about two hundred of the enemy, and taken seven of their boats, put the remainder to flight. Mirza Jany beg, after this defeat, having brought down his whole fleet, landed in the month of Mohurrum, in the year A.H. 1000 (October, 1591), on a spot of ground surrounded by a swamp which was flooded at high water. Here he maintained his position against all the attempts of Mirza Khan, and keeping his communication open by water, his army was well supplied; while he adopted such effectual measures to prevent provisions from reaching the Moguls, that a severe dearth ensued in their camp.

Mirza Khan, reduced to this perilous situation, found himself obliged to leave a part of his army before Sehwan, and to march towards Tutta with the remainder. Soon after his departure, Mirza Jany Beg attacked the detachment left to conduct the siege but was repulsed. Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, on learning their situation, detached Dowlut Khan Lody with a reinforcement from the main army, which marched a distance of eighty coss[114] in two days. Mirza Jany Beg, conceiving the reinforcement would be unable to oppose him from fatigue, attacked it on the following day; but Dowlut Khan Lody, although he could only muster two thousand effective men, completely defeated the Sindians, and forced them to fall back on the village of Abhore, on the banks of the Indus, where Jany Beg was obliged to entrench himself for security. Mirza Khan, in the mean time, returned, and hemmed him in on the landside, while Dowlut Khan blockaded him on the river. The Sindians, reduced to the last extremity, were compelled to kill their horses and camels for subsistence. Thus situated, Mirza Jany beg sued for peace; and having given his daughter in marriage to Mirza Eerich, Mirza Khan's eldest son, he promised to proceed to court, and make

114. The length of a coss differs so much, it is impossible to say what was the precise distance gone over in two days' march; perhaps, eighty or one hundred miles.

his submission to the King in person, as soon as the rains subsided. At this period Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushudy, having by the King's orders left his younger brother Mirza Yadgar in Kashmeer, came to court. In his absence, Mirza Yadgar, who had espoused the daughter of one of the zemindars of Kashmeer, went into rebellion, and caused the Khootba to be read in his name. Kazy Ally, the principal collector of the revenues, together with Hoossein Beg, and Sheikh Oomr Budukhshy, levied troops, and opposed Mirza Yadgar in the King's name; but Kazy Ally was slain, and the rest of the Mogul officers were expelled from Kashmeer. On receiving advices of this event, Sheikh Fureed Bukhshy was appointed to recover that province; and while Mirza Yadgar was encamped within sight of the King's troops, he was treacherously seized by Saduk Beg and Ibrahim Khan Koka, two of his own officers, and murdered, after which, his head was sent to Sheikh Fureed Bukhshy. Kashmeer thus fell a second time into the hands of Akbur. The King, soon after, proceeded in person to that valley, where he spent forty days; and having reinstated Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushudy in the government, proceeded to Rohtas, where he was met, in the year A.H. 1001 (A.D. 1592), by Mirza Jany Beg and Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, from Tutta. Mirza Jany Beg,[115] was instantly enrolled among the *Sehuzaries*,[116] and the country of Sind henceforth became a province of the empire.

Mirza Azeez Koka was this year A.H. 1002 (A.D. 1593), obliged to take the field against the zemindars on the Kuggur, who had given protection to Moozuffur Shah. Having obtained possession of the person of that Prince by negotiation, he was on his way to Ahmudabad; when on the journey, one morning, he left the roadside, and retired to a distance, and put an end to his life with a razor. It was afterwards said that he had long carried this instrument about him, apparently for the purpose. The head of Moozuffur Shah was sent to the presence. In this year, also, Raja Man-Singh,[117] the son of the late Raja Bhugwan-

115. It seems to have been the object of Akbur's policy to raise to distinction, and to employ, all the native chiefs as soon as he had reduced them to do him homage.

116. Sehuzary, an officer commanding three thousand men; a rank equivalent to that of brigadier-general.

117. The eldest sons of rajas assume the title of Koowur, and only

das, attacked and defeated Kootloogh Khan Afghan, an occupied the province of Orissa, a dependency of Bengal; on which occasion he sent to the King one hundred and twenty elephants that he had taken. The King not having seen Mirza Azeez Koka for ten years, sent for him to court; but the Mirza, who had long had it in contemplation to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and having already made his arrangements for doing so, embarked with all his family, and sailed without going to pay his respects. The news of Mirza Azeez's departure no sooner reached court than the Prince Moorad Mirza was ordered from Malwa to Guzerat, under the tutelage of Sadik Mahomed Khan, while Shahrokh Mirza was nominated to the government of Malwa, having for his vizier Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, who had been in confinement during three years. Some time previously, Julala, the chief of the Roshney Afghans, having been expelled from Pishawur, fled to Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk,[118] but returning about this time, he began to create disturbances in the vicinity of Khybur. It became necessary, therefore, to direct Jafur Khan Kuzweeny, who had during the last year received the title of Asuf Khan, to attack him. Julala was defeated, and both he and his brothers being made prisoners, were sent to court.

The ambassadors, whom the King had despatched to the Deccan, returned about this time, communicating that all the kings had refused to acknowledge the supremacy of Akbur, who accordingly determined to reduce them to subjection. For this purpose the Prince Daniel was ordered to proceed with an army to the south. He had scarcely left Lahore and reached Sooltanpoor, when the King changed his mind; and cancelling his appointment, gave the command of the army of the Deccan to Mirza Khan, Khan Khanan, and ordered him to continue his march. In this year, Roostoom Mirza, the son of Sooltan Hoossein Mirza, the son of Beiram Mirza, the son of Shah Ismaeel Sufvy, who had long since occupied the fort of Kandahar, being driven to extreme distress by his brothers and the Oozbuks, came to court, and formally ceded to the King the fort of Kanda-

take that of Raja after becoming head of the family. He is the same person denominated Koowur Man-Sing.

118. King of Transoxania.

har, in lieu of which he received the government of Mooltan, and was enrolled among the Punjhuzaries.[119]

Mirza Khan, in the mean time, proceeded to Mando. Boorhan Nizam Shah II. of Ahmudnuggur now sent Inayut Khan with professions of entire submission; but shortly after falling sick, that monarch died in the year A.H. 1003 (A.D. 1594). His son, Ibrahim Nizam Shah, who succeeded him, was killed in battle, against the troops of Ibrahim Adil Shah; and Meean Munjoo, his vizier raised to the throne one Ahmud, a boy, said to be of the Nizam Shahy family. The Ahmudnuggur nobles, refusing to acknowledge the new king, rebelled, and besieged Meean Munjoo in Ahmudnuggur. In this dilemma finding himself unable to cope with his enemies, the minister sent persons to Ahmudabad, the capital of Guzerat, to wait on the Prince Moorad Mirza, entreating him to come to his assistance, and promising to put him in possession of the fort. Moorad Mirza having previously received orders from his father to march into the Deccan, gladly embraced the proposal, and moved with great expedition to the south; while Mirza Khan, who had now reached Mando, hearing of the Prince's intention, put his own army in motion, attended by the divisions of Mirza Shahrokh, governor of Malwa, Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, Raja Jugnat, the maternal uncle of Raja Man-Sing, Raja Doorga Das, Raja Ramchundur, and others, and marched towards the Deccan. He induced Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, also to join him with six thousand horse. The Mogul forces formed a junction[120] at Galna, in Kandeish, and from thence proceeding by regular marches continued its route to Ahmudabad.

Meean Munjoo having, by this time, suppressed the rebellion, repented of his having called in the Moguls, and had already laid in a store of provisions in Ahmudnuggur to defend it. He left Chand Beeby,[121] the daughter of Hoossein Nizam Shah, to assume the command of the fort, and himself marched with the remainder

119. Punjhuzary officers were those who commanded a legion of at least five thousand soldiers.

120. That is, the Prince Moorad from Guzerat, and Mirza Khan from Dehly, together with the troops previously assembled at Mando in Malwa.

121. The Princess Chand Beeby had been queen and dowager-regent of the neighbouring kingdom of Beejapoor, and was one of the most able politicians of her day.

of his army, and a large train of artillery, towards the Beejapoor frontier. The Prince Moorad Mirza and Mirza Khan, instead of coming as allies, now proceeded to lay siege to Ahmudnuggur, as will be found in the history of the Nizam Shahies. In the month of Rubbee-oos-Sany, A.H. 1004 (November, A.D. 1595), the besiegers opened their trenches, and carried on approaches by raising mounds, erecting batteries, and sinking mines; while Chand Beeby, defended the place with masculine resolution, and wrote letters to Ibraheem[122] Adil Shah of Beejapoor, and Kootub Shah of Bhagnuggur, for aid. At the end of three months the besiegers carried five mines under the wall and bastions, two of which the garrison destroyed by countermines, and continued to search for the others. The Prince Moorad Mirza and Sadik Mahomed Khan were jealous of Mirza Khan, they accordingly put on their armour, and proceeded towards the batteries in the afternoon of the 1st of Rujub, A.H. 1004 (Feb. 17, A.D. 1569), without communicating with Mirza Khan; and desirous of gaining all the credit of taking the place, set fire to the trains of the mines, upon which three exploded, and blew up fifty guz (eighty feet) of the wall. The Moguls now waited for the explosion of the other two mines, which had been destroyed by the besieged, who, recovering from the surprise occasioned by the explosion, defended the breach with great bravery. Chand Beeby appeared with a veil on her head. She caused guns to be brought to bear on the assailants, and stones to be hurled on them, so that they were repulsed in several repeated attacks. During the night, she stood by the workmen, and caused the breach to be filled up nine feet before daylight with wood, stones, and earth, and dead carcasses. Meanwhile a report prevailed, that Soheil Khan, the general of Ibraheem Adil Shah, was on his march, in cojunction with some Kootb Shahy[123] troops, at the head of an army of seventy thousand horse, to raise the siege. At the same time, a scarcity of provisions prevailing in the Mogul camp, the Prince and Mirza Khan thought it advisable to enter into negotiations with the besieged. It was stipulated by Chand Beeby, that Akbur should retain Berar, while Ahmudnuggur and its original dependencies should remain entire

122. Ibraheem was her nephew, and she had been queen-regent during his minority.

123. The appellations given to the several kingdoms of the Deccan are explained in the beginning of the next chapter.

in the hands of Bahadur Shah, the grandson of Boorhan Nizam Shah II. These terms being ratified, the Prince Moorad and Mirza Khan marched towards Berar; where they built the town of Shapoor, near Balapoor, and formed cantonments in that place. On this spot, the Prince espoused the daughter of Bahadur Khan Farooky, the son of Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, and subdivided the province of Berar among his chiefs. Shahbaz Khan Kumbo, about this time, becoming disgusted with some indignities offered him by the Prince, quitted the army, and proceeded without leave to Malwa.

After the departure of the Mogul forces, Chand Beeby resigned her authority to Bahadur Nizam Shah, who transferred the reins of government into the hands of Nehung Khan and other chiefs. These, contrary to her advice, and in violation of the late treaty, marched with fifty thousand horse to the north, in order to expel the Moguls from Berar; while Khan Khanan, leaving the Prince and Sadik Mahomed khan in Shapoor, moved with twenty thousand horse, accompanied by Raja Ally Khan Farooky, to oppose them on the banks of the Godavery. On reaching the village of Soopa, Khan Khanan halted for some days to inform himself of the situation and strength of the enemy, and having forded the river, then only knee-deep, drew up his army on the south bank. On the 17th of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 1005 (Dec. 27, A.D. 1596), Soheil Khan, who commanded a body of auxiliary troops sent by Ibrahim Adil Shah, assuming the command of all the Deccan troops, marshalled them in front of the Moguls. The Nizam Shahy troops were on the right, the Kootb Shahy on the left, and the Adil Shahies in the centre.

On the side of the Moguls, Khan Khanan took post in the centre. Raja Ally Khan of Kandeish, and Raja Ram Chundur, at the head of a body of volunteers, began the attack. The onset of the Moguls were conducted with much intrepidity; they broke the advanced troops of the Deccanies, and fell on those of Soheil Khan, where he commanded in person. Here, however, they met with a check from a heavy discharge of artillery, small arms, and rockets, which did such execution among the Rajpoots and the Kandeish troops that Raja Ally Khan and Raja Ram Chundur were both killed, and above three thousand of their men fell; the Mogul centre and left also gave way at the same time, and left Soheil Khan master of the field in that quarter. Meanwhile

Khan Khanan, who had taken the command in person of the right wing during the action, made an impression on the Deccanies, and went in pursuit without being aware of what had happened on his left. Night, shortly after, came on, and each party, equally ignorant of the true state of affairs, thought he had gained a victory. Soheil Khan contented himself with keeping possession of the field, without pursuing the enemy, while half of his army deserted during the night with the booty it had obtained.

Khan Khanan, returning from the pursuit, unexpectedly came upon the Deccany artillery during the night, within a small distance of their headquarters. Thinking the enemy had been entirely routed, he was much surprised at this discovery, but determined to remain where he was till morning, with the few men that continued with him. He now learned, for the first time, that by far the greater part of his army had been defeated, and had fled to Berar. Soheil Khan's troops unconsciously lit fires and flambeaux, which gave to Khan Khanan an opportunity of perceiving their position. He accordingly ordered a few shot from his artillery to be fired among them, which threw them into temporary confusion; but Soheil Khan causing the fires to be extinguished, and changing his ground, avoided the danger, and sent skirmishers to collect such of his troops as might be found over the plain and in the adjacent villages.

Khan Khanan also took similar steps to collect his men, by blowing his trumpets and beating to arms; which being heard by such of his troops as were in the vicinity, they hastened to join him. Several of the Moguls meeting with bands of the Deccanies in the dark, they fought, and formed a scene of confusion not easily described, while "Alla! Alla!" Oh God! Oh God! resounded from all sides; and every eye was fixed with anxiety upon the east, in expectation of the dawn. When day appeared, Soheil Khan was seen marching towards the Moguls with twelve thousand horse; and though the troops of Khan Khanan did not exceed three or four thousand in number, he determined to dispute the field, and formed his line. The second battle raged with redoubled fury on both sides. Soheil Khan, after performing prodigies of valour, worn out by fatigue, and loss of blood from wounds he received in the action, fell from his horse. Some of his dependents, however, bore him off the ground; and his army, according to custom, followed, leaving Khan Khanan master of

the field; but being in no condition to pursue the fugitives, the Moguls returned to Shapoor.

The Emperor Akbur, having received advice of the death of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk, who had long threatened an invasion from the north, now returned from Lahore to Agra, where hearing of Khan Khanan's success, he sent him an honorary dress and a fine horse, as marks of his favour. The private animosity that had long subsisted between the Prince Moorad and Khan Khanan, and which was much inflamed by Sadik Mahomed Khan, at this time rose to a dangerous height. The King, therefore, conceiving it imprudent to leave them any longer together, despatched Syud Yoosoof Khan Mushedy and Sheikh Abool Fuzl, in the year A.H. 1006 (A.D. 1597), to remain with the Prince. Khan Khanan was recalled to the presence; and though the whole misunderstanding originated in the Prince's forward and jealous disposition, yet the King's resentment fell upon Khan Khanan, and that great man remained for some time in disgrace.

Syud Yoosoof Mushedy and Abool Fuzl shortly after reduced the forts of Narnala, Gavul,[124] Kehrla, and other forts in the province of Berar. At this time the Prince Moorad Mirza, falling dangerously ill, died in the month of Shuval, A.H. 1007 (May, A.D. 1599), and was buried at Shapoor. The corpse was afterwards removed to Agra, and laid by the side of Hoomayoon, the Prince's grandfather. The King's grief for the death of his son increased his desire of conquering the Deccan, as a means of diverting his mind. In the mean time, the nobles of the Nizam Shahy dominions gained some slight advantages over the Moguls. They defeated Sheer Khwaja, who occupied Beer, and besieged him in the fort; while Syud Yoosoof Khan and Sheikh Abool Fuzl considered their force so inferior in numbers, that they durst not venture to attack the Deccanies.

Akbur relenting in his severity towards Khan Khanan, restored him to favour, and asked his daughter, Jany Begum, in marriage for his son, Daniel Mirza. Khan Khanan was now despatched to the Deccan with that Prince, accompanied by a well-appointed army, with orders to occupy all the Nizam Shahy territory. Akbur also, in the year A.H. 1008 (A.D. 1599), marched in person to the south, leaving his dominions in the north

124. Gyalgur. This fortress was taken by storm by the British troops under the Duke of Wellington, in December, 1803.

under charge of the Prince Royal, Mahomed Sulim Mirza. Meanwhile, Daniel Mirza and Khan Khanan entered the Deccan. Meeran Bahadur Khan, the son of Raja Ally Khan, ruler of Kandeish, unlike his father, assumed a hostile position in Aseer, after the Mogul army had gone to the south. The Prince Daniel deemed it prudent, therefore, to halt on the banks of the Godavery, near Peitun, in order to conciliate him. But Akbur having reached Mando directed Daniel Mirza to proceed to Ahmudnuggur, as he himself intended to besiege Aseer.

Daniel Mirza and Khan Khanan accordingly marched with about thirty thousand horse towards Ahmudnugger. Nehung Khan Hubshy and other officers of the Deccan flying before them, left the Moguls at liberty to advance without molestation. Akbur failed in inducing Meeran Bahadur Khan to submit to his authority. He accordingly proceeded to Boorhanpoor, and directed one of his generals to besiege Aseer, which lay only six coss from that place. After the siege had continued a considerable time, the air, on account of the number of troops cooped up in the fort, became very unhealthy. This occasioned a pestilence, which swept off several of the garrison; and although Meeran Bahadur Khan had still sufficient men for the defence of Aseer, as well as a large magazine of warlike stores and provisions, he began to despair. At this time, also, Ahmudnuggur fell, through the exertions of Khwaja Abool Hussun Toormoozy, as we shall soon have occasion to relate. In the beginning of the year A.H. 1009 (A.D. 1600), Meeran Bahadur Khan, losing all courage, resigned the strong fortress of Aseer into the hands of Akbur, and yielded up treasures and stores which had been accumulating therein for many ages. The wealth of Ahmudnuggur was also brought to Boorhanpoor. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Beejapoor sent an ambassador to conciliate Akbur, and consented to give his daughter in marriage to his son, the Prince Daniel Mirza. A Mogul noble, named Meer Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein Anjoo, was accordingly despatched with suitable offerings, to escort the bride from Beejapoor. Aseer, Boorhanpoor, Ahmudnugger, and Berar, were now consolidated into one province, the government of which was conferred on Daniel Mirza, under the management of Khan Khanan. The King, after these transactions, having returned in triumph to the city of Agra, in the year A.H. 1011 (A.D. 1602), assumed

by proclamation the title of Emperor of the Deccan, in addition to his other royal titles. In the course of the same year, Sheikh Abool Fuzl was recalled from the Deccan; and that learned man was unfortunately attacked and cut off in the district of Nurwur, by banditti near Orcha.

In the month of Suffur, A.H. 1013 (June A.D. 1604), Meer Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein who had been deputed to Beejapoor, returned with the royal bride and the stipulated dowry. He delivered the young Sooltana to Daniel upon the banks of the Godavery, near Peitun,[125] where the nuptials were celebrated with great magnificence; after which, Meer Jumal-ood-Deen Hoossein proceeded to join the King at Agra.

On the 1st of Zehuj, A.H. 1013 (April 8, A.D. 1605), the Prince Daniel died, in the city of Boorhanpoor, owing to excess of drinking. His death, and the circumstances connected with it, so much affected the King, who was in a declining state of health, that he every day became worse, till, on the 13th of Jumad-oos-Sany, in the year A.H. 1014 (Oct. 13, A.D. 1605), he died, after a reign of fifty-one years and some months. Eternity belongeth only to that King to whom our worship is due. The words

فوت اکبر شده

"The death of King Akbur,"

contain the numeral letters which comprise the date of his death.

Although Akbur was by no means an accomplished scholar, he sometimes wrote poetry, and was well read in histtory. He also delighted in Indian fables. He caused the fables of Meer Humza, consisting of three hundred and sixty stories, to be written in a beautiful hand, and appropriate pictures were affixed to each story. He established posts throughout his dominions, having two horses and a set of footmen stationed at every five coss. The Indians call this establishment "*Dak Chowky.*" They are employed to convey letters on ordinary business, or expresses to and from court. The footmen will travel fifty coss within the twenty-four hours; so that a letter comes from Agra

125. Ferishta, the author of this work, attended the Princess to Peitun, and was afterwards invited by the Prince Daniel to accompany them to Boorhanpoor, where he spent some time with the royal pair.

to Ahmudabad in five days;[126] and when especial messengers are required to go quickly, they avail themselves of the post-horses to proceed in the same way. Four thousand runners were in permanent pay, some of whom, on extraordinary occasions (where there were no posts), have performed a journey of seven hundred coss in ten days.[127] Akbur had never more than six thousand elephants at one time, nor had he ever less than five thousand during his whole reign. It seems likely that no King of Dehly ever had so many elephants. His other property has been thus estimated.

Of allayees (a golden coin), a sum equal to ten crore of rupees, besides one crore's worth of allayees, which he set aside for his private treasury.

Ten maunds, full weight, (800 lb.) of uncoined gold.

Seventy maunds (5600 lb.) of uncoined silver.

Sixty maunds (4800 lb.) of uncoined copper; besides one crore coined into tunkas.

Twelve thousand stable horses.

One thousand camels.

He had, also, nearly one thousand yooz (hunting leopards). It is stated, that although he wished to complete this establishment to one thousand he was never able to do so, in consequence of some disease which affected these animals when they exceeded nine hundred.

The author procured this list of property from one furnished to him; but it remains with others to decide on its authenticity.

126. The distance cannot be less than five hundred miles, and the rate exceeds that of our best regulated posts in India.

127. Fourteen hundred miles, in ten days, with post horses.

CHAPTER III

OF THE KINGS OF THE DECCAN

This Chapter is divided into six Sections; viz.

SECTION I. Of the Kings of Koolburga, denominated Bahmuny.
SECTION II Of the Kings of Beejapoor, entitled Adil Shahy.
SECTION III. Of the Kings of Ahmudnuggur, entitled Nizam Shahy.
SECTION IV. Of the Kings of Tulingana (Hydrabad), entitled Kootb Shahy.
SECTION V. Of the Kings of Berar, entitled Imad Shahy.
SECTION VI. Of the Kings of Bidur, entitled Bereed Shahy.

SECTION I

THE DYNASTY OF THE KINGS OF KOOLBURGA, DENOMINATED BAHMUNY

ALLA-OOD-DEEN HUSSUN SHAH GUNGOO BAHMUNY

AUTHORS differ regarding the birth and the early life of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Bahmuny. It would be tedious and useless to relate all that has been said on this subject, so that I shall merely state that which is most generally believed in the Deccan.

Hussun, a native of Dehly, was the servant of Gungoo, a Braminical astrologer, enjoying high favour with the Prince Mahomed Toghluk, and who, in consideration of the good conduct of Hussun, gave him a pair of oxen, and permitted him to till a small piece of land for his own use. While at work one day, the plough attached itself to some substance, which on examination Hussun found to be a chain fastened to a copper vessel, containing a number of antique gold coins. On making the discovery, he carried the treasure to his master, who commending him for his honesty, acquainted the Prince Mahomed Toghluk with the circumstance, who communicated it to his father, the King. The monarch ordered Hussun to the presence, and conferred on him the command of one hundred horse.

It is further related, that the Bramin assured Hussun he perceived from his horoscope that he would rise to great distinction, and be eminently favoured of the Almighty; and made him

promise if he ever should attain regal power, that he would assume the name of Gungoo, and employ him as his minister of finance; a request with which Hussun readily complied. It is said, also that his future destiny was foretold by the celebrated Sheikh Nizam-ood-Deen Ouliya. From these prognostications, Hussun's ambition prompted him to proceed to the Deccan, which became the seat of his future good fortune.

The Prince Mahomed Toghluk, having succeeded his father on the throne of Dehly, appointed his tutor, Kootloogh Khan, entitled Alum-ool-Moolk, Governor of Dowlutabad; and granted permission, at the same time, to such officers as chose to proceed with him. Among these was Hussun, on whom was bestowed, in jageer, the town of Koonchy[1] within the district of Rai Bagh. Some years after, Mahomed Toghluk led his army against the refractory nobles of Guzerat, whom he defeated. Many of these took refuge in the Deccan; where Kootloogh Khan and his officers, contrary to the duty they owed their sovereign, afforded them an asylum. This proceeding induced the King to determine on removing the whole of the Deccan officers to other provinces. With this view, Ahmud Lacheen was deputed to wait on Alum-ool-Moolk, requiring him to send the Deccan officers to Guzerat. The governor accordingly summoned them to repair to Dowlutabad. Some months elapsed before they arrived; when, at length, they departed with Ahmud Lacheen for Guzerat. Ahmud entertained hopes of extorting presents from these officers to engage his interest in their favour with the King, but being disappointed, he resented their conduct, and treated them with contempt; remarking to his attendants, that they deserved death for having given protection to the rebel chiefs of Guzerat, and for so long neglecting the royal summons to appear at court. The Deccan officers, on hearing these sentiments, became alarmed; and on reaching the frontier, they formed a plan to revolt. It was notorious that the King frequently punished with death the slightest offences, and often without examining the accused; so that they considered it better for them to maintain themselves in the Deccan by force, than to deliver themselves up tamely like sheep to the slaughter.

This resolution being taken, they quitted Ahmud Lacheen, who in attempting to oppose them was defeated and slain. The

1. Chenchy of Arrowsmith.

chiefs were immediately joined by numbers of disaffected persons, and before they reached Dowlutabad had collected a large force. The rajas of the Deccan, also, suffering under the tyranny of the King of Dehly, rejoiced at this revolt; in which some joined, while others, more circumspect, only privately encouraged it, and assisted the rebels with money and supplies. How just is the observation of the poet, who remarks,—

> "When man is oppressed he revolts from his prince in the hour of danger;
> For how can a kingdom flourish when the ruler is tyrannical?"

Imad-ool-Moolk, the King's son-in-law, governor of Berar and Kandeish, residing at Elichpoor, finding himself daily deserted by his troops, and fearing lest his officers should finally deliver him over to the Deccanies, quitted that city with his family, under pretence of hunting, and retired to Nundoorbar; while the Berar officers plundering the treasury, proceeded to join the insurgents' camp near Dowlutabad. The garrison of this fortress, also, perceiving the accumulated force of the rebels, delivered over the place into their hands. Thus, in a few months, the territory of the Deccan, which had been conquered in a long series of campaigns, and at a vast expense of blood and treasure, seemed about to be snatched from the hands of the King of Dehly.

On securing possession of Dowlutabad, the insurgents, in order to give weight to their measures, resolved to elect a leader; and they raised one Ismael Khan Afghan, an officer of one thousand horse, whose brother, Mullik Moogh, commanded the royal army in the province of Malwa, to be their King, with the title of Nasir-ood-Deen. This selection arose principally out of the hope that the Deccanies would be supported by the new king's relative in Malwa. Honours were bestowed by the new sovereign on all his officers, and to each was assigned a landed estate. At this time, Hussun, who has been before mentioned, had the title of Zuffur Khan conferred on him, and he received some districts for his own support and that of a body of soldiers. Meanwhile Mahomed Toghluk approached from Guzerat, having been joined on the road by Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreezy, and Mullik Moogh, governor of Malwa. On his arrival, near Dowlutabad, he found the insurgents ready to receive him at the head of thirty thousand cavalry, drawn up on the same plain where Alla-ood-Deen had first defeated the son of Ram Dew, Raja of Dewgur. In the

action which ensued, both wings of the royal army were routed, and Mahomed Toghluk was even preparing to fly, when suddenly the curse of disloyalty fell upon the rebels. Khan Jehan, one of their principal chiefs, receiving an arrow wound, was dismounted, and his division, consisting of six thousand men, dispersed and fled from the field.

At the same instant, also, the standard-bearer of Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael, the newly created King, panic-struck, allowed the colours to fall from his hands; and the insurgent troops, supposing their chief had forsaken them, gradually fell back. Night coming on, both parties retired without molestation to their camp Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael having sent for Zuffur Khan and his principal chiefs, resolved that it would be inadvisable for the present to hazard another battle, and it was agreed that Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael should retire within the walls of Dowlutabad with a sufficient garrison; while the officers should keep the field, provide for the protection of their own districts, and harass and cut off the enemy's convoys and supplies. The rebels, accordingly, silently withdrew during the night, so that at daylight the King of Dehly saw not a vestige of their army. On the following day, Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreezy was detached in pursuit of Zuffur Khan, and the King laid siege to Dowlutabad. After some time, the garrison, reduced to despair, was about to surrender, when intelligence arrived of an insurrection at Dehly, under a slave named Tuky, who, with a body of disaffected rabble, had committed great enormities in the capital, threatened the provinces, and was on march to Guzerat. The King, leaving the camp at Dowlutabad in charge of one of his generals, marched to quell this new rebellion. The Deccan officers, encouraged by this circumstance, collected from all parts, and advancing in force, compelled the royalists to raise the siege, and to follow their sovereign. On the retreat, they were hotly pressed by the Deccanies as far as the banks of the Nerbudda. On which occasion, the royalists lost much baggage, and several elephants laden with treasure.

Zuffur Khan also marched with twenty thousand horse to Bidur, then occupied by Imad-ool-Moolk Tubreezy; but owing to the superiority of the royalists, he dared not engage them. At last, being joined by fifteen thousand infantry, sent by the Raja of Tulingana, and five thousand horse, detached by Nasir-ood-

Deen Ismael from Dowlutabad to his assistance, Zuffur Khan made the attack. The action, which was hardly contested, continued from daylight till sunset, when, as it was decreed by God,[2] that Zuffur Khan should be raised to the sovereignty of the Deccan, Imad-ool-Moolk was slain, and his army routed. Many of the fugitives took shelter in Bidur, others in Kand'har,[3] while some few retired with difficulty to Malwa.

Zufffur Khan having left Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory to reduce the forts of Bidur and Kand'har proceeded to Dowlutabad; at which place he was met by Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael, who, on observing that greater attention was paid by the officers and the army to the general than to him, and perceiving, also, that they wished to have him for their king, prudently resolved to retire to a more humble station. Calling a meeting, therefore, of the principal officers present, Nasir-ood-Deen Ismael declared, that on account of his age he was unfit to rule in such times, and requested they would elect a new king, observing, that for his part he should recommend Zuffur Khan as most worthy of the throne. The assembly unanimously consented to the proposal; and the astrologers being directed to select a fortunate moment for his inauguration, on Friday, the 24th of Rubee-ool-Akhur, A.H. 748 (Aug. 12, A.D. 1347), the crown was placed on the head of Zuffur Khan, and a black canopy, the colour assumed by the Abasside caliphs, was elevated over his throne. The Khootba was read, and coins struck, in his name, impressed with his title of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun. From that period, also, Koolburga, which now became the royal residence, was named Ahsunabad,[4] and became the capital of the first Mahomedan king of the Deccan.

Alla-ood-Deen Hussun, having assumed charge of his government, neglected none of its duties, and his dominions daily extended; so that in a short time the territory from the river Beema

2. One cannot help observing, in this and several other throughout the work, the influence which predestination possessed over the author's mind.

3. Kand'har, in the Deccan, must not be confounded with Kandahar, in Persia.

4. The MSS. all contain this inconsistency. If the King's name be Hussun, the city should have been called Hussunabad; but I imagine that some error, either in the name of the King or of the city, has taken place, through the neglect of transcribers.

to the vicinity of the fortress of Adony,[5] and from the port of Choul to the city of Bidur, was brought under his authority. It is related, that on his accession the King distributed four hundred pounds weight of gold, and one thousand pounds of silver, in charity, in the name of Nizam-ood-Deen Oulia, who had predicted his good fortune. Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, remarkable alike for his integrity and good sense, was appointed minister, and the ex-king, Nasir-ood-Deen, re-assuming his original name of Ismael, was honoured with the title of Ameer-ool-Omra. Not unmindful of his promise to his former master, the King entrusted his treasury to the bramin Gungoo, who quitted the service of Mahomed Toghluk Padshah, and repaired to the Deccan; and the affix of Gungoo Bahmuny was superadded to the King's title in all public documents, and remained engraven on the royal seal of that dynasty till its extinction.

It is generally believed that Gungoo was the first bramin who accepted office in the service of a Mahomedan prince; before whose time, the bramins never engaged in public affairs, but passed their lives in the duties of religion, and in the study of the Vedas; indifferent to fortune, conceiving the service of princes to be destructive of virtue. If, as physicians, astronomers, metaphysicians, or historians, they sometimes associated with the rich or powerful, they never consented to wear the chain of servitude, though courted by gifts, and promised the highest distinctions. Since Gungoo's acceptance of employment, however, the management of the revenue has been committed generally to bramins, by all the princes of the Deccan.[6]

Alla-ood-Deen Hussun, as well by wise policy as by force of arms, towards the end of the reign of Mahomed Toghluk, subdued, every part of the Deccan previously subject to the throne of Dehly, and gained over by conciliatory measures the Afghan, Mogul, and Rajpoot officers of the Dehly government, holding possession of Bidur and Kand'har, which were delivered into

5. The correct name is Adwany, by which it is sometime mentioned in the public archives of the Madras government.

6. Ferishta, in this as well as in many other instances evinces a remarkable degree of ignorance of the state of Hindoo society, or he would have known, that bramins, not only in his time but long anterior to the Mahomedan conquest of the Deccan, were the only persons who kept the public accounts, or who cultivated the art of letters.

his hands. He wrested Kowlas, also, with its dependencies, from the Raja of Wurungole, with whom he formed a treaty of alliance. The death of Mahomed Toghluk, in A.H. 752 (A.D. 1351), removing all apprehensions of attack from Dehly, the King engaged assiduously in the internal economy of his government, and witnessed the marriage of his eldest son Mahomed with the daughter of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory. On this occasion, he distributed ten thousand robes of cloth of gold, velvet, and satin, among the nobles of his court, besides one thousand Arabian and Persian horses, and two hundred sabres set with jewels. The populace were entertained with various amusements, and booths were erected in the streets of Koolburga, from which showers of confectionary were thrown among the crowd. The rejoicings lasted a whole year; on the last day of which, the nobility and officers, in their turn, made offerings of jewels, money, and the rarest productions of all countries.

Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, in consequence of this alliance, assumed a place in public assemblies above those of all the nobility. This circumstance gave offence to the Ameer-ool-Omra, who complained of it, but he was told, that in every settled government the civil officers took precedence of the military. Although apparently satisfied with this explanation, he secretly conspired with some disaffected persons to depose the King, and to reascend the throne he had abdicated. His designs not being favoured by Prodidence, the King obtained timely information of his intentions from persons who had joined in the plot, but had since repented. Having convened all the principal officers of the court, the King openly accused Ismael, who denied the charge by the most solemn oaths. Being confronted, however, with the informers, and many of the conspirators having fully proved the charges against him, the Ameer-ool-Omra suffered death: his relations and adherents, however, were unmolested; no confiscation of his property took place; and his son, Bahadur Khan, was raised to the rank of Ameer-ool-Omra. This act, connected with other instances of justice tempered with mercy, raised the King's fame, and strengthened his power. The Raja of Tulingana, who had thrown off all fealty, was treated with generous forbearance, on account of the assistance he had rendered to the King; and he now voluntarily agreed to pay the tribute he had heretofore remitted to the King of Dehly.

Alla-ood-Deen, at the instance of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, sent a considerable force into the Carnatic,[7] from whence his general returned successful, with valuable contributions from several rajas in money and jewels, besides two hundred elephants, and one thousand female singers. Having received an invitation from Preme Ray, the representative of the ancient rajas of Guzerat, to invade that country, (which, owing to the weakness of the kings of Dehly, had become a prey to contending chiefs,) Alla-ood-Deen Hussun, in the month of Shaban, A.H. 758 (August, A.D. 1357), took the field, and having detached his eldest son, the the Prince Mahomed, in advance with twenty thousand horse, himself followed by easy marches. On arriving at Nowsary,[8] the Prince found the country abounding in game, of which he sent accounts to his father, who being fond of field sports, proceeded with expedition, and spent nearly a month in that vicinity; at the end of which period, having contracted an intermittent fever, and not using proper precaution in refraining from violent exercise and high living, his disorder increased to so alarming a degree, that he was induced to return to Koolburga. On reaching his capital, he convened all the learned and holy men in whose presence he vowed to abstain in future from all things forbidden by the law of the Koran. At this time he divided his Kingdom into four principal governments. The district, including the capital, extended from Koolburga as far west as Dabul, and south as far as Rachore and Moodkul, was placed under Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory: the tract comprehending Choul (on the sea-coast), and lying between Joonere, Dowlutabad, Beer, and Peitun (being the territory of Mahrut), the King committed to the charge of Mahomed Khan, the son of his brother Ameer Ally. On the north-east, Mahoor, Ramgir, and a portion of Berar, were intrusted to Sufdur Khan Seestany; and Bidur, Indour, Kowlas, and the districts in Tulingana, were assigned to the charge of Azim Hoomayoon, son of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory.

The King continued six months in a declining state of health; in spite of which, he gave public audience twice a day, transacting

7. By the Carnatic is meant the country in which the Canara or Canarese language prevails, south of a line drawn between Kolapoor and Bidur.

8. On the Tapty, near Surat.

business, and administering justice to the poor and friendless. He issued orders to release all prisoners throughout his dominions, except those accused of capital offences, whom he commanded to Koolburga; and having himself examined them, gave liberty to all but seven, whom he delivered over to his son Mahomed, that after his death he might act towards them as he judged proper. At length, finding no benefit from medicine, and feeling nature exhausted, he discharged his physicians, and waited patiently the final cure of human ills. In this state, enquiring one day of his youngest son, Mahmood, who had been reading with his tutor, what book he had been studying, the youth replied, the Bostan of Sady, repeating the following passage as his lesson of that day:—

"I have heard that Jumsheed, that compound of excellence, caused these words to be engraved on a marble fountain: 'Many like me have viewed this fountain, but they are gone, and their eyes closed for ever. I conquered the world by valour and prudence, but was unable to subdue the power of the grave.' "

The King sighed at the recital, and calling his sons Dawood and Mahomed to him, said, "This is my last breath, and with it I conjure you, as ye value the permanence of the Kingdom, to agree with each other. Mahomed is my successor: submission and loyalty to him is your first duty in this world, and will ensure you happiness in the next." He then sent for his treasurer, and committed to each of his sons a sum of money to be distributed instantly among the poor. Having done which, they returned to inform him his wishes had been fulfilled; when he exclaimed, "Praise be to God," and instantly resigned his life to the Creator of all things. The death of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun happened eleven years, two months, and seven days, after his accession to the throne, on the 1st of Rubbee-ool-Awul, A.H. 759 (Feb. 10, A.D. 1358), in the sixtyseventh year of his age.

Alla-ood-Deen Hussun being once asked how he contrived without great treasures or armies to attain royalty, he replied, by kindnesses to my friends, generosity to my enemies, and by courtesy and liberality to all mankind. It has been asserted that he was descended from Bahmun, one of the ancient kings of Persia, and I, the author, have even seen a pedigree of him so derived, in the royal library of Ahmudnuggur; but it was probably only framed, after his accession to the throne, by flatterers and

poets, for I believe his origin was too obscure to admit of being traced. The appellation of Bahmuny he certainly took out of compliment to his master, Gungoo, the bramin, a word often pronounced bahmun. The King himself was by birth an Afghan.

MAHOMED SHAH BAHMUNY I

WHEN Mahomed ascended the throne he added considerably to the splendour of the court. On the canopy over his seat he caused a golden ball, inlaid with jewels, to be placed, on which was a bird of paradise composed of precious stones, on whose head was a ruby of inestimable price, presented to the late king by the Raja of Beejanuggur. He increased the train of his attendants, and divided the nobility and officers into four orders, appointing to each specific duties and times for attendance at court. He formed a corps which he styled *bardars*, whose duties consisted in mustering the troops, and in conducting persons to the audience. He had, also, a band of silehdars,[9] composed of two hundred youths, selected from among the sons of the nobility, to carry the royal armour and weapons; and he formed a body-guard of four thousand men, under the command of a nobleman of high rank, styled Meer Nobut. Fifty silehdars, and a thousand of the body-guard, attended at the palace daily. Every day, excepting on Fridays, he gave public audience early in the morning, and continued to transact business till the crier proclaimed noontide prayer, when the court broke up. Previously to ascending the throne, he used to prostrate himself before it out of respect, as he said, to the memory of his father. The throne was of silver, placed under a magnificent canopy, on a rich carpet, and the court before the hall of audience was shaded either by an awning of velvet brocade, or some other costly manufacture. To each of the governors of provinces he gave the name of Turrufdar. In the beginning of his reign, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory enjoyed the distinction of sitting in the presence, but requesting to resign this privilege, he after-

9. It was with this Prince, probably, the word silehdar, so common now in the Deccan, originated, and which seems to answer to the cavalier of Europe :—a sort of knight who followed the court mounted on his own horse, and in whose train rode one or more attendants.

wards stood like the other nobles. The nobut,[10] or band of music, played five times daily, at stated hours; and all persons, when introduced to the King, knelt and touched the ground with their foreheads.[11] After the dissolution of the Bahmuny dynasty, the several kings of the Deccan assumed the chutr, or canopy, and the Khootba; but none struck coins of gold in their own name, or sounded the nobut five times daily, excepting the King of Golconda, styled Kootb Shah.

The coins of the Bahmuny dynasty were of a square form, and of different value; having on one side the creed of the faithful, and the names of the as'hab (the first four caliphs), while on the other side was the King's title, and the year of his reign in which the coin was struck. The Hindoo bankers, at the instigation of the Rajas of Beejanuggur and Tulingana, melted all the coins which fell into their hands, in order that those of the infidels might alone be current in the Deccan. Mahomed Shah, incensed against them on their persisting in the offence, put to death many persons guilty of such conduct, and limited the business of the mint and of the bank to a few Kuhtries, the descendants of inhabitants of Dehly who had formerly emigrated into the Deccan. After which, the Bahmuny coins alone were used in the Mahomedan dominions. Since the subversion of that dynasty, however, the coins of the Hindoo princes have been permitted to pass current.

Early in the reign of Mahomed Shah, the Rajas of Beejanuggur and Tulingana demanded restitution of the territories wrested from them by his father; threatening, in case of refusal, not only to invade his country themselves, but to draw upon him the army of the King of Dehly. Insecure of the attachment of some of his officers, and his treasury being low, owing to the large sums required by his mother, Mullika Jehan, to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and Kurbulla, the King, during eighteen months, kept the ambassadors of the Rajas at his court,

10. The word *but* signifies a musical instrument; thus we have barbut, sackbut, &c. The nobut was originally a band composed of nine different instruments: the number of each description of which might be extended according to pleasure.

11. This mode of salutation has long ceased in many parts of India. It was, probably, brought into the country by the Tartars, and is the *kootoo* of the Tartar court of Pekin, to which the English ambassadors have hitherto refused to submit.

and sent his own to Beejanuggur, in order to gain time. During this period he displaced such officers as he suspected; and his mother having returned, he resolved on war, and demanded from the Rajas some of their best elephants, laden with jewels, gold, and the most precious manufactures of the Deccan. The Raja of Tulingana upon this deputed his son, Vinaik Dew, with an army, to recover Kowlas, while the Raja of Beejanuggur sent a considerable force to co-operate. The Hindoos were defeated by the Mahomedan troops, under Bahadar Khan; and that general, having plundered the country to the vicinity of Wurungole, obliged the Raja to pay him a large sum of money; to give twenty-five elephants, and many valuable jewels, which were presented to the King at Koolburga.

In the end of the year A.H. 773 (A.D. 1371), some merchants arriving from distants parts, brought horses for sale, but the King not approving of them, observed they were unfit for his use; on which the merchants stated they had lately possessed much finer horses, but which had been forcibly taken from them, at reduced prices, by Vinaik Dew at Velumputtun[12] though they told him that they were designed for the King of Koolburga. Mahomed Shah, already offended with Vinaik Dew, resolved to take revenge for this fresh instance of disrespect; and committing the charge of his government to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory assembled an army at Sooltanpoor, where he continued ten days, organising his troops. He there received during that time the prayers of the venerable Mahomed Siraj-ood-Deen Jooneidy for his success; and on the eleventh day began his campaign by slow marches towards Tulingana. On his arrival at Kullian, asking an attendant, to whom he allowed great freedom of speech, in what time he might reach Velumputtum, the wit replied, that if he continued his present speed, he might perhaps see it in twelve months. The King, nettled at this observation, immediately

12. I have not ventured to alter the word in the original, though I know of no place of this name. Velumconda, or Bellumconda (the Sugar-hill), was the seat of government of a powerful raja nearly two centuries afterwards; and, perhaps, Bellumconda ought to be the true reading. The termination of puttun (town), and conda (a hill), being frequently used synonymously, if the town lie under a hill, as it does in this case. One principal objection to this surmise, however, arises from the towns of Kowlas and Kullian, which are here mentioned, not lying in the nearest road between Koolburga and Bellumconda.

formed a light detachment of four thousand cavalry, and proceeded with such rapidity, that in the space of a week he arrived near Velumputtun. He then ordered a band of veteran soldiers to disguise themselves in tattered habits and repair to the town as horse-dealers, who had been plundered by robbers, in order to amuse the attention of the guards at the gates. The soldiers, on being questioned, replied, that they were merchants who had been plundered by a numerous banditti not far from the place, and were come to implore protection and justice from the governor. During this time Mahomed Shah advanced with a thousand horse, and the guards in attempting to shut the gates were prevented by the King's troops. The King now entering the town, commenced to slay the inhabitants without mercy, while Vinaik Dew, who little expected such an enemy, was engaged at an entertainment. On receiving the alarm, he fled with precipitation to the citadel, which the King assaulted without delay; when, after a faint opposition, Vinaik Dew tried to make his escape by a postern, but was taken prisoner in the city. In the morning he was questioned by the King, why he had dared to seize horses from merchants on their way to Koolburga? and making an insolent reply, Mahomed Shah, who had before this resolved to spare his life, commanded a pile of wood, which happened to be close to the citadel, to be lighted. He then ordered the tongue of Vinaik Dew to be cut out, and having placed him on a munjneek (catapulta), caused him to be cast from the walls into the flames, in which he was consumed. The King remained fifteen days in the town; and as his army came up, it encamped without the gates, while he reposed from his fatigues, and gave himself up to pleasure. Having secured the treasures of Vinaik Dew, and levied a heavy contribution from the inhabitants, Mahomed Shah left Velumputtun, and returned towards his capital; but the Tulingies, who had now collected in great force, surrounding him from all quarters, so harassed his march, that he commanded his tents and baggage to be burnt, together with all his plunder, except jewels and gold. Being relieved from these encumbrances, he moved in close order from dawn till nightfall every day, relying for provisions on the villages on the route, and passing the night in strict vigilance, for fear of surprise. With all these precautions, the enemy destroyed such numbers of his soldiers, that of four thousand men only fifteen

hundred returned. The King himself received a wound in his arm, and at Kowlas was obliged to halt from indisposition. Here he was fortunately joined by Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory with the main body of his army, when the Tulingies were driven back to their own country with great slaughter, and several places taken from them before the King returned to Koolburga.

The Raja of Tulingana, enraged at the death of his son, sent a letter to the Emperor Feroze Togluk of Dehly, acknowledging himself his vassal. He promised, that if he would send a force to the south he would act in conjunction with it, for the recovery of the Dehly possessions in the Deccan, and also consented to pay a considerable tribute. In this offer he was joined by his ally, the Raja of Beejanuggur; but Feroze Toghluk was too much occupied with domestic commotions to assist them, and did not attend to their representations.

Mahomed Shah, hearing of the overtures made by the Rajas, and aware of the weakness of the court of Dehly, resolved on the entire conquest of Tulingana. Having again committed the charge of his internal government to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, he marched to Kowlas, from whence he detached Azim Hoomayoon, with the troops of Bidur, towards Golconda, and Sufdur Khan, with those of Berar, against Wurungole, towards which latter place he followed in person by regular marches. The Raja of Tulingana, disappointed of aid from Dehly, declined engaging the royal army; and retiring to the woods, sent some of his chiefs with valuable presents to Bahadur Khan,[13] entreating his intercession for peace, which the King at first refused. The Raja then despatched one of his sons to the camp, with declarations of submission; when Mahomed Shah, at the earnest persuasion of his nobility, agreed to such terms as Bahadur Khan should judge consistent with the King's dignity. It was required, accordingly, that the Raja should present three hundred elephants, two hundred valuable horses, and thirty-three lacks of rupees; and that he should cede in perpetuity the hill-fort of Golconda, with its dependencies. The Mahomedan army having been nearly two years subsisting on the country of Tulingana, the Raja was much distressed, and saw no relief but in fulfilling the conditions. It was agreed that Mahomed Shah should retreat,

13. Bahadur Khan had been previously employed as ambassador to the Raja of Wurungole.

and that Bahadur Khan should remain at Kowlas, to see the conditions of the treaty fulfilled. Mahomed Shah, having committed the charge of Golconda to Azim Hoomayoon, returned towards his capital, and disbanding his army at Bidur, halted there three months.

When the agents of the Raja came to Kowlas Bahadur Khan conducted them to the King, to whom they presented the offerings agreeably to treaty; and in return received rich dresses, besides valuable jewels, and several fine horses for the Raja. Some days after this, the ambassadors represented to Bahadur Khan, that if his Majesty, after fixing the territorial limits of the state of Tulingana, would sign a treaty, binding his successors to protect the rajas from further encroachment, their master would present him with a curiosity worthy of a great king.

Bahadur Khan having communicated this offer, the King was impatient to know of what the gift consisted; and the ambassadors being introduced, repeated their promise. Mahomed Shah, finding them sincere, drew up a paper in his own hand, fixing Golconda as the boundary between his kingdom and the Raja's possessions; conjuring his successors, as long as the rajas of Tulingana refrained from breaking their faith, not to molest them. The treaty being signed with the King's seal, and witnessed by the judges and the principal nobility, the Hindoo ambassadors presented to the King a throne, set with valuable jewels, originally prepared by the Raja of Tulingana as a present to Mahomed Toghluk, King of Dehly. Mahomed Shah, highly gratified, dismissed the ambassadors with marks of honour and distinction. On his return to Koolburga he held a festival, and ascending the throne in great state, caused it to be called the Tukht-i-Feroza, or cerulean throne; after which he gave audience, and conferred costly presents and titles on those officers who had merited them by their conduct during the war. The silver throne of his father was ordered, however, to be placed in the treasury, and kept as a valuable relic.

I have heard old persons, who saw the Tukht-i-Feroza in the reign of Sooltan Mahmood Shah Bahmuny, describe it as being six cubits long, and two broad: the frame was of ebony covered with plates of pure gold, inlaid with precious stones of great value, in such a way as to be taken off and put on with ease. Every sovereign of the Bahmuny dynasty added some rich jewels,

so that in the reign of Mahmood Shah, when it was taken to pieces, in order to remove part of the stones to be set in vases and goblets, the jewellers valued the whole at one crore[14] of hoons. I learned, also, that it was called Feroza from being enamelled of a sky-blue colour, which was in time totally concealed by the number of precious ornaments.

The festival above alluded to lasted forty days; during which little attention was paid to the law of abstinence enjoined by our religion.[15] The nobility and common people, following the example of the sovereign, abandoned themselves to festivity and pleasure. On this occasion a number of musicians, who had learned the compositions of Ameer Khoosrow, and Khwaja Hussun, of Dehly, and some who had even heard those great masters, came, attended by three hundred singers, from Dehly to Koolburga. Mahomed Shah, hailing their arrival at such a moment as auspicious, received them with much attention; and was in such good humour, that on one occasion he permitted Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory and the Suddur-ool-Shereef to sit at the foot of his throne in public, as also Bahadur Khan, on whom he conferred the title of Ameer-ool-Omra, and procured his daughter in marriage for his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah.

Moolla Dawood Bidury, the author of the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, states, he was then twelve years of age, and held the office of page and seal-bearer to the King. He writes, that "one evening, when the fragrance of the garden of pleasure had suffused the cheek of Mahomed Shah with the rosy tinge of delight, a band of musicians sang two verses of Ameer Khoosrow, descriptive of royal festivity; when the King, delighted beyond measure, commanded Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory to give the three hundred performers a draft for a gratuity on the treasury of the Raja of Beejanuggur." The minister, though he considered the order arose out of the effects of the wine the King had drank, yet, in compliance with his humour, he wrote, but did not despatch it. Mahomed Shah, suspecting the truth from the minister's manner, enquired, on the next day if the demand had been sent to the Raja, and being answered in the negative, he exclaimed,

14. Four millions sterling.

15. The abstinence particularly alluded to is the refraining from the use of fermented liquors, which appear to have been very commonly drank by the Mahomedan kings in India.

"Think you a word without meaning ever escapes my lips? the order I gave you arose not from intoxication but from serious design." Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, having accordingly affixed the royal seal to the document, despatched it by express messengers to the Raja of Beejanuggur. The Raja, naturally haughty, and proud of his independence, seated the person presenting the order for the money on an ass, and having exhibited him through all the quarters of Beejanuggur, sent him back, after he had been subjected to every mark of contempt and derision. He also gave immediate orders for assembling his army, and prepared to attack the dominions of the house of Bahmuny. With this intent, he marched with thirty thousand horse, three thousand elephants, and one hundred thousand foot, to the vicinity of the fortress of Adony, from whence he sent detachments to lay waste the territory of the Mahomedans.

The troops in Bidur and Berar not having yet rested from the fatigues of a two-years' campaign, the King contented himself with calling, for the present, on Khan Mahomed, with the division from Dowlutabad; at the same time he sent his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah, with a fifth part of the plunder of Vellurputtun, to Sheikh Mahomed Siraj-ood-Deen, to be distributed among Syuds[16] and holy men, asking their prayers for his success against the unbelievers. He also collected all the religious men of Koolburga; and, accompanied by them, he proceeded to the grand mosque on a Friday, where he pronounced, with much devoutness, a form of invocation for the success of the army of Islam; and having fixed on a lucky instant for his march, he ordered his camp to be formed without the city.

The Raja of Beejanuggur, meanwhile, in spite of the rainy season, and the inundation of the Krishna, arrived before the fortress of Moodkul, to which he laid siege. The garrison, consisting of six hundred men of approved valour, left nothing undone for the defence of the place; but the governor, a relation of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, having formerly disgusted the troops by his severity, disaffection arose amongst them, and the officers became careless of their duty; the fort, in consequence, fell into the hands of the enemy; who, with a rancorous cruelty, put men, women, and children to the sword, with the exception

16. Immediate descendants of the Prophet Mahomed through his daughter Fatima.

of one man only, who escaping, brought intelligence of the event to the King.

Mahomed Shah, on hearing of this disaster, was seized with rage and indignation, and commanded the unfortunate messenger to be instantly put to death, declaring he would never look on a wretch who could survive the sight of the slaughter of so many brave companions. On the same day, without waiting for the assemblage of his whole army, in the month of Jumad-ool-Awul, A.H. 767 (January, A.D. 1368), he began his march, and took a solemn oath, that he would not sheath the sword till he had put to death one hundred thousand infidels, in revenge for the massacre of the faithful.

When he reached the banks of the Krishna, he swore by the Power who had created him, and had exalted him to dominion, that food or sleep should be unlawful for him, till he had crossed that river, in face of the enemy, and by the blessing of Heaven, having routed their army, had gladdened the souls of the martyrs of Moodkul. Having proclaimed his son, the Prince Mujahid Shah, his successor, he resigned all his elephants, except twenty, to the Prince, and giving him his advice, sent him back to Koolburga. He then crossed the river, with nine thousand chosen horse.

The Raja of Beejanuggur, notwithstanding his vast army, consisting of thirty thousand cavalry besides infantry, was so alarmed, that he sent off his treasure and elephants towards his capital the next morning, preparatory to engaging or retreating, as he might deem most advisable. The night being stormy and heavy rain falling, the elephants and other beasts of burden stuck frequently in the mud, and were unable to advance above four miles from the camp. Mahomed Shah, hearing of the movement of the Hindoos, immediately marched against them, leaving his tents standing. Towards the dawn he arrived at the Raja's camp; and the alarm being given, so great was the consternation, that the infidels fled, with the utmost precipitation, to Adony, leaving everything behind them. Mahomed Shah fell in with that part of the camp composing their market and baggage, and put to death, without distinction, men, women, and children, free and slave, to the number of seventy thousand souls. According to the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen, two thousand elephants, three hundred

gun-carriages[17] and battering rams, seven hundred Arabian horses, and a sing'hasun set with jewels, were included in the booty of the King,—all other articles were left to the officers and soldiers. Mahomed Shah, regarding this victory as the omen of others, after passing the rainy season near Moodkul, and being reinforced by Khan Mahomed from Dowlutabad, marched against the infidels in Adony; on the plains of which place, near the Toongbudra, the Raja of Beejanuggur had taken up his station, having given the command of Adony to his sister's son. Here he had collected a great army of soldiers, together with many elephants, and all the munitions of war which he possessed.

Mahomed Shah, by the advice of Khan Mahomed, did not lay siege to Adony, but collecting a train of artillery which had never till then been employed by the faithful in the Deccan, he gave the command to Mookurrib Khan, son of Sufdur Khan Seestany, attaching to him a number of Toorks and Europeans acquainted with the art of gunnery. As it was common for bands of thieves to steal into the camp at night, and murder and

17. If any reliance is to be placed on Moolla Dawood Bidury the author of the Tohfut-oos-Sultateen, guns were used at this time by the Hindoos; and in a subsequent passage, it is remarked that the Mahomedans used them for the first time during the next campaign. But I am disposed to doubt the validity of both these statements. From the latter passage it seems possible, indeed, that the Mahomedans might have procured guns from the West in 1368, because they are said to have been used eighteen years previously by Edward III. at the battle of Cressy, though it is very improbable; and Ferishta, in stating it to be the first time the Mahomedans employed them, also observes, that Toorks and Europeans, skilled in gunnery, worked the artillery. That guns were in common use before the arrival of the Portuguese in India, in 1498, seems certain, from the mention made of them by Faria-e-Souza, who represents the Moorish vessels in India, in 1502, bearing down "upon the vessel of Peter de Ataide, called the, St. Peter, into whom she poured her shot, and then made away, and was pursued and taken off the bay of Cananor." Vol. i. chap. v. p. 59. Stevens's translation, Lond. ed. 1694. Faria-e-Souza, who accompanied the early Portuguese to India, writes, in chap. ix. p. 99. ibid. "The Moors of Sumatra, Malacca, and the Moluccoes, (by which last appellation he means those princes bearing the title of Moolk, that is, the several kings of the Deccan,) were well disciplined, and much better stored with artillery than we that attacked them, A.D. 1506." All these circumstances, however, do not lead to the conclusion that the Hindoos had guns before they were introduced from the West by the Mahomedans, who adopted their use from Europe.

maim men and horses, he commanded the elephants taken from the Raja to be sent to Koolbugra, desiring the officers to return all their baggage to that place, except what was absolutely necessary. The artillery was placed round the camp, connected by strong ropes and chains; and regular patroles went the rounds during the night.

In a short time, the King, crossing the Toongbudra, entered the territory of Beejanuggur, now, for the first time, invaded by a Mahomedan sovereign in person. The Raja, Krishn Ray, on receiving the intelligence, summoned the nobles of his court, and consulted on the best mode of opposing the Mahomedans. It was agreed, that Bhoj-Mul, a maternal relative of the Raja, and commander of his army, should conduct the war. Bhoj-Mul, vain to excess on receiving this commission, asked the Ray, if he should bring the Moslem king alive a prisoner into his presence, or present him only his head upon a spear. Krishn Ray replied, that a living enemy, under any circumstance, was not desirable; he therefore desired that he might be put to death as soon as he should take him. Bhoj-Mul, having received his dismissal, marched to oppose Mahomed Shah with forty thousand horse, and five hundred thousand foot. He commanded the brahmins to deliver every day to the troops discourses on the merit of slaughtering the Mahomedans, in order to excite the zeal of his soldiers. He encouraged the brahmins, also, to arouse their indignation, and confirm their hatred of the enemy, by representing them as the destroyers of temples, and of the images of their gods, and also as the slaughterers of cows.[18]

Mahomed Shah, when he arrived within fifteen coss of the Hindoo camp, commanded his general, Khan Mahomed, to muster the troops, who were found to consist of fifteen thousand cavalry, and fifty thousand infantry, of which ten thousand horse, and thirty thousand foot, besides artillery, advanced under Khan Mahomed. On the 14th of Zeekad, A.H. 767 (August 22, A.D. 1366), the armies met, and an engagement ensued, which lasted from dawn of day till the sun declined, and great numbers were slain on both sides. Moosa Khan and Eesy Khan, who commanded the right and left wings of Khan Mahomed's line both

18. To those persons acquainted with the religious feelings of the Hindoos it is unnecessary to state, that they consider the slaying of a cow the most heinous of all sacrileges.

sipped of the cup of martyrdom, and their troops broke, a misfortune which had nearly given a fatal blow to the army of Islam. At this instant, Mahomed Shah appearing with three thousand fresh horse restored the spirits of Khan Mahomed, as also of the disordered soldiers, who rallied and joined him.

Mookurrib Khan, having thrown the enemy's line into some confusion with the artillery, asked permission to charge and complete the rout with the cavalry. Khan Mahomed detached several chiefs to his support, when the whole advancing with rapidity, the infidels were reduced to short weapons, such as swords and daggers. At this time, an elephant, named Sheer Shikar,[19] belonging to Khan Mahomed, became unruly, rushed into the centre of the enemy's line, where he was stopped by the elephant of Bhoj-Mul, whose driver was killed. Khan Mahomed, with five hundred horse, followed, and the enemy's elephants turning on their own line, threw their ranks into confusion. Bhoj-Mul, after receiving a mortal wound, was carried off the field, and his followers no longer made resistance. The infidels, seeing their centre broken, fled on all sides. The scimitars of the faithful had scarcely been sheathed, when the King appearing, the massacre of the unbelievers was renewed in so relentless a manner, that pregnant women, and children at the breast even, did not escape the sword. Mahomed Shah, halting a week on the field of battle, circulated accounts of his victory throughout his own dominions. In prosecution of his vow, he marched towards the camp of Krishn Ray, who thinking himself unequal to the contest, retreated for shelter to the woods and mountains. The King followed him from place to place for three months, putting to death all whom he met, without distinction. At length Krishn Ray threw himself into Beejanuggur, his capital. The King soon arrived with his army near that city. There he was molested by the infidels, who hovered round the camp every night, not daring to attack him during the day; and at the end of a month, finding it impracticable to take the place, or draw the enemy out of their works, the King, pretending violent illness, gave orders for retreating. The army having moved, Krishn Ray, with his troops, sallied from the city, shouting from all sides, "Your King is dead : the prayers of our bramins have

19. The Tiger-hunter renowned for its courage and prowess in that sport.

been heard, and we will not suffer a single man of you to escape us." In this manner the army crossed the Toongbudra, followed closely by the enemy, till at length the King, encamping on a spacious plain, commanded the army to halt, and Krishn Ray also took up a position at no great distance. Mahomed Shah, now conceiving it a fit opportunity to avow his intentions, gave a public audience to satisfy his officers of his welfare, who were before somewhat dispirited, being unacquainted with the stratagem. After this, retiring early, under pretence of weakness, and calling his principal generals into his private apartments, he commanded them to arm their troops, and wait his orders at a certain place, to which about midnight he repaired, and after forming them into various parties, he proceeded to surprise the enemy's camp.

Krishn Ray and his officers had passed the night in drinking, and in the company of dancing girls and singers, and were fatigued and overcome with sleep, from which they were suddenly roused at the dawn of morning, by the groans of the dying, and the shouts of the heroes of the faith, which reached to the heavens. Krishn Ray, finding it vain to keep order among his panic-struck soldiers, fled, and did not draw rein till he reached his capital. On this occasion, Mahomed Shah acquired immense booty from the plunder of the camp. About ten thousand of the enemy were slain in the pursuit; but the King's thirst for vengeance being still unsatisfied, he commanded the inhabitants of every place around Beejanuggur to be massacred. The bramins and principal Hindoo officers, seeing such devastation, rose against Krishn Ray; complaining that his reign was inauspicious; that their honour was lost; that ten thousand bramins had been already slain, and that not a remnant of population would be left. Krishn Ray replied, that he had done nothing without their advice, but that he had no power to control fate, and was ready to accede to whatever they wished; upon which they desired him to make peace, as his father had done, and endeavour to appease the enemy. Krishn Ray accordingly despatched ambassadors to the King, confessing his errors, and entreating pardon; but Mahomed Shah refused to listen to any overtures.

At this time, a favourite remarked to the King, that he had only sworn to slaughter one hundred thousand Hindoos, and not

to destroy their race altogether. The King replied, that though twice the number required by his vow might have been slain, yet till the Ray satisfied the musicians, he would neither make peace nor spare the lives of his subjects. To this the ambassadors, who had full powers, immediately agreed, and the money was paid on the instant. Mahomed Shah then said, "Praise be to God, that what I ordered has been performed. I would not let a light word be recorded of me in the pages of history."

The ambassadors, seeing the King pleased, bowed their foreheads to the ground, and besought him to hear from them a few words. Being permitted to speak, they observed, that no religion required the innocent to be punished for the crimes of the guilty, more especially helpless women and children: if Krishn Ray had been in fault, the poor and feeble inhabitants had not been accessary to his errors. Mahomed Shah replied, that the decrees of Providence had ordered what had been done, and that he had no power to alter them. The ambassadors observed, that as the bestower of kingdoms had conferred on him the government of the Deccan, it was probable that his successors and the princes of the Carnatic might long remain neighbours, which made it advisable to avoid cruelty in war; and they proposed, therefore, that a treaty should be made not to slaughter the helpless and unarmed inhabitants in future battles. Mahomed Shah, struck with the good sense of this proposal, took an oath, that he would not, hereafter, put to death a single enemy after a victory, and would bind his successors to observe the same line of conduct. From that time to this, it has been the general custom in the Deccan to spare the lives of prisoners in war, and not to shed the blood of an enemy's unarmed subjects. Mahomed Shah, after he had thus received satisfaction, returned to Koolburga, visiting on his way Sheikh Siraj-ood-Deen, to whose prayers, as well as to the charities sent to Mecca with his mother, he ascribed his successes over the Hindoos.

Mahomed Shah had not been above five days at his capital when he was obliged to march to Dowlutabad, to quell a rebellion in that quarter. The King's lately assumed illness on his retreat from Beejanuggur, at a time when he was hemmed in by the enemy, had given rise to a report of his death, which circulated throughout every part of his dominions, and induced

several adventures to excite disturbances. Among this number was Beiram Khan Mazinderany, whom the late King had honoured with the appellation of Son. Finding the country of Dowlutabad empty of troops, he combined with Govind Dew Maratta,[20] a chief of the Naiks, to raise the standard of revolt; and some of the chiefs of Berar secretly sent troops to assist him, as also did the Raja of Buglana. Elated by his success, he appropriated to his own use some years' revenues of Mahrut[21] and Berar, that Mahomed Shah had deposited in the fortress of Dowlutabad, with which he levied troops. Most of the towns and districts of Mahrut fell into his hands; which having divided among his adherents, he, in a sort time, collected nearly ten thousand horse and foot.

Mahomed Shah wrote to Beiram Khan, that as he supposed the report of his death, with the temptations held out to him by evil-disposed persons, had alone led him to rebel, he promised, if he returned to his allegiance, to pardon him and his adherents. This letter was conveyed by Syud Julal-ool-Deen and Shah Mullik, two officers of the court, who were especially deputed to induce him to submit. Beiram Khan, on receipt of the King's letter, held a consultation with Govind Dew, who observed, that Mahomed Shah was by nature haughty, and jealous of authority, and that after having offended him by such acts of disobedience, it was by no means prudent to rely on his mercy; therefore, as they possessed such a fortress as Dowlutabad, and the Raja of Buglana and the chiefs of Berar had made common cause with them, it was imprudent to hesitate, and better to take every measure to effect their designs, and render themselves independent. Beiram Khan, adopting the specious arguments of Govind Dew, heeded not the King's admonitions, but increased his preparations for war, so that Syud Julal-ood-Deen and Shah Mullik returned to the King, and submitted to him an account of the failure of the objects of their mission.

20. Dew or Diva, a term commonly applied to the divinity, was sometimes used to signify royalty also. Thus we find the Raja of Dewgirry or Divagirry (the Royal Hill) was called Ram Dew and his son, Shunkul Dew: vide vol. i p. 172, &c. The Rajah of Tulingana was called Vinaik Dew, vol. ii. p. 186. At the present day, the rajas of Rajamundry, and many of those residing along the eastern coast of the peninsula of India, assume the same title.

21. Ferishta always writes Mahrut for Mahrashtra.

Mahomed Shah, enraged at this contumacious behaviour, despatched Musnud Ally and Khan Mahomed, with the bulk of his army, to the north, intending to follow himself shortly after. Beiram Khan, accompanied by Govind Dew and many of the chiefs of Berar and Buglana, moved to Peitun; where, by liberal promises, they collected a great host of needy adventurers. Meanwhile, Musnud Ally, who was a veteran of much experience, not thinking it advisable to engage hastily, halted at Sewgam, where Beiram Khan made an attempt to surprise his camp, but finding the royalists prepared, he retreated without effecting his object. Musnud Ally, in his turn, resolved to attack the enemy, and communicated his intention to Mahomed Shah, then engaged on a hunting excursion in the hills on his frontiers. On receipt of his general's letter, the King prepared to advance with his attendants, in all about three hundred; his ministers, however, alarmed for his safety, represented, that as from Musnud Ally's despatches the rebels appeared to be in force it would be prudent to proceed slowly, and admit of time for the army to join, in order to make the attack with effect. The King observed, that though there was some justice in their observations, his determination was fixed, saying, that as he had penetrated into the very centre of Tulingana, with only one thousand horse and punished his enemies, and that with only nine thousand men he had driven the hosts of Beejanuggur to the hills and woods and returned successful, surely three hundred men were sufficient to cope with a few rebels. Accordingly he mounted his favourite steed Shub-deez, and moved with such expedition, that he reached Peitun at the instant when Musnud Ally was in the act of engaging the insurgents. The news of the King's approach soon became known; and the Raja of Buglana, clapping spurs to his horse, deserted the cause, followed by all his dependants; while Beiram Khan and Govind Dew, confounded at this defection of their ally, fled from the field without drawing a single bowstring on the royalists, and hastened to seek shelter in the fortress of Dowlutabad. While the victorious troops were in the fact of plundering the enemy's camp, the King arrived with seventy followers and some elephants, and encamped till the next day. He evinced his approbation by marks of honour which he conferred on the victors; and in the

morning moved with such rapidity, that before evening he arrived before Dowlutabad, and took measures to besiege it.

Beiram Khan and Govind Dew, aroused from their dream of ambition, were at a loss how to act. During the night they quitted the fort, and going to the house of Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen, besought his advice. The Sheikh replied, that retiring to the fortress, and shutting themselves up, was far from prudent; that they had better take their wives and children by the hand, and disregarding their effects, make their escape to Guzerat while they yet had it in their power. In compliance with this advice, they sent messages to their families, recommending them to repair to the Sheikh's house without delay. The women, who had previously received some intimation on the subject, brought with them horses and other necessaries for their journey. The Sheikh, spreading his hands over the heads of Beiram Khan and Govind Dew, desired them to depart, saying, that by the blessing of God they would be safe; and they accordingly proceeded on their way towards Guzerat.

In the morning Mahomed Shah, hearing of their flight, pursued them with four hundred horse, but not overtaking them, he returned full of wrath to Dowlutabad, where he vented his anger against Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen, with whom he was before dissatisfied on the following account :—On his accession to the throne, Mahomed Shah had demanded a declaration of allegiance from all the holy men of his kingdom, who had tendered it, with the exception only of this Sheikh. He refused to do so because the King drank wine, and was guilty of excesses forbidden by the divine law. On the present occasion, he sent a messenger to order the holy man to his presence, and required him either to take the oath of allegiance, or give an assurance, under his own hand, of his fidelity. The Sheikh, without replying to the message, related the following anecdote to the King's messenger, to be conveyed to the King :—Once a scholar, a Syud, and a prostitute, were taken prisoners by infidels, who promised to give them quarter if they would worship their idols; if not, they threatened them with instant death. The scholar, agreeably to the casuistry of the schools of logic, reconciled himself to perform the ceremony, and the Syud thought it must be right to follow so worthy an example. The prostitute, however, said, "I have been all my life sinning, and am neither a scholar

nor a Syud, to be able to hope for mercy for this additional crime." She refused, therefore, and suffered death. The Sheikh observed, "My case is like hers, and I am resigned to the King's resentment, but will neither come into his presence, nor acknowledge allegiance to him." Mahomed Shah, being more incensed, commanded him to quit the city. The Sheikh obeyed, and repairing to the tomb of Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen, seated himself thereon, and exclaimed, "Where is the man who dares to drive me hence?"[22] The King, admiring his resolution, repented of his conduct, and sent the following verse to him by the Sudr-oos-Shureef:

"I am submissive to thee, be thou submissive to me."

The Sheikh replied, that if Mahomed Shah Ghazy[23] whould, like his father, promote the observance of the holy ordinances, by discouraging vice, and abstaining from wine in public, and by permitting the judges to execute the laws against those persons who offended in these instances, no one would be dearer to him. He also sent the following verse, written in his own hand:

"While I live I would do nought but good.
I can have no views but loyalty and attachment.
Even to those who have injured me,
If in my power, I would for evil return good."

Mahomed Shah was so much pleased with the appellation of Ghazy, given him by the Sheikh, that he commanded it to be hereafter added to his titles.

Having entrusted the government of Mahrut to Khan Mahomed, the King returned to Koolburga, when he commanded all the distilleries in his dominions to be destroyed, and engaged earnestly in requiring a strict observance of the laws. He determined to root out entirely the banditti of the Deccan, so famous in all former ages for their daring robberies on caravans. For which purpose, orders were issued to the governors of provinces to use their utmost endeavours to clear the country of thieves and highwaymen, by putting them to death without distinction, and to send their heads to the capital, as examples. The consequence was, that in six or seven months there remained not a

22. The shrines of holy men have in all ages been used as sanctuaries, though, as in the case of Thomas-à-Becket, they have not always been respected.

23. The term Ghazy has been before explained. Vide note p. 115.

vestige of these offenders within the King's dominions. Nearly eight thousand heads were brought to Koolburga from different parts, and were piled up near the city gates.

Mahomed Shah, having attended to the admonitions of Sheikh Ein-ood-Deen, maintained a friendly correspondence with that venerable personage throughout his reign, observing towards him great deference and respect. The Sheikh, on his part, frequently sent exhortations to the King, in which he did not hestitate to deliver his sentiments with honest freedom.

The Rajas of Beejanuggur and Tulingana, as well as all the zemindars of the Deccan, being now confirmed in their submission, and remitting their stipulated tributes, the kingdom was free from war; and Mahomed Shah, laying aside all views of further conquests, employed himself in promoting the happiness of his subjects; to effect which, he made a tour annually through one quarter of his dominions, attended by the governor, who escorted him back to the capital. In these excursions he was employed in investigating the state of the resources, in redressing complaints, and in executing plans of public utility. During his reign all ranks of people reposed in security and peace. Sensible of the value of a just king, they were grateful and obedient to his authority, and prayed earnestly for his long reign. But as the wolf of death, greedy of prey, constantly seizes a fresh Joseph, and a Jacob becomes plunged in grief, so the claws of the savage darted on his victim, and on the 19th of Zeekad, A.H. 776 (March 21, A.D. 1375), snatched the King from the abode of this vain world, and overwhelmed mortals, like Jacob for his son, with lamentations and tears for his loss. Mahomed Shah was buried by the side of his father,—and the words

"All is vanity"

were engraved by his orders on his tomb. Happy the King who passes a reign like his, and of whom such memorials remain. He was respected in his life, and after his death remembered on account of his virtues.

According to the Siraj-oot-Towareekh, so much treasure and such numbers of elephants, as were collected in the household of Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, were never possessed by any other prince of that dynasty. He had three thousand male and female elephants; and in the reign of any other king we only read of two thousand. The sums of gold accumulated by him, according

to the same author, exceeded those acquired by other princes a full half. No prince before him ever so far reduced the rajas and zemindars of the Carnatic, from whom he wrested much of the accumulated riches of seven hundred years; and it is computed that in his reign nearly five hundred thousand unbelievers fell by the swords of the warriors of Islam, by which the population of the Carnatic was so reduced, that it did not recover for several ages.[24]—Mahomed Shah reigned seventeen years.

MUJAHID SHAH BAHMUNY

Mujahid, the son of Mahomed Shah, by the daughter of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, succeeded his father on the throne of the Deccan. This prince possessed great bodily strength, was tall of stature, and in dignity and majesty of aspect surpassed all the princes of his race. He was unrivalled in valour, in fortitude, and strength of constitution. He spoke the Toorky language fluently, which he acquired from his favourite companions, who were for the most part either Toorks or Persians. He was fond of archery from his infancy, and of conversing on military subjects. While a youth, he broke open the door of his father's treasury, and taking from it some bags of gold, divided it among his play-fellows. The treasurer discovering the theft, informed Mahomed Shah Bahmuny, who, enraged at so vicious a propensity in his son, sent Moobarik, his spice-bearer, to call the Prince before him. Upon his arrival, he saw his father was angry, and guessed the cause; but unable to excuse himself, he remained silent, though he received from the King several stripes with a whip, that drew blood. When he was dismissed, he went and complained against Moobarik to his mother; observing, that if he had informed him of the discovery, he could have made her his intercessor, or have contrived an excuse to evade going to his father's presence till his passion was abated. The Queen observed that the servant was not in fault. The Prince made no reply; and stifling his resentment, behaved to Moobarik with his

24. The exultation of Ferishta over the slaughter of five hundred thousand of the human race, because they were infidels, tends to show how deluded the minds of the greatest men may become by the force of precept and education.

usual courtesy. At the end of a week, he took an opportunity of observing to him, that he had heard he possessed great bodily strength, and had overcome the most celebrated wrestlers by the force of his grasp, on which account the Prince said he wished to wrestle with him. Moobarik consented, and a struggle ensued, in which Mujahid Shah threw him to the ground with such violence, that in the fall he broke his neck, and died. This happened when the Prince was only fourteen years old.

At the age of nineteen, Mujahid Shah succeeded to the throne; immediately after which he made a pilgrimage to Dowlutabad, in order to pay his devotions at the tomb of Sheikh Boorhan-ood-Deen; and having chosen Sheikh Zein-ood-Deen for his spiritual guide, returned to his capital. On this occasion, becoming suspicious of Khan Mahomed, he appointed Azim Hoomayoon, governor of Dowlutabad, in his stead, and recalled the former chief to the presence. He also wrote to Krishn Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, that as some forts and districts, between the Krishna and Toongbudra rivers were held by them in participation, which occasioned constant disagreements, it was expected the Raja would, for the future, forego his claims to all territory east of the Toongbudra, together with the fort of Bunkapoor, and some other places. Krishn Ray, in reply to this demand, said, that the forts of Rachore, Moodkul, and others, between the rivers, had for ages belonged to his family; that the King would do wisely, therefore, to surrender them, confine his boundary to the north bank of the Krishna, and restore the elephants which Mahomed Shah had acquired in war, owing to the ill conduct of his servants; by which concessions, their present feelings towards each other might be changed into friendship.

Mujahid Shah, on receipt of this answer, opened the treasures of his father, and made great additions to his army. He entrusted the management of the civil affairs of his government to Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, and resolved to march to Beejanuggur. When the troops of Dowlutabad, Bidur, and Berar, were collected, he moved to the south, carrying with him a great treasure, and five hundred elephants. Crossing the Krishna and Toongbudra rivers, he arrived before the fortress of Adony, the strongest fortification in the Deccan, which he ordered Sufdur Khan Seestany to besiege with the army of Berar, and sent the Ameer-ool-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and Azim Hoo-

mayoon, with their troops, onwards in the direction of Beejanuggur. Upon hearing that Krishn Ray was encamped on the banks of the Toongbudra, the King advanced towards him, by slow marches, and with great caution, while the Hindoo Prince made preparations for an engagement.

At this time Mujahid Shah was informed that an enormous tiger daily committed great ravages, and that many travellers had been killed by him on the road near his den, so that passengers had now left off proceeding by that road. The King, naturally fond of hunting, required to be conducted to the spot of the tiger's retreat. He forebade any person accompanying him without permistsion; and he went with seven attendants only, on foot, to the monster's lair: the tiger, perceiving these strangers, roared horribly, and stalked towards them. The King commanded his followers to halt and reserve their missiles, while he advanced some paces alone, and dischargiing an arrow, it entered the side of the animal, which fell dead. Mujahid Shah declared, that had he missed his aim it was his intention to have attacked the tiger with sword and dagger. As it appeared extraordinary that a single arrow should kill a tiger, the King commanded his attendants to open the body, that he might ascertain what vital part had been pierced; which being done, the arrow was found to have entered the heart.

The idolaters of Beejanuggur, hearing of this exploit, were struck with dread; and though they had advanced to give battle, they now altered their intentions, and determined on keeping close in the woods, from the cover of which they might annoy the faithful, and be themselves secure. With this view Krishn Ray, abandoning Beejanuggur to the charge of his ministers, withdrew with his army to the forests on the south of the city.

Mujahid Shah, having heard much of the beauty of the city, advanced to Beejanuggar; but conceiving it imprudent to besiege it at present, he moved in pursuit of the enemy. Krishn Ray fled through the woods and hills towards Seeta Bund Rameswur[25]

25. It is probable both the author from whom Ferishta derives his authority as well as himself, have mistaken the Rameswur near Sudashewgur, on the western coast south of Goa, for the real Seeta Bund Rameswur, or Ramiserum, situated opposite Ceylon, on the extreme southern part of the eastern coast of the peninsula. The spot alluded to is called Cape Ramas in our maps, and is within the limits

followed by the King, who cut passages for his cavalry through forests before inaccessible. In this manner, the Ray fled from place to place for six months, but never dared to appear in the open plain. In vain did the favourites of the King represent the pursuit as fruitless, and destructive to the troops. At last his good fortune prevailed; the health of Krishn Ray and his family became affected by the pestilential air of the woods, and they were warned by the physicians to quit them. He had entertained hopes that the King would have been taken ill, from the unwholesome climate, and would have been obliged to retreat, but the evil fell on himself. Driven by necessity, therefore, Krishn Ray retired by secret paths to his capital of Beejanuggur; whither he was pursued by an army despatched after him; while the King, accompanied by the Ameer-ool-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and five thousand men, went to view Seeta Bund Rameswur.

Mujahid Shah, on this occasion, repaired mosque[26] which had been built by the officers of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy. He broke down many temples of the idolaters, and laid waste the country; after which he hastened to Beejanuggur. To that city there were two roads, one fit for the passage of armies, the other narrow and difficult. As the former was lined with ambushes, he chose the latter; through which he marched, with a select body of troops, and appeared suddenly in the suburbs of the city. Krishn Ray, astonished at his boldness, sent myriads of his people to defend the streets. The King drove them before him, and gained the bank of a piece of water, which alone divided him from the citadel, wherein Krishn Ray resided. Near this spot was an eminence, on which stood a temple, covered with

of the ancient kingdom of Beejanuggur. The same mistake occurs in vol. i. p. 214.

26. Never having seen the sea, it was quite natural the King should avail himself of this opportunity of visiting Rameswur. I was informed by a native, on whom I think I can rely, that a very ancient Mahomedan mosque still exists, and is the only monument of that race in the neighbourhood. As the place is within our jurisdiction, it would be an object of curious research to verify the circumstance, for in an historical point of view the question is not without importance. The erection of the mosque in the reign of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy is alluded to in his reign, vol. i. p. 214.—Ferishta states it was standing in his days; and it seems probable to be the same to which my informant alluded.

plates of gold and silver, set with jewels: it was much venerated by the Hindoos, and called, in the language of the country, Puttuk. The King, considering its destruction a religious obligation, ascended the hill, and having raised the edifice, became possessed of the precious metals and jewels therein. The idolaters, on seeing this object of their veneration destroyed, raised shrieks and lamentations to the sky; and obliging Krishn Ray to head them, advanced resolutely in great numbers. Upon which the King, laying aside his umbrella of state, and with one of his armour-bearers only, an Afghan named Mahmood, crossed a small rivulet to observe the motions of the infields. At this moment, a Hindoo, recognising the King from the horse he rode, resolved, by revenging the destruction of his country's gods, to gain immortal renown; he accordingly approached, unperceived, through the hollows and broken ground, along the banks of the piece of water before described, and was in the act of charging the King at full speed; when Mujahid Shah, perceiving him, made a sign to Mahmood Afghan, who, without delay, interposed himself. Mahmood's horse rearing, fell to the ground, and gave to his antagonist a momentary advantage. On this Mujahid Shah advanced with the quickness of lightning. The Hindoo changed his object, and aimed a heavy stroke at the King, raising at the same instant a shout of triumph, which caused the spectators to believe his blow was effective. Luckily, a helmet of iron saved the King's head, who inflicted such a wound on his enemy, that he was divided from the shoulder to the navel, and fell dead from his horse. On which the King, having replaced Mahmood on his charger, joined the army, amid the acclamations of his friends, and the admiration of the enemy, who could not withhold their applause for such an instance of gallantry.

Krishn Ray, advancing with his troops, the King committed his right wing to the Ameer-ool-Omra, Bahadur Khan, and his left to Azim Hoomayoon. Sufdur Khan began the attack with the fireworks, and after desperate efforts, and much slaughter on both sides, the enemy was put to flight. The conquerors had scarcely reposed from their fatigues, when the brother of Krishn Ray arrived at the city from his government, with a reinforcement of twenty thousand cavalry, and a body of infantry. Krishn Ray, collecting his broken troops, marched once more against the King. Many instances of valour were displayed, and numberless soldiers fell in each army. Among the faith-

ful, Mookurrib Khan,[27] with many officers of rank, tasted the sherbet of martyrdom. Mujahid Shah was seen in person in all parts of the field, animating his troops by his example. Wherever he guided his sable steed, there the idolaters lay prostrate beneath his quivering lance. The King's uncle, Dawood Khan, had been left with six thousand horse, and some infantry, to occupy a post called Dhuna Sodra. On learning that the engagement had begun at dawn, and that the enemy were not yet defeated, perceiving also that reinforcements were joining them every instant, he became alarmed for the safety of the King, and quitting his station joined in the battle, in which he behaved with surprising gallantry. He had three horses killed under him, and was frequently obliged to fight on foot. The King, on seeing the standard of Dawood Khan, was far from pleased, but stifled his resentment till victory declared for the faithful: he then called Dawood Khan before him, and gave him a harsh reprimand for quitting his station; observing, that had the army been defeated, and the enemy in possession of Dhuna Sodra, not a Mussulman could have escaped. The King instantly sent a body of troops to secure this important position; but the Hindoos, taking advantage of Dawood Khan's absence, had alreay taken possession of it; and the officer, conceiving them too strong to be attacked, sent advice to the King. Though forty thousand of the enemy were said to have fallen, yet so heavy had been the loss of the Mahomedans, that the King did not think it prudent to remain longer where he was, and moved his whole army towards Dhuna Sodra, which was evacuated on his approach; when Mujahid Shah, with a choice body of troops, remained in person at the entrance of the pass, until the army had passed in safety, conceiving it likely that Krishn Ray would harass him in the retreat. All those persons who have beheld this country acknowledge that Mujahid Shah, in this expedition, performed an action almost impossible but with the aid of Providence.

The country of Canara (Carnatic) is in length, from north to south, from the Krishna to Seeta Bund Rameswur,[28] six hun-

27. He appears to have been commandant of the fire-works, whether guns or otherwise, and was a native of Asia Minor.

28. The conviction on the mind of Ferishta is clear that the Rameswur mentioned by Moolla Dawood Bidury, and the authors from

dred coss, and its breadth, from west to east, one hundred and fifty, from the shores of the Indian ocean to the borders of Tulingana. The people speak in some parts the Canarese, and in some the Tulingy language, and are so brave that they advance to battle with songs and dances; but their ardour does not last. The country is full of fastnesses and woods, almost impenetrable to troops. The princes of the house of Bahmuny maintained their superiority by valour only; for in power, wealth, and extent of country, the rajas of Beejanuggur greatly exceeded them, especially in the time of Mujahid Shah, when as yet the whole of the country of Tulingana had not fallen under the Bahamuny yoke. The sea port of Goa, the fortress of Belgam, and other places, not included in Carnatic proper, belonged to the Ray of Beejanuggur; and many dictricts of Tul Ghat[29] were in his possession. His country was well peopled, and the subjects submissive to his authority. The Rays of Malabar, Ceylon, and other countries, kept ambassadors at his court, and sent annually rich presents. The ancestors of Krishn Ray had possessed this kingdom for seven hundred years; during which period, being undisturbed by revolutions, and sparing in expense, their treasures so accumulated as to equal those of all the kings of the earth. In the time of Alla-ood-Deen Khiljy, the grandfather of Krishn Ray buried his treasures from religious motives, and a part of them fell into the hands of the chiefs of Alla-ood-Deen, at Seeta Bund Rameswur, where they were concealed.

Mujahid Shah, finding it impossible at present to reduce Beejanuggur, moved from its vicinity with his captives, amounting to between sixty and seventy thousand persons, mostly women; as, in conformity with the engagements of his father,

whom he compiled his history, was that opposite Ceylon. It is, however, certain, that Krishn Ray never possessed any territory beyond Mysore, and that at the period to which Ferishta alludes, a very powerful kingdom of the Tamool dynasty existed at Madura; but of which Ferishta does not appear to have been aware; nor that the people spoke neither Canarese nor Tulingy, but Tamool distinct from both. This is not surprising: he was a native of Persia, a stranger in India; and his information of the Hindoos in general, and of the geography of those parts not visited by Mahomedans, is extremely imperfect, and sometimes erroneous.

29. Tul-Ghat—the country below the mountains, on the sea-coast, called Concan.

he had refrained from slaughter after the heat of battle had subsided. As his troops were lying before Adony, the King marched to that fortress, which he besieged for nine months. A scarcity of water had nearly reduced the garrison to submit, when a heavy rain falling, their distress was relieved, and they continued to hold out. At this time a want of grain prevailed in the royal camp, and great numbers were carried off by fluxes, and other complaints of the bowels, so that the army in general were despondent, and began to demand loudly to be led back to their own country.

Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, hearing at Koolburga of the unpromising state of affairs, petitioned the King for leave to join him with his division, expressing a great desire to see the fortress of Adony, of which he had heard so much. The King consented to his request. After reconnoitring the fortress, he observed to the King in private, that the conquest of such a place, having fifteen forts communicating with each other,[30] was not to be hoped for in a short time; and that the forts between the rivers from Goa to Belgam and Bunkapoor should first be taken. Mujahid Shah accordingly consented to retreat; and Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory having effected a peace between him and the Ray of Beejanuggur, the King moved towards his own dominions, sending the minister on before him to Koolburga.

When the royal army had crossed the Toongbudra, and arrived near the fortress of Moodkul, the King, with some favourites, the companions of his pleasures, went to take the diversion of hunting, attended only by four hundred cavalry. Among the number were Dawood Khan, Sufdur Khan Seestany, and Azim Hoomayoon. It was the King's habit, after hunting all day, to pass the night wherever he was overtaken by darkness.

Dawood Khan, who could not brook the reprimand given him at Beejanuggur for quitting his post, and having also a design on the throne, secretly plotted the King's assassination. In this plot Khan Mahomed and Musaood Khan were also engaged; the former of whom had not forgotten the circumstance of his removal from the government of Dowlutabad, and the preference shown to his rival Azim Hoomayoon, and Musaood

30. It is many years since the translator visited Adony; and although he did not examine it minutely, it appeared one of the most formidable and extensive of the several hill-forts in India.

sought revenge for the death of his father Moobarik, spice-bearer to the late King. These conspirators watched impatiently for an opportunity to execute their design; although such was the vigilance of Sufdur Khan and Azim Hoomayoon, that as yet none had offered. But as the pen of Providence had signed the decree, Mujahid Shah one day dismissed his two faithful officers, against their own wishes, to their governments, and moved with his remaining attendants towards his capital. Arriving on the banks of a river, he halted to amuse himself with fishing; but being suddenly seized with a pain in his eyes, which proved to be ophthalmy, he retired to repose in a tent guarded by the conspirators.

About midnight Dawood Khan, leaving Khan Mahomed and his followers to watch without, entered the tent with Musaood Khan and two other persons. The King was fast asleep, and an Abyssinian slave only was present, employed in rubbing his feet. The slave, startled, shouted aloud on seeing Dawood Khan with a naked dagger in his hand. The King arose, but could not open his eyes, it being the nature of the disorder to close them together. Dawood Khan rushed upon him, and plunged the dagger into his body. The King, in agony, seized the hand in which the assassin held the fatal instrument, and struggled with him. The slave, though unarmed, seized Musaood Khan, who struck him dead with one blow of his sabre; and inflicted another on the King with such effect, that he expired immediately.

> Fortune erects palaces for the body,
> And then hurls it from the throne to the grave.
> The world has beheld numerous scenes like this :
> It was not the first instance of treachery which time
> has witnessed :
> Fate places a crown of gold on the head of one,
> And another she consigns to the silent tomb.

Dawood Khan, having left the body of his murdered nephew and sovereign, went out of the tent, and on the same day required the nobility and officers present to acknowledge him as sovereign. He was, in fact, heir presumptive to the crown, Mujahid Shah having no children. The nobles assented reluctantly, and were rewarded with honours and gratuities, according to custom. In the morning Dawood Khan despatched his nephew's body

to Koolburga; and, after halting two or three days, proceeded to that capital himself, in great state, attended by the army.

The death of Mujahid Shah happened after a reign of not quite three years, on the night of the 17th of Zeehuj, A.H. 779 (April 14, A.D. 1378). Hajy Mahomed Kandahary states, that he received his death-wound from the son of Moobarik the spice-bearer: but God only knows the truth.

DAWOOD SHAH BAHMUNY

THE historians of the Deccan relate, that when the news of Mujahid Shah's assassination was spread abroad dissension arose in every quarter. Sufdur Khan and Azim Hoomayoon, who had reached Beejapoor, uniting, repaired to Koolburga; and having seen the murdered King's body, retired towards Elichpoor and Dowlutabad, carrying with them the royal elephants and horses which were in Beejapoor. At the same time, they wrote to Dawood Shah that they were only retiring to their districts to refresh their troops, and should wait his gracious orders with impatience; stating that whenever he might require them to repair to his presence, they would hasten to court without delay. The army of the Ray of Beejanuggur, upon inlelligence of this event, made great rejoicings; and overrunning the country as far as the Krishna, sat down before the fortress of Rachore. The inhabitants of Koolburga were divided into two parties; the one espousing the cause of Dawood Shah, and the other that of Mahmood, the youngest son of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo, who had been kept in confinement, in the citadel, since the accession of Mujahid Shah.

The Minister, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, observed, that factions would only occasion the ruin of the state, and recommended that since Dawood Shah, the King's nearest relative had already placed the crown on his head, it was prudent to acknowledge him and avoid a civil war. The influence of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, the first minister, and the prop of the house of Bahmuny, had great weight with the officers and people of the capital, who agreed to follow his advice, as did also all the ladies of the haram, excepting only the sister of the late king, grand-daughter, by the mother's side, of the minister himself. This

lady rebuked her father, and called on him to revenge his grandson's death.

Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, having read the Khootba in the name of Dawood Shah, went to meet him, attended by all the nobles, the divines, and respectable persons, on his approach to Koolburga, by whom he was conducted in great state to the city, where he ascended the Tukht-i-Feroza. At the request of the minister, the King permitted that venerable chief to retire from office, and, assuming the direction of affairs, was obeyed by all the nobility, so that his authority seemed fully established. The sister of Mujahid Shah, Roohpurwur Agha however, still refused to acknowledge him; and though Dawood Shah used every means to conciliate her, she remained obdurate to all his overtures. As she had great influence in the haram, of which she was regarded as the head since the death of Mahomed Shah, the King did not venture to treat her otherwise than with deference and respect. At length, this Princess prevailed on a young man who had stood high in the esteem and favour of Muhajid Shah to revenge the blood of his patron at the risk of his own life.

On the 21st of Mohurrum, A.H. 780 (May 19, A.D. 1378), Dawood Shah, when going to offer his devotions at the great mosque of Koolburga, attended by Khan Mahomed, was followed by the assassin; who, placing himself immediately behind him, took advantage of the moment of the King's being prostrate in prayer to draw his sabre; and before the attendants were aware of his design, he wounded him so severely that he died almost instantaneously. Khan Mahomed, seeing the transaction, did not permit the murderer to escape, but with one stroke of his sabre separated his head from his body.—Dawood Shah reigned only one month and five days.

MAHMOOD SHAH BAHMUNY I.

On the death of Dawood Shah, Khan Mahomed resolved to place on the throne Mahomed Sunjur, the late King's son, then in his ninth year. For this purpose, having collected his dependents, he repaired to the palace. Roohpurwur Agha, being informed of his design, shut the gates, vowing that the son of a traitor who had assassinated his sovereign and her brother should not be King

while she had life. At the same time she proclaimed Mahmood, the youngest son of Alla-ood-Deen Shah, heir to the throne. As Mahomed Sunjur was in the palace, and in the power of the Princess, Khan Mahomed was at a loss how to act; and going to the house of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, he endeavoured to prevail on him to join his party, but received for answer, that as Mahomed Sunjur and the Prince Mahmood were both in the hands of Roohpurwur Agha, he thought it advisable, in order to avoid contentions to leave the choice of a king in her hands. Khan Mahomed, aware that the nobles and the people, both Mahomedans and Hindoos, would be guided by the advice of Mullik Seif-ood-Deen, submitted to his wishes, and accompanied him to the palace. The Princess, having caused Mahomed Sunjur to be blinded, to prevent all future attempts in his favour, she, with the concurrence of the ministers and principal officers, placed Mahmood on the throne.

Mahmood Shah was naturally of a disposition humane, virtuous, and just, and his judgment in all affairs of state was usually correct. In the beginning of his reign he caused Khan Mahomed to be confined in the fort of Sagur, regarding him as a promoter of the late seditions; and that chief died not long after in prison. He also commanded Musaood, one of those persons accessary to the murder of Mujahid Shah, to be executed. Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory was prevailed on, after much entreaty, to accept the office of prime minister, and governor of the capital; and the King engaged in no affairs without his advice. This measure proved fortunate; for during his reign no disturbances occurred in the kingdom, nor did any relaxation take place in the energy of the government.

After the coronation, Bahadur Khan, Sufdur Khan, and Azim Hoomayoon,[31] hastened to the capital, where they pledged their allegiance, and made suitable offerings of congratulation; while the Ray of Beejanuggur, having raised the siege of Rachore, agreed to pay to Mahmood the tribute stipulated in the reign of Mahomed Shah Ghazy.

Mahmood Shah had a taste for poetry, and wrote some elegant verses. He also spoke the Persian and Arabic languages fluently. He was neither too much elated with prosperity, nor

31. The three governors of the northern provinces, Dowlutabad, Mahoor, and Kowlas.

did he allow grief to overwhelm him in the hour of misfortune or disappointment. He never cohabited but with one wife, and paid great regard to the opinions of divines, in whose company he delighted. During his reign the poets of Arabia and Persia resorted to the Deccan, and partook of his liberality. Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo, who presided on the seat of justice, once presenting the King with an ode, received a thousand pieces of gold, and was permitted to retire to his own country loaded with wealth and distinction. The fame of the King's taste, his affability, and munificence, spread so widely, that the celebrated poet of Shiraz, Khwaja Hafiz, determined to visit the Deccan, but was prevented, by a train of accidents, which are thus related.

Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo sent to this famous poet a present from the King, and a letter from himself, promising, if he would come to Koolburga he should be handsomely rewarded, and have safe conduct back to Shiraz. Hafiz, from these kind assurances, consented; and having disposed of the articles sent him among his relations and creditors, quitted Shiraz and arrived safely at Lar, where he assisted a friend who had been robbed with part of his ready money. From Lar he was accompanied to Ormus by Khwaja Zein-ool-Abid-Deen Hamdany and Khwaja Mahomed Kaziroony, who were also going to visit Hindoostan. With these persons he took shipping in one of the royal vessels, which had arrived at Ormus from the Deccan; but it had scarcely weighed anchor when a gale of wind arose, and the ship was in danger, and returned to port. Hafiz suffered so much during the storm, that he insisted on being put ashore, and abandoned his voyage. Having written the following verses, he delivered them to his companions to be given to Feiz Oolla Anjoo, after which he returned to Shiraz:

1.

Can all the gold the world bestows,
Though poured by Fortune's bounteous hand,
Repay me for the joys I lose,
The breezes of my native land?

2.

My friends exclaimed, "Oh, stay at home,
"Nor quit this once-beloved spot:
"What folly tempts thee thus to roam—
"To quit Shiraz—desert thy cot?

3.

"Yon royal court will ill repay,
"Though all its gorgeous wealth be given.
"The blessings which you cast away,
"Health and content, the gifts of heaven."

4.

The glare of gems confused my sight—
The ocean's roar I ne'er had heard;
But now that I can feel aright,
I freely own how I have erred.

5.

Though splendid promises were made,
How could I such a dotard prove,
How could I leave my natal glade,
Its wines, and all the friends I love ?

6.

Hafiz abjures the royal court—
Let him but have content and health;
For what to him can gold import,
Who scorns the paths of worldly wealth ?

When Feiz Oolla received this poem, he read it to the King, who was much pleased; and observed, that as Hafiz had set out with the intention of visiting him, he felt it incumbent not to leave him without proofs of his liberality. He therefore entrusted a thousand pieces of gold to Mahomed Kasim Meshidy, one of the learned men at Koolburga, to purchase whatsoever, among the productions of India, was likely to prove most acceptable, in order to send them to the poet at Shiraz.

Mohmood Shah, while a youth, was fond of gaudy apparel; but upon his accession to the throne he always wore plain white robes. He frequently observed, that Kings were only trustees of the state, and that it was a breach of trust to expend more on themselves than necessity required. A famine occurring during his reign, he employed ten thousand bullocks at his private expense constantly going to and from Malwa and Guzerat for grain, which was distributed to the people at a cheap rate. He established orphan schools at the cities of Koolburga, Bidur, Kand'har Elichpur, Dowlutabad, Choul, Dabul, and in some other great towns, with ample foundations for their support. He appointed stipends for the expounders of the scriptures, and gave monthly charity to the blind throughout his dominions. He paid great attention to Sheikh Siraj-ood-Deen, visited him in his last

illness, and after his death, going often to his tomb, offered up prayers, and gave alms to the poor pilgrims who resorted to it.

The King, preferring the blessings of peace to engaging in war, allowed his reign to pass in tranquillity; and from his great wisdom the Deccanies gave him the title of Aristole. During a period of nineteen years, nine months and twenty-four days, only one disturbance occurred, which was quelled in a few months. The circumstance was as follows:

One Baha-ood-Deen, a native of Dowlutabad, of low origin, was appointed to the command of the fortress of Sagur; and his two sons, Mahomed and Khwaja, were honoured with the King's confidence, and eventually raised to the rank of nobles, and attained so much power, that they excited the envy of rivals, who traduced them to the King, who was accordingly deceived; and the brothers, alarmed for their safety went into rebellion, and fled to Sagur with a thousand followers. The father, misguided by his sons, identified himself with them; and levying troops, defeated the royal army sent against him on two occasions, and acquired much booty, which added to his power.

On the third Mahmood Shah despatched Yoosoof Ajdur, a Toorky officer,[32] with a powerful army, who lay before Sagur for two months; during which time the rebels made several desperate sallies. One day, in particular, the elder brother Mahomed, with four hundred brave companions, charged the rear of the royal camp with great success, till he was wounded in the hand by an officer, surnamed Kalapahr, whom he in turn disabled; and although his troops fled, he refused to quit his horse. Baha-ood-Deen coming to the assistance of his son, renewed the action till night, when darkness favoured their retreat. The two bothers, contrary to their custom, however, passed this night imprudently on the edge of the ditch without the fort. A part of the garrison which was in league with the royalists took this opportunity of informing Yoosoof Ajdur of the circumstance, and offered to admit his men by a wicket, and put to death the chief insurgent, Baha-ood-Deen. Yoosoof Toork, having procured a number of volunteers for the service, sent them to the fort; telling them, that if the head of Baha-ood-Deen should be delivered to them

32. The word in the original is Gholam-i-Toork, a purchased Toork; but these slaves have always, among the Mahomedans been raised to the highest offices, and, in many instances, have established themselves in new kingdoms.

by the garrison, they might venture to enter and occupy it; otherwise, to desist and return to camp. At the hour and place appointed, the party within threw over their chief's head, and the King's troops entering the fort made themselves masters of it. At the same time, by a preconcerted signal, the brothers were attacked by the royalists without, and they died fighting desperately. This was the first and last time in which the sword of punishment was drawn from the scabbard during the reign of Mahmood Shah.

The King, not long after this victory, on the 21st of Rujub, A. H. 799 (April 20, A. D. 1397) died of a putrid fever; and on the following day, Mullik Seif-ood-Deen Ghoory, the faithful adherent of the house of Bahmuny, after a life of one hundred and seven years, most of which was devoted to the service of this family, died also. He was buried agreeably to his will in the court of the tomb of Sooltan Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo Bahmuny, and over his grave was laid a terrace of stone.

It is recorded, that Mahmood Shah was a strict promoter of the law of the Koran, permitting no neglect on the smallest point, which occasioned the judges to take cognisance of all deviations in points of morality. One day a woman convicted of adultery was brought to the court of justice to receive sentence; when the judge, asking her how she came to be guilty of so heinous a crime, she replied, "How could I think, O judge! that the act was unlawful? seeing that one man may have four wives, why might not I, also, indulge with equal propriety in four husbands? If I am in error, I repent, and will not offend by a repetition of the crime." The judge was perplexed, and suffered her to escape only with a reproof.—Mahmood Shah Bahmuny reigned nineteen years, nine months, and twenty-four days.

GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN SHAH BAHMUNY

When the Deccan was deprived of the virtuous and just Mahmood Shah, his eldest son, Gheias-ood-Deen, ascended the throne in his seventeenth year. In conformity with the practice of his father, he behaved graciously to all the members of his court, and remembering the old servants and supporters of his family, treated them with favour and kindness. Intelligence of the death of Sufdur Khan Seestany arriving at this time, the King

conferred upon his son, Sulabut Khan, the title of Mujlis Ally, together with his offices and estates, and despatched him to Berar. Ahmud Beg Kuzveeny, Peshwa[33] to Mahomed Khan, son of Azim Hoomayoon, was exalted to the office of Meer Nobut (commander of the guards), and the King displayed great attention towards him. This conduct excited the jealousy of Lallcheen, one of the principal Toorky slaves of the household, who had not only aspired to the dignity of prime minister himself, but desired to obtain the office of Meer Nobut for his son Hussun Khan. Disappointed in these views, he evinced his discontent, and was reproved by the King, who often observed in his presence, that it was highly injudicious to prefer slaves to offices over the heads of men of family, many of whom were descendants of the Prophet, and for his own part he regretted that he had ever departed in this respect from the rule of his ancestors.

Lallcheen treasured up these remarks in his mind, and secretly meditated revenge, though he did not show his mortification openly. This chief had a daughter of exquisite beauty, as celebrated for her wit, as for her skill in music, whom the King was desirous of possessing, and made private overtures to obtain her. Her father, discovering his partiality, invited the young King to an entertainment, and the latter hoped that on this occasion Lallcheen would present his daughter to him. After having entertained his royal guest with much splendour, and while exhilarated with wine, Lallcheen requested the King to command his followers to withdraw, making signs from which the former augured favourably. Eager to posses the slave's beautiful daughter, and immersed in the ocean of excess, the King imprudently commanded his attendants to quit the room. Lallcheen, leaving only one eunuch with wine in the apartment, went in the direction of his haram, and shortly after returned with a naked dagger in his hand. The King, though much intoxicated, attempted to resist, but, unable to walk steadily, he fell, and rolled down a flight of steps, when Lallcheen, seizing him by the hair, with the aid of the eunuch, threw the King on his back, and pierced out his eyes with the point of his dagger. After which, sending for the royal attendants one by one, as if by the

33. This Persian title for prime minister originated in this reign; it was subsequently conferred on the ministers of the kings of Ahmudnuggur, and from them the rajas of Sattara adopted it.

King's order, he put them to death as they entered, to the number of twenty-four persons, most of whom were men of rank; so that no one remained of sufficient power to oppose the murderer's future designs. Lallcheen placed Shums-ood-Deen, the late King's brother, on the throne, and sent the latter in confinement to the fortress of Sagur. This event happened on the 17th of Rumzan, in the year A.H. 799 (June 9, A.D. 1396) after Gheias-ood-Deen had reigned only one month and twenty days.

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN BAHMUNY

SHUMS-OOD-DEEN ascended the throne in his fifteenth year, and, intimidated by the fate of his predecessor, was content with the mere name of king. Lallcheen received the title of Mullik Naib,[34] and the nobility, who had escaped the sword, seeing no safety but in submission, bowed to his authority. The Queen-mother, herself originally a slave, paid the utmost deference to Lallcheen, chiefly from her anxiety for her son's safety. She advised him to adopt every measure recommended by the minister, to whom, she observed, the King owed his crown; and she entreated him not to listen to any malicious suggestions which might be made against his benefactor. Lallcheen, on his part, behaved to the Queen-mother with much respect, frequently sending her valuable presents, and using every means to secure her confidence and favour.

Dawood Shah Bahmuny left behind him three sons, Mahomed Sunjur, (blinded by order of the Princess Roohpurwur Agha, as has been before related,) Feroze Khan, and Ahmud Khan. The two last (by the same mother) were at the time of their father's death between six and seven years of age. Their uncle, Mahmood Shah, had treated them with parental tenderness, and educated them in a manner becoming their rank, taking care to have them accomplished in all military exercises, under the preceptorship of Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo Shirazy. Mahmood Shah, having no son at that time, gave to each of the princes one of his daughters in marriage, and would sometimes say, that Feroze should be his successor. He frequently seated him by his side

34. This title, conferring the fullest power, is equivalent to regent, or protector.

on the throne, and declared that none of his house was more deserving, or likely to add greater lustre to it. When the Almighty blessed Mahmood with sons, he appointed the eldest, Gheias-ood-Deen, his successor, and conjured Feroze Khan and Ahmud Khan, on his death-bed, to be loyal and obedient to him. They accordingly served him with submission and fidelity.

Gheias-ood-Deen Shah being deposed and blinded by Lallcheen, his sisters instigated their husbands to revenge his death; but Lallcheen discovering their intentions, complained to the King, and accused them of treason, hoping, by this means, to excite his fears, and obtain an order for their death. Shums-ood-Deen Shah being deaf to his insinuations, Lallcheen represented the circumstances to the Queen-mother; and observed, that if she did not get rid of the brothers, her son would be dethroned, and she, who was suspected of an attachment to his person, would be exposed to the utmost danger. These arguments had more effect on the Queen than her son, who was at length induced to consent to the seizure of his cousins. They, however, obtained intelligence of the design, and escaped from Koolburga to the fortress of Sagur.

Suddoo, a slave of the royal family, commanded in Sagur. He was rich and powerful, and received the Princes with open arms, omitting nothing to evince his attachment to them. On the next day, Ahmud Khan and Feroze Khan addressed a letter to Shums-ood-Deen Shah, as also other letters to the principal nobility, stating, that their design was only to expel Lallcheen, whose treachery to the late king, and whose other numerous crimes, which had cast dishonour on the royal family, were known to all. They demanded, therefore, that he should be punished, after which, the Princes promised to pay due submission to the authority of Shums-ood-Deen Shah: declaring, till this object were obtained, they would use every means in their power to effect his destruction.

Shums-ood-Deen Shah, consulting his mother and Lallcheen, sent back an answer which served only to inflame the Princes, who, with the assistance of the commander of Sagur, having collected three thousand horse and foot, and with the full confidence that other troops would join them from the capital, marched towards Koolburga. Disappointed in this expectation, they halted for some time on the banks of the Beema, without being aided

by any chief of consequence. It was, however, agreed, that the Princes should advance with the regal canopy carried over the head of Feroze Khan. On this occasion his brother Ahmud Khan was raised to the rank of Ameer-ood-Omra, Suddoo to that of Meer Nobut, and Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo to the office of Vakeel, or minister.

On the arrival of the Princes within four coss[35] of the city, Lallcheen distributed great sums of money to the officers and troops, and marched out with Shums-ood-Deen Shah to oppose them. A severe engagement took place in the vicinity of the town of Merkole, and the brothers, being defeated, fled with their adherents to Sagur. The power and presumption of the Queen-mother and Lallcheen at length grew to such a height, that many of the officers of the court privately offered their services to the brothers, whom they advised to procure pardon from Shums-ood-Deen Shah, and repair to Koolburga, in order to concert plans, at leisure, for forwarding their views.

Feroze Khan, relying on these assurances, sent Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo and Syud Kumal-ood-Deen, with other respectable persons, to the Queen and Lallcheen, representing that fear only had occasioned their rebellion, of which they now sincerely repented; and promising, if the King would send them letters of pardon, to repair to court. The Queen-mother and Lallcheen, well pleased at these overtures, sent the letter required, replete with flattering assurances of forgiveness.

Soon after the arrival of these communication, the two brothers were sitting on a terrace, and consulting whether or not they might venture to go to Koolburga, when a Kashmeerian madman passed by and exclaimed, "I am come, O Feroze of happy auspices, to conduct thee to Koolburga, and to make thee King." Regarding this as a happy omen, they proceeded immediately to Koolburga; where they received dresses and gift from the King. But Lallcheen and Feroze Khan were, from the first moment, suspicious of each other, and continued on their guard.

About a fortnight after their arrival, on Thursday the 23rd of Suffur, in the year A.H. 800 (Nov. 15, A.D. 1397), Feroze Khan came into the durbar, attended by twelve silehdars[36] devoted to his interest, and about three hundred of his other followers at

35. Eight miles.
36. This term is explained in a note, p. 184.

the same time obtained admittance into the fort, one or two at a time. He then sent for his brother Ahmud Khan, upon whose arrival he told Lallcheen, that some of their relatives were come from their estate, in order to pay their respects to the King, and he requested that orders might be given to the porters to admit whomsoever he should send for.

Feroze Khan taking care to occupy Lallcheen's attention in conversation, his brother went out on pretence of introducing his relatives; but in attempting to pass with twelve persons at once he was stopped by the guards, and fancying that the plot was discovered, he resolved to run all hazards, and to attack those on duty. The sentries being overpowered, Ahmud Khan rushed into the durbar, where no opposition was made but by Lallcheen's sons; the rest of the assembly instantly fled. Shums-ood-Deen Shah and his minister hid themselves in a subterraneous apartment; and the three hundred adherents of Feroze Khan, as had been preconcerted, attacked and put to flight the dependents of Lallcheen in the courts of the palace; so that the plan succeeded according to design.

Feroze Khan having put chains on the King and Lallcheen, confined them in the apartment to which they had fled for shelter, while himself, accompanied by the nobility, repaired to the hall of audience, and ascended the Tukht-i-Feroza, thus fulfilling the prediction of the Kashmeerain; and having assumed the title of Feroze Shah Roze Afzoon, begirt himself with the sword of Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo. Having now established his authority, he deprived the late king of his eyes, and confined him in the fortress of Bidur. At the same time sending for Gheias-ood-Deen from his prison at Sagur, he gave over Lallcheen to his resentment. That Prince, though quite blind, having ordered Lallcheen to be placed before him, slew him with one stroke of his sabre. He then entreated Feroze Shah to allow him to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca; which request being acceded to, he sailed from Choul, and arrived in safety at the holy city; where he resided till his death, which occurred many years after, During his lifetime, Feroze made him a liberal allowance of five thousand golden ashruffies,[37] and sent him annually rich clothes.

37. An ashruffy, like the gold mohr of modern times, varied from thirty to forty shillings in value.

The reign of Shums-ood-Deen only lasted five months and seven days.

FEROZE SHAH BAHMUNY[38]

FROM various historians we learn, that Feroze Shah excelled his predecessors in power and magnificence, and that in his reign the house of Bahmuny attained its greatest splendour. He compelled the Ray of Beejanuggur to give him his daughter in marriage, though contrary to the custom of the Hindoos, who marry only in their own cast. Neither did he fail to promote the true faith, having made four-and-twenty glorious campaigns, by the success of which he greatly enlarged his dominions. He took the fort of Bunkapoor, and subjected the greater part of Tulingana to the yoke of Islam. He was the first of the Deccan kings who wore a crown set with jewels in the form of a turban. He prided himself much on his liberality (one of the chief virtues of kings) and acquired thereby great reputation. He was guilty of no offences against the doctrines of religion but that of drinking wine and listening to music. He fasted often, and regularly observed the prescribed ceremonies of the holy law. He would often express contrition for his two bad propensities, but said, that as music elevated his soul to the contemplation of the Deity, and as he did not drink wine so as to affect his reason, he hoped he should obtain pardon hereafter from a merciful God.

He was much addicted to women, and he consulted, therefore, the holy men in what way he might gratify his passions without infringing the law, which allowed only of four wives. Some said that he might divorce one and marry another, as often as he pleased, but this opinion being unsatisfactory, the point was referred to Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo his minister. Feiz Oolla observed, that in the time of the Prophet and the first Caliph, the Mootea[39] was allowed; and though abrogated in the reign of the second Caliph, it was still legal, according to the tenets of the Sheeas. The Soonees denied the orthodoxy of this doctrine; and much debate took place among the learned in con-

38. He is entitled Sooltan Abool Moozuffur, Ghazy, Feroze Shah, Roze Afzoon. (The Sovereign Lord of Victory, the holy Warrior, King Feroze, whose prosperity increases daily.)

39. A temporary marriage.

sequence. All the various commentaries were now consulted in favour of the opinions of each party, till at length the King, being convinced by the reasoning of the Sheeas, received into his haram three hundred females in one day. According to Hajy Mahomed Kandahary, Feroze Shah made a point of copying sixteen pages of the Koran every fourth day, after which he engaged in public business. He generally spent his time till midnight in the company of divines, poets, reciters of history, readers of the Shah Nama, and the most learned and witty among his courtiers. In this assembly he laid aside all restraint; observing, that when he sat on the throne to transact business he was a sovereign, and necessarily obliged to assume state, in order to make a due impression on the minds of the people, so that the authority of government might be supported, but that in their company he regarded himself as a private individual, and wished to be treated without form or ceremony. He desired that all the members of these parties might come in or go out at will; that each person might call for what he chose to eat and drink, and speak freely on all subjects but two, which he forbade being introduced; the first regarded affairs of state, and the second slander of an absent person.

Moolla Isaac Surhindy, a man of great learning and wit, observed one day to the King, that his desiring his attendants to wave ceremony towards him on these occasions was contrary to the practice of all other kings; the truth of which he illustrated by relating an anecdote of a circumstance which happened between Ameer Subooktugeen Ghiznevy and the philosopher and astrologer Anwury. The King, having heard the story, smiled, and observed, that such conduct could only proceed from princes void of justice, and that he hoped such weakness was not in his disposition. Those who frequented the King's assemblies had ample experience how far he excelled most princes in the uniformity of his behaviour and the consistency of his conduct.

Many curious anecdotes are related of Feroze Shah by Moolla Dawood Bidury, the introduction of which here would only occasion prolixity, and perhaps cause my being accused of departing from truth; so that I shall not give them to my readers. But as that of Subooktugeen and the philosopher Anwury has been mentioned, it may be proper to give the story in the words of Mollah Dawood.

"It is related that the philosopher Anwury, one of the wonders of his age, performed many surprising deeds. On account of his great learning, and the condescension used towards him by the King, he was permitted to indulge in a degree of freedom which in the end grew displeasing. One day while Subooktugeen was sitting on the terrace of a lofty building in the palace of Ghizny, Anwury entered the gate. The King commanded him to foretell by which route he would next quit the palace. Anwury, immediately fixing his astrolabe, took an observation of the heavenly bodies, and having finished it, wrote the result on a piece of paper, and placed it under a pillow. Subooktugeen gave orders for part of the eastern wall of the palace to be thrown down, and went out. On examining the paper, it appeared Anwury had anticipated what the King had done. Subooktugeen, enraged at the philosopher's success, ordered him in his passion to be cast headlong from the turret of the palace. Luckily a net received Anwury, who escaped without injury. The King then asked him if he had foreseen this? to which the philosopher replied he had; and calling for his book, pointed out a prediction that he should, upon such a day, fall from a high place, and escape unhurt. This displeased the King still more, and he ordered him to be confined. Six months afterwards, while the philosopher was still in prison, one of his slaves going to the market was told by a diviner, that from certain omens he perceived in his aspect much good fortune, which he would foretell him for a certain sum. The slave gave what was demanded; on which the diviner told him that he had a master in distress, who in a few days would be delivered from his troubles, and received a dress of honour. The slave ran and congratulated his master, who reproved him for his credulity, and for going into such bad company. Three days after, it happened that Hussun Mymundy took an opportunity, upon the King's conversing with him on astrology, to mention the unfortunate Anwury, lamenting, that instead of rewards and honours for his two surprising predictions he has been doomed to a gloomy dungeon. The King replied, that certainly Anwury was unrivalled in science, but men of learning should know mankind better; for, he observed, kings are like children, and must be flattered to be pleased. After these remarks, he commanded Anwury to be released. On his way from prison to the court, Anwury met the

diviner, and was constrained to confess, that other persons besides philosophers could sometimes foretell events. The King honoured Anwury with a dress, a thousand pieces of silver, a horse, and a male and female slave; at the same time expressing his concern for what had happened."

Feroze Shah, every year, despatched vessels from the ports of Goa, and Choul to procure the manufactures and curious productions of all quarters of the world, but particularly to invite to his court persons celebrated for their talents; whom, he would frequently observe, should be regarded as the choicest productions of all countries. He used to say that kings should draw around them the most learned and meritorious persons of all nations, so that from their society they might obtain information, and thus reap some of the advantages acquired by travelling into distant regions of the globe. The King had so excellent a memory that he could converse in many languages; a practice he exercised, as far as practicable, towards foreigners. It was sufficient to hear a circumstance once related to enable him to retain it in mind ever after. He was a good poet, and often made extempore verses. He was well acquainted with several sciences, and particularly fond of natural philosophy. On Saturdays, Mondays, and Thursdays, he heard lectures on botany, geometry, and logic, generally in the day, but if business interferred, at night. It is said, that he even excelled Mahomed Toghluk in literary attainments.

He was the first king of the Deccan who intermarried with the Syuds of Anjoo; having taken a daughter of that family for his son Hussun Khan, and given one of his own daughters in marriage to Meer Shums-ood-Deen Mahomed Anjoo, whom he appointed governor of Dowlutabad.

Feroze Shah built a town on the banks of the Beema, which he called Ferozabad. The streets were laid out with regularity, and were very broad. Near the river was erected a citadel of stone, divided into a number of splendid courts, detached from each other, all plentifully supplied with water conducted by an ample canal from the river. Each of these courts he committed to one of his favourite ladies; and to avoid confusion and irregularity among his women, he framed rules for his haram, which were strictly observed during his life.

In the female apartments, he allowed no more than three attendants to one lady, who were always of the same nation, and spoke the same language as their mistress. Merchants were constantly employed to purchase females of all nations, from amongst whom he made selections to supply the vacancies occasioned by death or other causes among his mistresses or their servants. In his haram were Arabians, Circassians, Georgians, Toorks, Russians,[40] Europeans, Chinese, Afghans, Rajpoots, Bengalees, Guzeraties. Tulinganies, Maharattins, and others; and he could converse with each in her own language. He divided his attention so equally among them, that each lady fancied herself most beloved by the King. He read the Taurat and Anjeel,[41] and respected the tenets of all religions; but he admired that part of the faith of Mahomed above all others, which commanded the concealment of women from the eyes of strangers, and which forbade the use of wine. Feroze Shah, on ascending the throne, appointed his brother Ahmud Khan Ameer-ool-Omra, with the title of Khan Khanan, and he raised Meer Feiz Oolla Anjoo, his preceptor, to the office of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, with the title of Mullik Naib; honours were also conferred on many of the family of Bahmuny. Historians unitedly agree, that he made twenty-four campaigns against the Hindoos; but the particulars of a few only are related by Moolla Dawood Bidury, in the Tohfut-oos-Sulateen.

In the year A.H. 801 (A.D. 1398), Dew Ray of Beejanuggur, with thirty thousand horse, and a vast army of foot, invaded the territories of the Dooab,[42] with a design to reduce the forts of Moodkul and Rachore. Feroze Shah, having intelligence of his motions, moved from Koolburga to Sagur, where he reviewed his army. After this, he put to death a zemindar, with seven or eight thousand Hindoos, who had long been very refractory. The Dowlutabad and Berar divisions of the army joined him at Sagur; and he was preparing to move against Dew Ray, when suddenly advice was brought that Nursing Ray, Raja of Kehrla, at the instigation of the kings of Mando and Aseer,[43] as also

40. Ferishta, in the sixteenth century, considers the Russians as distinct from Europeans.

41. The Old and New Testaments.

42. The country lying between the Krishna and Toongbudra rivers.

43. The Mahomedan kings of Malwa and Kandeish.

by the advice of the Raja of Beejanuggur, had invaded the province of Berar, and committed every excess on the Mussulman territory as far as the walls of Mahoor. On receipt of this intelligence, the King sent back the Dowlutabad division to oppose Nursing Ray, and marched with the remainder of his troops against Dew Ray of Beejanuggur.

It being the rainy season, and the river Krishna full, Dew Ray had pitched his camp on the south bank, and stationed large bodies of infantry along the shore, to oppose the passage of the Mahomedans. Feroze, on his arrival near the river, held a council of war, but received no advice that appeared satisfactory to him. While thus perplexed how to act, one Kazy Siraj offered, if the King would permit him, to cross the river with a few volunteers selected for the purpose, and assassinate Dew Ray or his son, as he found it most convenient; proposing, that when the alarm consequent on such an exploit should throw the enemy's camp into confusion, a party should be sent across the river, and secure a passage for the whole army.

Feroze approving of the project, some hundreds of baskets,[44] covered with leather, were expeditiously prepared for the troops to cross. Kazy Siraj, with seven of his friends disguised as mendicants, proceeded to the Ray's camp, and repaired to the quarter where the dancing girls resided. Here the Kazy pretended to be enraptured with a courtesan, and was guilty of a thousand extravagancies in order to support his character. In the evening, the girl, having dressed herself in her richest ornaments, prepared to go out; on which the Kazy, like a jealous and distracted lover, falling at her feet, entreated her to stay, or let him attend her, and not break his heart by her absence. The woman informed him, that she was ordered to attend an entertainment on that evening, given by the Ray's son, and durst not disobey, nor could she take him with her, as only musicians and dancers would be admitted. The Kazy replied, that he played on the same instrument as herself, and had, beside, some curious

44. The same sort of basket-boats used in the Tigris in the time of Herodotus are still employed there, and are almost the only description of passage-boats known in the Indian peninsula at this day to the natives of the country.

A detachment of the British army crossed its heavy guns, without even dismounting them, over the Toongbudra, in 1812, in these basket-boats.

accomplishments that would amuse the Ray's son. The dancing girl, thinking him in jest, gave him her mundul[45] by way of joke, and desired him to play; which he did in so masterly a manner, that she was much pleased, and permitted him and his companions to attend her party to the tents of the young Ray, in the evening.

As is the custom of the Deccan, many sets of dancing girls were ordered to perform at the same time, when having finished, the Ray's son called for the male jugglers and buffoons. The dancing girl now obtained leave for the Kazy and one of his companions to show their feats. Having assumed the dress of females, they entered ogling and smiling, at the same time dancing and playing on the mundul. They acted their part so well, that the Ray's son was highly gratified. At length they each drew a dagger, and, as is usual among the dancers of the Deccan,[46] continued to flourish them for some time in several different attitudes, advancing, retreating, and turning round At last, suddenly rushing on the Ray's son, they plunged both the daggers into his breast, and afterwards attacked his attendants and companions. The Kazy's friends, in the meanwhile, who were watching outside, on hearing the alarm, ripped open the tent, and entered to assist him. Many of the company, being much intoxicated, were put to death without resistance, while the Kazy with his associates having extinguished the lights, made their escape and mingled with the crowd. The outcry soon became general : great confusion prevailed throughout the camp, and reports and alarms were various. Some saying that the Mahomedan King had crossed the river and surprised the camp, others, that one of his chiefs, with twelve thousand men, had cut off both the Raja and his son. The night was uncommonly dark, and the camp extended nearly ten miles, so that the different chiefs, ignorant of the real state of affairs, contented themselves with remaining at their several posts, under arms, waiting for the daylight. Meanwhile, about four thousand of Feroze Shah's troops crossed the river in boats and rafts, which had

45. A musical instrument.

46. The dexterity with which the Tulingy females use the double-edged claymore, one in each hand, while waltzing rapidly to the sound of music, is a subject of admiration to all Europeans who have ever witnessed it.

been previously prepared for the purpose, and the enemy's infantry, stationed to oppose the passage, panic-struck, by the alarm in the camp, and at the approach of the King's forces at the same time, fled in confusion without making opposition. Before morning Feroze Shah had crossed the river, and at dawn entered the enemy's camp. Dew Ray, overwhelmed with grief at the death of his son, made no efforts at resistance; but having taken up the corpse fled from the field. Feroze Shah obtained immense booty in the camp, and pursued the Hindoos to the vicinity of Beejanuggur; on the road to which place several actions occurred, in all of which the Moslems were successful, so that the highways became strewed with the bodies of the enemy.

Dew R having shut himself up in the fort of Beejanuggur, and no enemy remaining in the field, Féroze Shah detached Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla to lay waste the districts south of the city, which were populous and flourishing. Kazy Siraj, in reward for his heroic exploit, was raised to the rank of a noble, and was sent with the army in advance. This division having fulfilled the King's intentions, and having taken many captives, returned to camp. As great numbers of bramins had fallen into the hands of the Moslems, their friends at Beejanuggur came forward to assist the Ray with large sums of money to obtain a peace, and to ransom the captives. Dew Ray accepted their offers; and after much negotiation, Meer Fuzl Oolla agreed to accept ten lacks of hoons[47] for the royal treasury as a ransom for the prisoners, and one lack[48] for himself as negotiator.[49] Accordingly the bramins sent six lacks, and Dew Ray five, all of which Meer Fuzl Oolla laid before the King, who greatly commended his valuable services. A treaty was then concluded, by which it was agreed that the boundaries of both kingdoms should remain the same as before the war,

47. The hoon varies from three and a half to four rupees. Eight shillings sterling may be taken as a fair average, which would make the sum amount to 400,000*l*.

48. 40,000*l*.

49. The practice of negotiators receiving a tithe of the sum paid to the state seems to have generally prevailed in the conclusion of most of the treaties on record in India. The sum was openly mentioned in the body of the instrument, and second to be deemed a fair reward to the successful diplomatist.

and that one party should not molest the subjects of the other. Feroze Shah released his prisoners, and began his march to his own dominions. When he passed the Toongbudra, he directed Folad Khan to assume charge of the Doab; and leaving the army to follow, hastened with a few attendants to Koolburga.

A few months after the conclusion of this campaign, in the beginning of the year A.H. 802 (A.D. 1399), the King marched to punish Nursing Ray, the Raja of Kehrla. Upon his arrival at Mahoor, Feroze found the native chiefs of that district, but of apprehension of Nursing Ray, had consented to acknowledge that Raja's authority. On the present occasion, therefore, they obtained pardon at the intercession of some of the nobility, made large offerings, and joined the army. The King halted one month and five days at Mahoor, and then proceeded towards Kehrla. Nursing Ray, who had great wealth and power, being possessed of all the hills of Gondwana, and other countries, sent rich presents to the kings of Malwa and Kandeish, entreating their assistance; but though they had no former occasion furnished him with aid, yet, as they in reality wished his destruction, they on the present occasion declined joining his cause. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Nursing Ray resolved to engage the King, and marching two coss from Kehrla, assembled his troops and waited for his approach.

Feroze Shah was anxious to lead the army in person; but Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla Anjoo having requested to be allowed to conduct the enterprise, he gave his consent. They opened the war by addressing a letter to Nursing Ray, reminding him of his late conduct, and advising him to compromise matters by consenting to pay tribute: but his reply was couched in threats of defiance, and he made greater preparations for war. Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla, now advancing attacked his lines, which brought on a severe conflict, in which Soojat Khan, Dilawur Khan, and Bahadur Khan, Mahomedan officers of rank, suffered martyrdom, and the infidels charging furiously, the troops of Islam were broken. At this instant it was reported to Meer Fuzl Oolla that Khan Khanan was slain. He directed his informant to keep the news secret; and himself advancing with two hundred horse, caused the drum of victory to be beaten, giving out, that the King was coming to their assistance. The troops, on this information, rallied and repulsed the enemy. Meer

Fuzl Oolla was soon after joined by Khan Khanan, supposed to be slain; and now, in their turn, attacking the Hindoos, the Mahomedans put them to flight, and took prisoner Gopal Ray, the son of Nursing Ray. The fugitives were closely pursued to Kehrla, leaving upwards of ten thousand slain on the field, while Nursing Ray, having with much difficulty gained the fortress, was besieged by the victorious army.

At the end of two months, the garrison, being reduced to great distress, offered terms; but received for answer from the generals that they had no power to accede to any proposal, but that of unconditional surrender. Nursing Ray, seeing no other alternative, went with his family to the King's camp at Elichpoor, where expressing contrition for his conduct, and acknowledging himself the King's vassal, offered even to give up Kehrla itself; but he hoped his Majesty, after receiving his submission, would admit him among the number of his tributaries, and overlook past events; in consideration of which he promised to pay every year the tribute fixed by Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Gungoo.

Feroze Shah, becoming reconciled to Nursing Ray, gave him a dress of honour, richly embroidered with gold; and receiving one of his daughters into his haram, together with a present of forty-five elephants, a considerable sum of money, and other valuables, he directed the seige of Kehrla to be discontinued. On the junction of Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla's divisions, Nursing Ray was permitted to proceed home, and the King returned in triumph to Koolburga. As this victory was chiefly owing to the exertions of Meer Fuzl Oolla, that nobleman was promoted to the command of the Berar army.

In the year A.H. 804 (A.D. 1401), repeated accounts coming from the court of Ameer Teimoor of that conqueror having conferred the throne of Dehly on one of his sons, with orders to subdue all the kingdoms of Hindoostan, and that he had resolved to march in person, to support his designs, if necessary, Feroze Shah sent ambassadors to the Tartar chief with rich presents, and a letter expressive of his respects. Teimoor received the ambassadors graciously, and accepted the presents. The ambassadors also represented, that Feroze Shah Bahamuny was desirous to be numbered among his dependents, and would, whenever Teimoor should either march in person, or send one of the princes to conquer Hindoostan, hasten from the Deccan

to co-operate with his troops. Teimoor, pleased at these gratuitous offers of aid, was prevailed on, through the agency of some of his courtiers, to confer the sovereignty of Malwa and Guzerat on Feroze Shah, with permission to use the canopy, and all other insignia of royalty; and at the end of six months, Teimoor delivered to the ambassadors a firman, containing the formal cession of the countries in question, together with a sword set with jewels, from his own side, a royal robe, a Toorky slave, and four Syrian horses, superior in beauty to any before seen in the Deccan. The kings of Guzerat, Malwa, and Kandeish,[50] whose power was vet weak, alarmed at the encroachments of Feroze Shah, sent ambassadors to court his friendship; ovserving, that, as Mahomedans, they ought to live together like brothers, and unite in alliance against the power of the Emperor of Dehly. At the same time, they privately wrote to the Ray of Beejanuggur, that whenever he should need their assistance against Feroze Shah to inform them, that they might lend him all the support in their power. In consequence of these overtures, the Ray of Beejanuggur changed his conduct towards the King, and neglected to pay his tribute for four years; and Feroze Shah, knowing the secret enmity of his neighbours, the kings of Guzerat and Malwa, did not press him, but passing over his neglect for the present, resolved to punish it at some future convenient time.

It happened that in the town of Moodkul lived a goldsmith, who had a daughter named Nehal, of such exquisite beauty, that nature seemed to have exerted all her art to render her perfect. Agreeably to the custom of Hindoostan, her parents wished to betroth her in childhood to a youth of her own caste; but she requested that the ceremony might be delayed, with such earnestness, that it was put off. Some time after, an old bramin, who had been on a pilgrimage to Benares, stopping on his return at her father's house, was struck with the beauty of his daughter, adopted her as his child, and resolved to render her skillful in

50. The embassy to Teimoor, with its result, which became known to the kings of Malwa and Kandeish, at once explained to them Feroze Shah's views; and the attack on a place so remote from Koolburga as Kehrla tended to comfirm the opinion then entertained of his ambitious designs. It appeared quite natural, therefore, that the kings of the north should open negotiations for a defensive alliance with the Raja of Beejanugger, who had it always in his power to create a diversion in their favour.

music and dancing, of which he was a perfect master. The bramin continued nearly eighteen months with her family: at the end of which period, finding her fully accomplished, he took his leave, with a promise shortly to return, with proposals calculated for the honour of his pupil, and the advantage of her family. The bramin, who had from the first designed to exalt his adopted daughter to the station of a princess, proceeded to Beejanuggur; and being introduced to the Ray, spoke in such praise of the maid, that he resolved to possess her, and entreated the bramin to solicit her in marriage. The request had been anticipated by the bramin, and he accordingly greed to assist him in the attainment of his wishes; on which, the Ray despatched him with rich gifts to the parents, and offered to bestow the title of Rany or Princess, on their beautiful daughter. The bramin lost no time in his journey; and on his arrival at the goldsmith's house delivered to him and his wife the Ray's orders that they should repair with their child to Beejanuggur. They were overjoyed at such unexpected good fortune; and calling the maid, laid before her the rich gifts of the Ray, congratulated her on being so soon to be united to a great prince, and attempted to throw upon her neck a golden necklace set with jewels as the token of betrothal, and which, if done, the engagement could not have been broken off. The daughter, to the astonishment of her parents, refused to receive the necklace; observing, that whoever entered the haram of Beejanuggur was never afterwards permitted to see even her nearest relatives; and though they might be willing to sacrifice her for the wealth of the court, yet she was too fond of her parents to submit to an eternal separation from them, even for the splendour of the palace of Beejanuggur. This affectionate declaration, accompanied with tears, reconciled her parents to their disappointed hopes, who, rather than use force, dismissed the bramin with all his gifts and he returned to Beejanuggur without success. The maiden, subsequently, revealed to her parents, that she had long had an inward conviction that she should one day become the wife of a prince of the faith of Islam, and recommended them to await patiently the will of Providence.

When the bramin arrived at Beejanuggur, and related to the Ray the failure of his mission, the Prince became outrageous; and he resolved to gratify his passion even by force, though

the object resided in the midst of Foroze Shah's dominions. For this purpose, quitting Beejanuggur with his army, on pretence of making the tour of his territories, he halted on the banks of the river Toongbudra; where having selected five thousand of his best horse, he commanded them, in spite of the remonstrances of his officers, to march night and day with all expedition to Moodkul, and surrounding the village where the goldsmith lived, to bring his daughter prisoner, with her whole family, but without doing them any injury.

As the Ray had, in the excess of his ardour, lost his judgment, he neglected to send the bramin to prevent the parents of the female from being alarmed at the approach of his troops, and to induce them to remain in the place, should there be time sufficient to allow the other inhabitants to escape. It so happened, that the country around Moodkul being apprised of the approach of the Beejanuggur troops, the inhabitants, among whom was Nehal's family, fled to distant parts. The troops of Dew Ray accordingly failed in obtaining their expected prize, and returned with expedition, laying waste on their routs several towns and villages, before the local troops could be collected to oppose them. At length Folad Khan, governor of the province, marched against them, and the plunderers seeing themselves greatly superior to him in numbers, stopped to engage, and obliged him to retire. Being, however, quickly reinforced, he pursued them a second time; and the invaders, not dreaming of being followed by a beaten enemy, had become so careless in their retreat, that they were surprised and completely defeated, with the loss of two thousand men, before they were able to recross the Toongbudra. Feroze Shah, on hearing of this unprovoked invasion, immediately issued orders for assembling his army near Ferozabad. In the beginning of the year A.H. 809 (A.D. 1406), he moved in great force, and arrived near Beejanuggur without opposition; in which place Dew Ray had shut himself up. An assault was made upon the city, and the King got possession of some of the streets, but was opposed with great resolution, and eventually repulsed by the Carnatic infantry. Dew Ray, encouraged by this success, ventured to encamp his army outside the town, under protection of the walls, and to attack the besiegers' camp with light troops. As the Moslems could not make use of their cavalry, owing to the unevenness of the ground around Beejanug-

gur, they suffered severely from the garrison, and became dispirited. On one occasion Feroze Shah was wounded by an arrow in the hand; but refusing to dismount from his charger, he drew out the weapon, and bound up the wound with a cloth. The enemy was at last driven off, owing to the good conduct of the King's brother, Ahmud Khan, Khan Khanan; and the King moved his camp farther from the city to a convenient plain where he halted till his wounded men were recovered. Here, laying aside the design of taking the city, he detached a body of ten thousand horse under his brother, Khan Khanan, and Meean Suddoh (Meer-Nobut), to lay waste the country, on the south of Beejanuggur, and detached Meer Fuzl Oolla Anjoo, with the Berar division, to besiege Bunkapoor, the most important fortress in the Carnatic. The King, with the remainder of his army, continued in the environs of Beejanuggur, in order to amuse Dew Ray, and fortified his camp with a circle of gun carriages. Dew Ray more than once attacked him, but was always repulsed with great slaughter. The Ray now desisted from his attacks, but despatched ambassadors to solicit aid from the kings of Malwa, Kandeish, and Guzerat.

The King continued to engage Dew Ray for four months; during which time, Khan Khanan laid waste the most flourishing towns and districts of the Carnatic; and Meer Fuzl Oolla succeeded in taking the fortress of Bunkapoor, with its valuable dependencies; the government of which he committed, by the King's orders, to Meean Suddoh, who was co-operating with that direction, while he himself returned to the royal camp. Khan Khanan also joined the army of the King with about sixty thousand Hindoo captives, male and female, besides a rich booty in gold. Feroze Shah received these officers with the favour due to their services, and made a splendid festival in honour of their successes, on which occasion he concerted a plan for further operations. After some debate it was resolved, that Khan Khanan should remain opposed to Dew Ray at Beejanuggur, while the King, accompanied by Meer Fuzl Oolla, should march to besiege Adony, the strongest fortress then in possession of the enemy.

Dew Ray, not obtaining assistance from the kings of Malwa, Kandeish, and Guzerat, was plunged into despair, when he heard of the King's intentions, and he accordingly sent some of his chiefs to treat for peace at the royal camp. Feroze Shah at first refused to listen to any terms; but at length, being moved by the advice

and entreaties of Meer Fuzl Oolla, he consented to the following conditions; viz. That the Ray should give him his daughter in marriage; that he should pay ten lacks of hoons, and present five muns of pearls, fifty choice elephants, and two thousand male and female slaves, singers, dancers, and musicians; also, that the fort of Bunkapoor, already in his possession, should, in order to obviate all future disputes, be ceded to him for ever, as the marriage-portion of the Beejanuggur Princess.

Though the Rays of the Carnatic had never before given their daughters in marriage to any persons but those of their own caste, and deemed it degrading to intermarry with strangers, yet Dew Ray, out of necessity, complied; and preparations for celebrating the nuptials were made by both parties.[51] For forty days communication was open between the city and the King's camp, a distance of fourteen miles. Either side of the road was lined with booths both of Mahomedans and Hindoos; while the jugglers, dancers, and buffoons of the Carnatic, displayed their skill to amuse passengers. Khan Khanan and Meer Fuzl Oolla were deputed, in great state, to Beejanuggur, with the customary presents of a bridegroom; from whence, at the expiration of seven days, they brought the bride, with a rich portion and offerings from the Ray, to the King's camp. Dew Ray having expressed a desire to meet his son-in-law, Feroze Shah, in the excess of his politeness, consented to pay his father-in-law a visit, attended by his bride.

A day being fixed, the King proceeded with the bride to Beejanuggur, leaving the camp in charge of Khan Khanan. He was met on the road by Dew Ray in great state. From the gate of the city to the palace, being a distance of nearly six miles, the road was spread with cloths of gold, velvet, satin, and other rich stuffs. The two monarchs rode on horseback together, between ranks of beautiful boys and girls, who waved over their heads plates of gold full of incense and silver flowers, which they scat-

51. The Hindoo princes must have been reduced to the lowest state of humiliation to give their daughters to Mahomedans. State policy, however, on the part of the Hindoos, compelled them to submit; while the effect of the practice, though only adopted for the gratification of the basest passions on the part of the Moslems, was calculated to reconcile them to the Hindoos, and tended, in a great measure, to soften down that acrimonious hatred which belonged to both parties previously to forming these connections.

tered abroad, to be gathered by the populace. This ceremony being over, the inhabitants of the city, both men and women, made offerings according to their rank. After passing through a square in the centre of the city, the relatives of Dew Ray, who had lined the streets, made their obeisance, and joined the cavalcade, marching on foot before the two Kings. On their arrival at the palace gate, Feroze Shah and the Raja dismounted from their horses, and ascending a splendid litter, set with valuable jewels, were carried together to the apartments prepared for the reception of the bride and bridegroom. Dew Ray then took his leave, and retired to his own apartments. The King, after being feasted magnificently for three days, took leave of the Ray, who pressed upon him richer presents than he had before given, and attended him four miles on his way to his camp, before he returned to the city. Feroze Shah was offended, however, at his not going with him to his camp, and said to Meer Fuzl Oolla that he would one day have revenge for the affront offered him by such neglect. This remark being conveyed to Dew Ray, he made use of some offensive observations, so that, notwithstanding the union of the two families, their enmity was not allayed. Feroze Shah, having returned to the capital of his dominions, despatched persons to bring the beautiful daughter of the goldsmith and his family to court, on whose account the war had originated. Her beauty was found to surpass all that had been reported of it; and the King, conceiving that he was too old to espouse her himself, conferred her in marriage on his son Hussun Khan, and gratified her parents with rich gifts and grants of land in their native country. The lady, meanwhile, was committed to the care of the King's aunt till the nuptial preparations were ready, when the knot was tied amid great rejoicings and princely festivals.

Feroze Shah, being a great encourager of astronomy, caused an observatory to be built in the year A.H. 810 (A.D. 1407), on the summit of the pass near Dowlutabad; but this work being interrupted by the death of Hakeem Hussun Geelany, the astronomer, it was left unfinished.[52]

In the year A.H. 815 (A.D. 1412), the King went, on pretence of hunting, into the country of Gondwana, which he laid waste, and brought away near three hundred elephants. Soon afterwards,

52. The ruins of this work are still to be seen; but the present inhabitants have no notion of the object for which it was intended.

hearing that the celebrated saint Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz had arrived near Koolburga, from Dehly, he went from Ferozabad to visit him, and sent all the nobility of the court to meet him. He was at first treated with much attention; but on the King finding him deficient in learning and science, he withdrew his favour. Khan Khanan, the King's brother, entertained the highest veneration for the Syud, and not only built a superb palace for him, but spent great part of his time in attending his lectures. Khan Khanan was never absent from his "wujd," or ecstasies, at which times he distributed large sums to the attendants of the durgah,[53] and to dervishes.

In the year A.H. 818 (A.D. 1415), the King having fixed on his son Hussun, a weak and dissipated Prince, to succeed him, conferred on him a royal cap and waistband, with a chutr or canopy, several royal pavilions, and some elephants, the emblems of sovereignty. At this time, also, he invited the nobles to acknowledge him as his successor, and requested the holy Syud to give him his blessing; but the saint answered, that to one chosen by the King the prayers of a poor beggar could be of no avail. Feroze Shah, dissatisfied with his reply, sent to him again; on which the Syud observed, that as the crown was decreed to descend to his brother Khan Khanan, by the will of Providence, it was in vain for him to bestow it on another. The King was much alarmed, and ordered the Syud to quit the city; pretending that his durgah was too near the palace, and that the crowds of his disciples and students were dangerous to the peace of the capital. The holy man immediately obeyed, and retired out of the town to the spot where his tomb now stands; and his followers soon erected for him a magnificent dwelling.[54]

In the year A.H. 820 (A.D. 1417), the King despatched ambassadors to the Ray of Tulingana, demanding some years' arrears of tribute, who sent the sums due, with several valuable presents in addition. In the middle of this year, Feroze Shah formed the design of reducing the fortress of Pangul, now called Bilcondah,

53. Durgah is a convent, or dwelling-place of holy men.

54. The tomb of this holy personage, now standing, was either rebuilt or constructed in the year A.D. 1640, by Mahomed Ameen Hoosseiny, a descendant of the celebrated Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz (or Long Locks), in the reign of Mahomed Adil Shah, King of Beejapoor.

situated about eighty fursungs (two hundred and forty miles) from Adony.[55] Without regarding his relationship to the Ray of Beejanuggur, he marched and commenced the siege, which extended to two whole years; at the end of which time, it not being the will of Heaven that it should then fall, a pestilence broke out in the royal army, in which, men and horses died every day in great numbers. Discontent and fear filled the minds of the survivors; and many officers of the first rank, quitting the camp with their followers, retired to their estates. At this crisis, Dew Ray, having collected his army, and having obtained assistance from all the surrounding princes, including the Raja of Tulingana, marched against the King, with a vast host of horse and foot.

Feroze Shah, though he judged his army unequal to oppose the Hindoos, yet, impelled by a sense of pride, gave battle in spite of the remonstrances of his officers. Meer Fuzl Oolla, who commanded the troops of Islam, charged the infidels with great valour, and routing their centre, fell upon their right wing, and was on the point of obtaining the victory, when one of his own attendants, said to be bribed for the purpose by Dew Ray, inflicted a severe wound on his head, of which he instantly died. This fatal event changed the fortune of the day : the King was defeated; and with the utmost difficulty, and not without very great efforts on his part, effected his escape from the field. The Hindoos made a general massacre of the Mussulmans, erected a platform with their heads on the field of battle, and pursuing the King into his own country, laid it waste with fire and sword. They subsequently took many towns, broke down mosques and other holy places; slaughtered the people without mercy; and by their savage conduct seemed desirous to discharge the vengeance and resentment of many ages. Feroze Shah, in the exigence of his distress, requested aid of the King of Guzerat, who having but just ascended the throne could afford none. At last fortune took a turn more favourable to his affairs; and the enemy, after repeated battles, were expelled from his dominions by the King's brother, Khan Khanan. But these misfortunes dwelt on the mind of Feroze Shah, now old, and he fell into a lingering disorder, which affected his spirits and his intellect.

During his illness, he gave the reins of government into the

55. Pangul, at present, has no other name, and is not more than seventy miles from Adony.

hands of two of his slaves,—one named Hooshyar, and the other Bedar;[56] strengthening their influence with the whole weight of his authority. These ministers, jealous of the popularity and ambition of Khan Khanan, remarked to the King, that the government of the Deccan could only be secured to his son Hussun Khan when the kingdom should be cleared of the power and influence of Khan Khanan. Feroze Shah, recollecting the prediction of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz, determined, by causing his brother to be blinded, to prevent the possibility of his ascending the throne. Khan Khanan, informed of this design, prepared for flight. During the night, he went with his son, Alla-ood-Deen, to the dwelling of the holy Syud, to request his advice and blessing; who taking the turban from his son Alla-ood-Deen's head, divided it into two parts, and tied one round the head of the father, and the other round his son, and then extending his hands over them, predicted sovereignty to both. Khan Khanan, after this ceremony, returned to his house; and having spent the remainder of the night in preparation for his departure, issued from the gates at dawn of day, with four hundred faithful companions. At the gate he was saluted with the title of King, by one of his earliest acquaintance, a celebrated merchant named Khulf Hussun, of Bussora, who had heard of his intentions.

Khan Khanan desired him to hasten to his own dwelling, lest he should be seen by the officers of the court, and suffer on his account. To this Hussun remarked, that to be a companion in the days of prosperity, and to cast the dust of inconstancy in the eyes of a friend in adversity, was unbecoming a virtuous man; that while he had a spark of life he should be loath to quit his patron; and he hoped he would receive him among the number of his servants, and permit him to perform some service of importance. Khan Khanan, pleased with these professions of attachment, consented to Khulf Hussun accompanying him; saying, that if he should ever attain the throne, Khulf Hussun should be his guide and minister. He then left the city, and in the evening arrived at Khan-Khananpoor, the revenue of which town he vowed to assign to the use of the Syuds of Mecca and Medina, Nujuf and Kurbula, should he become king.

Hooshyar and Bedar, on learning the flight of Khan Khanan,

56. Both names imply vigilance.

went with anxious impatience to the King, and having obtained permission to go in pursuit, marched with expedition, attended by four thousand horse, and some war elephants. Khan Khanan proposed concealing himself till he could prevail on some of the nobility to support his cause; but his companion Khulf Hussun dissuading him, sent to Koolburga, Bidur, and Kulliany, from whence he procured a number of malecontents to join his standard. Some days passed in moving from place to place to avoid fighting, when, at last, the King's ministers being reinforced, all hope of escape seemed cut off, the royalists being eight thousand strong, and the whole force of Khan Khanan not exceeding one thousand cavalry. In this crisis, a band of grain merchants, called in Hindoostan Bunjaras,[57] who were on their way from Berar with two thousand head of oxen, encamped in the neighbourhood of Kulliany, as also three hundred horses, which some dealers had brought from Lahore for sale. Khulf Hussun, taking advantage of this incident, purchased them all, and making red and green banners, after the custom of the Deccan, mounted a man with a flag on each ox. He placed a few cavalry in front of this mock force, with orders to appear at a distance, when the engagement should commence, and to give out, that some chiefs had arrived from their estates to assist Khan Khanan. Khan Khanan at first regarded the schemes as childish, but at last consented to adopt it. In the morning, he moved slowly towards the King's troops, encouraging his own men, by declaring that certain noblemen were hastening to join him, and were then only a few miles distant. Hooshyar and Bedar, also, dreading the event of his being reinforced, eagerly accepted the offer of battle, hoping by this means to prevent the junction of reinforcements. When the action had begun, Khulf Hussun advancing his horse in front of the oxen, and waving his banners, appeared marching from behind a wood at some distance, which made the enemy conclude that the expected chiefs were arrived to Khan Khanan's assistance; and a vigorous charge being made at the same instant, the right wing of the royalists broke in confusion. Hooshyar and Bedar, who were in the centre, seeing their men fly, and terrified at the approach of the supposed succours, were routed and driven from the field.

57. For an account of this extraordinary but useful race of mercantile carriers, see Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. i.

after offering a slight opposition. Khan Khanan, thus unexpectedly victorious, pursued the fugitives, and after taking many elephants and horses, was shortly after joined by numbers of the royal troops from all quarters.

Notwithstanding the King's indisposition and weakness, he caused the royal canopy to be raised over the head of his son, the Prince Hussun Khan; and having intrusted the citadel to some faithful servants, put himself in a palankeen (being too infirm to travel otherwise) at the head of many of the nobility, accompanied by four thousand horse, a vast number of foot, some artillery, and many elephants, to oppose his brother Khan Khanan. An engagement took place a few miles from the city. The part of the army in which was Feroze Shah being hardly pressed, a report prevailed that he was killed; on which the officers and soldiers came over in great numbers to the standard of Khan Khanan. Hooshyar and Bedar, alarmed at the great desertion, fled with the King towards the citadel, at the gates of which Feroze Shah recovered from a fainting fit into which he had been thrown from the alarm and fatigue

Khan Khanan, out of respect, would not suffer the King to be pursued; but when he heard of his being in the fort, marched to the capital, and encamped under the walls of the citadel. Hooshyar and Bedar, together with the Prince Hussun Khan, manned the works, and began to repel the besiegers with shot and arrows. A ball entering the tent of Khan Khanan wounded some persons sitting near him, upon which he retreated to a greater distance. Feroze Shah, at length, calling his son Hussun Khan before him, observed, that empire depended on the attachment of the nobility and army; and as they had mostly declared for his uncle, he recommended him to refrain from farther opposition, which could only occasion public calamities. After which the King ordered the gates of the palace to be thrown open, and admitted Khan Khanan, with a number of his attendants. Khan Khanan approaching the King's bed, bowed his head on his feet, when Feroze Shah expressed pleasure at seeing him, saying, that he praised God for permitting him to behold his brother as sovereign, of which high dignity he was truly deserving; that paternal affection had naturally made him wish his son for his successor, but as he was disappointed, he left his kingdom to God, and his son to his brother's care. Feroze

then begged of Khan Khanan to ascend the throne, and take care of his person for the little time he might remain his guest. Khan Khanan, on the same day, being the 5th of Shuval, A.H. 825 (Sept. 15, A.D. 1422), put on the royal tiara, first assumed by his brother, and ascending the throne Feroze, caused himself to be styled Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, commanding coins to be struck, and the Khootba to be read, in his name. Ten days after this event, on the 15th Shuval (Sept. 25) Feroze Shah resigned his soul to the guardians of Paradise, and his body was deposited with great pomp and ceremony near the tombs of his ancestors. He reigned twenty-five years, seven months, and fifteen days.

According to tradition it is stated, and I have seen it in writing, that Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, at the instigation of his sister's son, Sheer Khan, caused his brother Feroze Shah to be strangled, but God only can know the real truth.

AHMUD SHAH WULLY[58] BAHMUNY

AHMUD SHAH understood well the administration of civil and military affairs. Following the policy of his brother, he paid great deference to Syuds, and to all learned and holy men, neglecting nothing for their benefit and advantage. In the early part of his reign, on account of the predictions made by Syud Mahomed Geesooduraz, he showered favours on that venerable personage; and as the people generally follow the example of their King, the inhabitants of the Deccan chose him for their guide in religious affairs, so that his residence became a place of pilgrimage to all sects. The King withdrew his favour from the family of Sheikh Siraj-ood-Deen, and conferred it on that of the holy Syud, to whom he granted in perpetuity several towns, villages, and extensive lands near Koolburga, and built for him a magnificent college not far from the city; and in the present day, though the country has passed from the family of Bahmuny to that of the kings of Beejapoor, yet most of the estates given by the former princes are still in possession of the Syud's descendants. The people of the Deccan have such a respect for the saint, that a Deccany, on being once asked whom he consi-

58. He is, I believe, the only instance of a king of India bearing the title of Wully, or Saint.

dered the greatest personage, the Prophet Mahomed or the Syud, replied, with some surprise at the question, that although the Prophet was undoubtedly a great man, yet Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz was a far superior order of being.

From the moment Ahmud Shah ascended the throne, he turned all his attention to improve his army, in order to be revenged of the Ray of Beejanuggur for the invasions during the last reign. He appointed Khulf Hussun Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, with the rank of an officer of twelve hundred horse, and as he was a merchant, he also conferred on him the title of Mullik-oot-Toojar.[59] This title still prevails in the Deccan, where it is esteemed one of the most honourable that can be bestowed. Khulf Hussun, admiring the fidelity of the ministers of the late King, thought them worthy of his confidence, and interceded in their behalf; and the King at his recommendation, honoured Hooshyar Ein-ool-Moolk with the title of Ameer-ool-Omra, conferring on him the rank of an officer of fifteen hundred horse;[60] and the government of Dowlutabad was given to Bedar Nizam-ool-Moolk, who was at the same time raised to the rank of two thousand. The highest order of nobility under the Bahmuny kings was confined to the dignity of commander of two thousand, into which were admitted only the turufdars, or governors of the four principal divisions of the kingdom. From this rank the grades were continued down as low as two hundred, but none of less rank were esteemed noble. An ameer of a thousand had the privilege of carrying the togha,[61] the alum (a banner), and drums, as insignia of his order.

59. Mullik-oot-Toojar, literally, King or Lord of the Merchants.

60. This custom of giving military titles descriptive of the number of men commanded by each officer is of very old date in the East. In the Scriptures we read of captains of tens and of hundreds. The Romans even had their centurions. The Tartars had and have their yooz-bashies and meen-bashies, heads of a hundred, and heads of a thousand men. The Indian Mahomedans brought the custom with them, and extended it to leaders of five thousand men, which was the highest specific rank; beyond that, they were termed surlushkur, or commander.

61. The togh, or togha, is a pennon made of the tail of the cow of Thibet. The custom came into India with the Tartars, who also carried it into the West, and it has become familiar to Europeans since the establishment of the Turkish government at Constantipole, in the shape of bashaws of one, two, or three tails, or toghs. The European togha is of horse-hair.

The late King's son, Hussun Khan, though legal heir to the sovereignty of the Deccan, was (contrary to the opinions of the King's ministers, who advised his being strictly confined or put to death,) appointed an ameer of five hundred; and the palace of Ferozabad was assigned to him for his residence, with an ample estate; permission was also granted for him to hunt or take his pleasure within eight miles round his palace, without being restricted as to time or ceremony. As this Prince was entirely devoted to his pleasures, he was more satisfied with the liberty of indulging in them than with the charge of the government. While his uncle lived, he enjoyed his ease, and no difference ever occurred between them; but he was afterwards blinded and kept confined to the palace of Ferozabad.

When Ahmud Shah had by his virtues impressed on the minds of his people an attachment to his government, he stationed a strong force on the northern frontier of his dominions, in the direction of Guzerat, to prevent invasions from that quarter, and then marched towards the Carnatic with forty thousand horse. Dew Ray, without delay, collected his troops; and inviting the Ray of Wurungole to come to his assistance, marched with a numerous army to the banks of the Toongbudra, in the hope of extirpating the Mahomedans.

Ahmud Shah, arriving on the opposite bank, surrounded his camp with carriages, according to the Turkish practice, to prevent the enemy's infantry from making night-attacks, and halted there for forty days; during which time his light troops laid waste all the country of Dew Ray on the north bank of the river. By these manœuvres the King hoped to tempt the Hindoos to cross the stream and give him battle on the ground where he had taken post, which he regarded as advantageous, but all his efforts to this end failed. At length, weary of delay, the King called a council of war, and finding his officers unanimous for crossing the river, and attacking the enemy on their own ground, he resolved on doing so the next morning. It is proper to mention that the Ray of Wurungole had previously deserted his ally, and withdrawn his troops. Lody Khan, Adam Khan, and Dilawur Khan, marched during the night, and fording the river at a distance, reached the environs of the enemy's camp at daylight. The Ray was then sleeping, attended only by a few persons, in a garden, close to which was a thick plantation of

sugar-cane. A body of the Mahomedans entered the garden for plunder, and Dew Ray, being alarmed, fled, almost naked as he was, into the sugar-cane plantation. Here he was found by the soldiers, who taking him for a villager, loaded him with a bundle of canes, and obliged him to run with it before them. Dew Ray, perceiving he was undiscovered, took up the burden readily, hoping that he should be released when he reached the enemy's camp, or be able to effect his escape.

They had not gone far, when an alarm spread through the camp of the Hindoos, that Ahmud Shah had crossed the river, and that the Ray was missing. The King entered the line without opposition; and the soldiers who had taken Dew Ray, hoping to obtain more valuable plunder than sugar-cane, hastened to join their comrades, leaving him to shift for himself. Dew Ray fled, unnoticed, and about noon came up with some of his officers, by whom he was recognised, and received with great joy. His army now began to re-assume some kind of order; but as he regarded the late accident as an ill omen, he laid aside all idea of engaging in the field, and fled to Beejanuggur.

Ahmud Shah, without waiting to besiege the Hindoo capital, overran the open country; and wherever he went put to death men, women, and children, without mercy, contrary to the compact made between his uncle and predecessor, Mahomed Shah, and the Rays of Beejanuggur. Whenever the number of slain amounted to twenty thousand, he halted three days, and made a festival in celebration of the bloody event. He broke down, also, the idolatrous temples, and destroyed the colleges of the bramins. During these operations, a body of five thousand Hindoos, urged by desperation at the destruction of their religious buildings, and at the insults offered to their deities, united in taking an oath to sacrifice their lives in an attempt to kill the King, as the author of all their sufferings. For this purpose, they employed spies to observe his motions, that they might seize the first opportunity of accomplishing their end. It happened that Ahmud Shah while one day hunting, in the eagerness of the chase separated from his attendants, and advanced nearly twelve miles from his camp. The devoted infidels, informed of the circumstance, inmmediately hastened to intercept him, and arrived in sight of him when even his personal attendants, about two hundred Moguls were at some distance. The King, perceiving his enemies, galloped on in hopes

of gaining a small mud inclosure, used as a fold for cattle, which stood on the plain; but he was so hotly pursued, that some broken ground intervening, he was unable to cross it before his pursuers came up. Luckily for the King, some of his archers arriving at this instant, the enemy were checked, and the King had time to reach the enclosure. The infidels attempted to enter, and a sharp conflict ensued : the faithful repeated the creed of Islam, and swore to die rather than submit. On this occasion, Syud Hussun Budukhshy, Meer Ally Seestany, Meer Ally Kabully, and Abdoolla Koord, distinguished themselves greatly, and became entitled to the King's lasting gratitude. The little band being mostly killed, or wounded, the assailants advanced close to the wall, which they began to break down with pickaxes and crowbars, so that the King was reduced to the last extremity of distress. At this critical juncture Abdool Kadur, the King's armour-bearer, made his appearance, with a body of troops, with whom he had left the camp in search of his master. The infidels by this time had effected a wide breach, and were fighting hand to hand, when they found their rear suddenly attacked. The King now sallied from his position with his retainers, and after a severe conflict defeated the enemy, with the loss of a thousand men, Of the Mahomedans about five hundred were slain. Thus Ahmud Shah, by the providential aid afforded by Abdool Kadur, was raised, as it were, anew from the abyss of annihilation to the enjoyment of sovereignty. It is a remarkable coincidence, and worthy of observation, that both the Hindoo and Mahomedan sovereigns, at the head of armies opposed to each other, should fall into such danger during the same campaign, and that both should escape uninjured. Ahmud Shah, on his return to camp, raised Abdool Kadur to the rank of an officer of two thousand, and made him governor of Berar,—he also conferred on him the title of Khan Jehan; to which he added the appellations of life-bestowing brother, and faithful friend. Abdool Luteef, his brother, was also raised to the same rank with the title of Azim Khan. All those persons who had any share in the King's deliverance were amply rewarded with titles and gifts. As the Mogul archers had been of great use on this occasion, he gave orders to Mullik-oot-Toojar to form a body of three thousand, composed of the natives of Irak, Khorassan, Mawur-ool-Nehr, Toorkistan, and Arabia, and commanded all

his officers to exercise themselves, their children, and dependents, in archery.[62]

After this event, Ahmud Shah, having laid waste the whole country, marched to Beejanuggur, which he so closely blockaded, that the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost distress; when Dew Ray, in order to spare his people, sent ambassadors soliciting peace, which was acceded to. They required that the Raja should send to the King's camp the arrears of tribute due for many years, laden on his best elephants, and conducted by his son, with his drums, trumpets, and all other insignia of state. Dew Ray, deeming it unsafe to refuse compliance, deputed his son with thirty elephants laden with the treasure. The King caused some chiefs to go forth to meet him; and after being led in ceremony through the market, and the principal streets of the camp, he was conducted to the presence. The King, after embracing, permitted him to sit at the foot of his throne, and throwing over his shoulders a magnificent mantle, and presenting him with a sabre set with jewels, gave him twenty beautiful horses of various countries, a male elephant, dogs for the chase, and a leash of hawks; to which last, the people of the Carnatic had been till then strangers. The army now marched from the vicinity of Beejanuggur; and on its arrival on the banks of the Krishna the Ray's son was dismissed, and the troops returned to Koolburga.

This year, no rain falling, a grievous famine was experienced throughout the Deccan; and multitudes of cattle died on the parched plains for want of water. The King, in consequence, increased the pay of his troops, and opened the public stores of grain for the use of the poor. The next year, also, there being no rain, the people became seditious, complaining that the present reign was unlucky, and the conduct of the Prince displeasing to God. The King was much afflicted, and repaired to the mosque in state to crave the mercy of heaven towards his subjects. His prayers were heard, and plentiful showers fell shortly after: those who had abused him now became loud in his praise, calling him Wully (Saint), and worker of miracles. The King returned with joy and thanksgiving to his palace, amid

62. This passage strengthens my opinion, that neither guns nor musketry were used at this period.

the acclamations of his people, who condemned themselves for their rashness.

In the year A.H. 828 (A.D. 1421), the King, in order to punish the Ray of Wurungole for joining the Ray of Beejanuggur, marched into his country, with the intention of conquering Tulingana. On his arrival at Golconda, he sent an army before him under Khan Azim, and halted with the main body for twenty-seven days. During this time, he received accounts that Khan Azim, notwithstanding his small force, had defeated the enemy, killed seven thousand Hindoos, and obtained possession of Wurungole, the Ray having been slain in the action. The King moved to Wurungole, and took possession of those treasures, the accumulation of ages, which had till then been preserved from plunder. The King conferred on Khan Azim ten large and ten small elephants, a waistbelt set with jewels, four strings of fine pearls, and a large sum of money; after which he detached him to reduce the remainder of Tulingana, which he effected in the space of four months, and returned to join the King at Wurungole. Khan Azim was now left to reduce some strong posts in possession of the deceased Ray's heirs, while the King proceeded to Koolburga.

In the year A.H. 829 (A.D. 1425), Ahmud Shah marched to reduce a rebellious zemindar of Mahoor, who still retained several strong places which held out against his troops. The rebel soon submitted; but Ahmud Shah, though he had assured him of pardon, put him to death in violation of his promise, as soon as he fell into his hands, together with five or six thousand of his followers, compelling, at the same time, all the captive women and children to embrace the true faith. During this campaign, the King obtained possession of a diamond mine at Kullum, a place dependent on Gondwana, in which territory he rased many idolatrous temples, and, erecting mosques on their sites, appropriated to each some tracts of land to maintain holy men, and to supply lamps and oil for religious purposes. At this time he remained nearly a year at Elichpoor, during which he constructed the fort of Gavul,[63] repaired the fortress of Narnala, and subsequently returned to Koolburga.

63. The word construct should, perhaps, be rebuilt, or repaired. Had it been originally constructed by a Mahomedan prince, it would have received some other name; whereas that by which it is alone known sufficiently indicates not only its Hindoo origin but its antiquity, as be-

Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, apprehensive of the approach of Ahmud Shah at this period, made proposals to Nursing Ray of Kehrla to enter into a confederacy against the Bahmuny monarch. The Ray not acceding to his proposal, Sooltan Hooshung twice invaded his country, but was repulsed with severe loss. In a third attack, however, he came so unexpectedly on Nursing Ray, that, unable to collect his troops, he was obliged to remain within his fortress. On which occasion, in the year A.H. 830 (A.D. 1426), Nursing Ray petitioned ahmud Shah for assistance; observing, that from the day of his having submitted to become tributary to Feroze Shah Bahmuny he had not deviated from the path of obedience; that he was considered by all the neighbouring states as tributary to his house; on which account, he trusted the King would not refuse his aid on the present occasion. Ahmud Shah, accordingly, directed Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, to march to the succour of Nursing Ray, and himself moved with seven thousand horse to Elichpoor, to be ready, if necessary, to support him. Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, supposing that the King's absence from his army arose out of fear, advanced to Kehrla, and plundering the surrounding country, was pleased to throw out taunting allusions on the subject of Ahmud Shah's inactivity; in consequence of which, the latter marched rapidly to relieve Kehrla.

At this time, some holy men represented to Ahmud Shah, that none of his ancestors had even assisted infidels against true believers; that it was contrary to the doctrines of the faith to do so, and should be avoided. The King, though within forty miles of the enemy's camp, was forcibly struck with these remonstrances, and immediately halted, writing, at the same time, to Sooltan Hooshung, that Nursing Ray being one of his dependents, it would be the means of promoting mutual friendship, if Sooltan Hooshung should desist from attacking him and return to his own country. He also observed, that in consequence of the remonstrances of the holy men about his person, he was about to proceed to his own capital; and he began his retreat before the messenger had even arrived in the enemy's camp. Sooltan Hooshung treated with contempt the communication of Ahmud

longing to the period of the *gavully* or pastoral kings; an account of whose dominion has been handed to us by tradition, but of whom no written accounts are to be found.

Shah; and aware of his own superiority in numerical strength followed him so closely that he encamped daily on the ground the Deccanies had left in the morning. Ahmud Shah, roused by this conduct, told the holy men, that he thought he had already sufficiently shown his desire to regard the doctrines of the faith. Accordingly, having ordered his baggage to precede the army, he halted, and made disposition for battle. The command of his right wing was entrusted to Khan Jehan, and that of the left to Abdoolla Khan, grandson of Ismael Futteh Khan; and the Prince Alla-ood-Deen was placed in the centre. The King in person, with two thousand chosen horse and twelve war-elephants, took post in ambush, to wait for the enemy.

Sooltan Hooshung, unaware of these preparations, and being as yet unopposed, concluded the Deccanies were still flying before him; he therefore advanced without any regard to order, and came up suddenly with the enemy. Having no time to form his troops, he charged in a confused manner with seventeen thousand men. When the two armies were engaged, Ahmud Shah attacked him from the position wherein he was concealed, and with his elephants and two thousand men fell on the rear of the Malwa army, which, confounded between two attack, was panic-struck, and fled with precipitation. The Deccanies pursued, and slew about two thousand of the enemy, and took all their baggage. Two hundred elephants, together with the women composing the haram[64] of Sooltan Hooshung, also fell into the King's hands. Nursing Ray, hearing of the defeat of the Malwites, quitted his fortress, and intercepted them on their return through his country, and killed great numbers. Ahmud Shah, though victorious, lamented the necessity of his attacking the Mahomedans; but having conferred handsome presents on the females and children of Sooltan Hooshung's family, sent them to Malwa, without demanding ransom, escorted by some persons of rank, and confidential eunuchs. Nursing Ray came to pay his respects and congratulate the King, accompanied by his sons; and having prevailed on him to visit Kehrla, entertained him sumptuously, and made rich offerings, among which were many valuable diamonds, rubies, and pearls. On his return, he attended the King as far as Mahoor, from whence he took leave, after

64. The word haram needs no further explanation: it signifies, literally, *honour*. A Mussulman's wife and females are his honour.

having received honorary dresses and other marks of the royal favour.

It is written in the history of Malwa, that another battle happened between these two monarchs, on account of Nursing Ray's calling Sooltan Hooshung to his assistance, when Ahmud Shah besieged Kehrla; but as the writers of the Deccan do not record it, God only knows the truth. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, on his return from this campaign, having arrived at Bidur, took the amusement of hunting; and coming to a beautiful spot, finely watered, resolved to found a city to be called Ahmudabad. A citadel of great extent and strength was erected on the site of Bidur,[65] the ancient capital of the princes of the country, who, according to the Hindoo books, written five thousand years ago, possessed the whole extent of Murhut, Carnatic, and Tulingana,[66] Raja Bheem-Sein was one of the most celebrated of this house; and the history of the loves of his daughter and Raja Nul, King of Malwa, are famous through all Hindoostan. The story of Nul and Dumun has been translated from the Hindoo language by Sheikh Feizy, into Persian verse, at the command of the Emperor Akbur.

Ahmud Shah, desirous of strengthening his family by alliances with foreign princes, asked in marriage the daughter of Nuseer Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, who prided himself on his descent from Oomr Farook, for his son the Prince Alla-ood-Deen. Nuseer Khan, apprehensive of the power of his neighbour, the King of Guzerat, received this offer favourably, and sent his daughter, in great state, with the ambassadors to Ahmudabad Bidur, where Ahmud Shah caused a palace to be prepared for her, till she could be properly received within the city. The nuptials were celebrated with much magnificence, the ceremonials of which lasted for two months.

65. The fortress of Bidur is of great strength, and its, ditches, excavated from the rock on which it stands, are among the most remarkable works in the Deccan. I do not believe it was ever carried by storm. Some of the ruins in the town, and several of the mausolea in the suburbs, bespeak it to have been once a splendid city. Like every thing appertaining to the Mahomedan kingdoms of India, it is much dilapidated, and is falling rapidly into further decay.

66. It seems rather improbable that these three kingdoms were ever united under one Hindoo prince, though Bidur might once have been a Hindoo capital.

At this period, the King thought proper to make a division of his territories among his children. Ramgir, Mahoor, and Kullum, with part of Berar, were assigned to Mahmood Khan. To Dawood Khan he gave regal insignia, and sent him with a number of the nobility to establish himself in Tulingana. The eldest prince, Alla-ood-Deen, being declared heir-apparent, was entrusted with the general superintendence of the affairs of the government, with whom was associated his younger brother Mahomed. On this occasion, the King required his officers to take oaths to observe this arrangement; vainly thinking to ensure by this means that which it was impossible could ever last. On the same occasion, Mullik-oot-Toojar, being raised to the rank of an officer of two thousand, was appointed governor of Dowlutabad.

In the latter end of the year A.H. 833 (A.D. 1429), the King ordered Mullik-oot-Toojar to march into the country of Concan, extending along the coast of the Indian ocean, in order to clear it of rebels and disturbers of the peace; where, in a short time, he executed his instructions so fully, that he brought that country under subjection, and sent several elephants and camels loaded with gold and silver, the fruits of his conquests, to court.[67] Ahmud Shah, in reward of his services, conferred on him a suit of his own robes, a sword set with jewels, and other gifts, such as no servant of the house of Bahmuny had before ever been honoured with.

Mullik-oot-Toojar, from his excess of zeal for the King's service, also occupied the island of Mahim,[68] belonging to the King of Guzerat; upon which Ahmud Shah Guzeratty sent his son, Zuffur Khan, with an army to retake it. The King of the Deccan, conceiving it necessary to defend the new conquest, also despatched his son, Alla-ood-Deen, to reinforce Mullik-oot-Toojar. Both armies remained some time encamped in sight of each

67. It seems very doubtful if the whole of the Concan had ever been attacked before this period, and this exploit seems to have been rather a marauding expedition than a conquest. The ports of Dabul and Choul are spoken of at a very early period as in the hands of the Mahomedans; but whether they occupied much of the interior of the country appears very questionable.

68. Bombay. This attack seems to have been very unjustifiable, and its result led to nothing but a series of disgraceful defeats, on the part of the Deccanies, both there and in other quarters.

other, on opposite banks of an inlet of the sea, without either having the boldness to attack. At length the health of the Prince, Alla-ood-Deen, being affected by the unwholesome air and water of country, he removed some days' journey for a change of air. Zuffur Khan, the Guzerat prince, during his absence, attacked Mullik-oot-Toojar, and after a desperate battle, the brother of the Deccan general was taken prisoner, two officers of high rank were killed, and the army received a total defeat; while the whole of the camp equipments, including tents, elephants, and horses, fell into the hands of the Guzeratties. In the Towareekh Mahmood Shahy it is stated, that the Prince Alla-ood-Deen was present in this action, and displayed proofs of great bravery; but as victory depends not solely on human exertions, both he and Mullik-oot-Toojar were obliged to fly with precipitation.

Meanwhile Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, in a short time after this defeat, having recruited his forces, marched towards Guzerat;[69] and Ahmud Shah Guzeratty did not fail to meet him. The Deccanies, in the first instance, laid siege to a hill-fort[70] in Buglana; but the King, on hearing of the enemy's approach, raised the siege, and moved to oppose him. The two armies lay near each other for some time inactive, till at length the learned men on both sides effected a reconciliation; and it was agreed that each should rest satisfied with the districts and forts in his possession, nor in future molest the territories of the other.

The author of the Towareekh Alfy relates, that in the year A.H. 835 (A.D. 1431), Ahmud Shah Bahmuny, hearing that the Prince Mahomed Khan, son of the King of Guzerat was employed on a distant expedition to Nundoorbar, marched against him; upon which Ahmud Shah Guzeratty hastened to assist his son; but the Deccanies, on his approach, retreating four marches, the King of Guzerat returned towards his capital, an encamped on the banks of the Tapty. Here he learned that the Deccanies had laid siege to Tumbola, upon which he moved against them; and an engagement ensued, which lasted from morning till sunset without being decided in favour of either army; but both the Kings, during the night, retreated to their own country, without having previously made peace. Other historians have also re-

69. The Deccan army proceeded through Gungturry into Kandeish.
70. Tumbola.

lated the particulars of the siege of Tumbola; but as transcribing them all would occasion useless prolixity, I pass them over:

In the year A. H. 836 (A. D. 1432), the fort or citadel of Ahmudabad Bidur, built with stone, was finished; on which occasion the King ordered public rejoicings. In the same year, also, he put to death his sister's son, Sheer Khan, [71] whom he regarded as a dangerous rival to the interests of his own children. In the year A. H. 837 (A. D 1433), Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, taking advantage of the war between the kings of Guzerat and the Deccan, again invaded the country of Nursing Ray, whom he slew in battle. He also reduced the fort of Kehrla and its dependent territory. On receiving intimation of these events, Ahmud Shah Bahmuny marched towards the Malwa army, but Nuseer Khan Farooky, ruler of Kandeish, interfering, induced the two kings to forego hostilities; and after some negotiation, it was resolved that the fort of Kehrla should belong to Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa, and the province of Berar to Ahmud Shah Bahmuny. A treaty was accordingly concluded to this effect; and being sworn to in a solemn manner, the two kings returned to their several capitals. Not long after this period, the King marched into Tulingana, to quell an insurrection of some powerful Hindoo chiefs, whom, in a short time, he reduced to obedience.

On returning towards his capital, and when within one march of Ahmudabad Bidur, the King conferred on Syud Nasir-ood-Deen Kurbulay[72] five thousand tunkas of silver for himself, and thirty thousand to be distributed in alms among the holy men at Kurbula. This is the same person whom Ahmud Shah is said to have shortly before seen in a dream personating the last of the prophets (Mahomed), and of whom Sheikh Azury speaks so highly in his works. At this period, the King sending for Nasir-ood-Deen gave him his audience of leave to proceed to Kurbula. After this ceremony, the holy man was passing on his way home on horseback, and came to a spot where one

71. This is the person who is accused of having instigated the King to cause his elder brother Feroze to be strangled; and aware of his sanguinary disposition, he naturally concluded him to be a dangerous rival to the throne.

72. A native of Kurbula, in Mesopotamia, the spot on which Hoossein, the grandson of the prophet Mahomed, was killed, and where he lies interred.

Sheer Mullik, an officer of rank, was sitting with several others. The Syud, without noticing them, attempted to pass; but Sheer Mullik, offended at his not dismounting, directed his attendants to drag him to the ground.[73] Syud Nasir-ood-Deen, incensed at this insult, went instantly and complained to the King, who pacified him at the time, by saying, that God and the Prophet would, on a fit occasion, avenge his cause. Some time after, on the King's arrival at Ahmudabad Bidur, on the occasion of breaking up his army, when it is usual to distribute honorary robes to the officers previously to their return home, the King's eyes fell on Sheer Mullik; and recollecting, at the instant, the insult he had inflicted on Syud Nasir-ood-Deen, the King caused an elephant, named Kussab (the Butcher), to be brought, and reminding Sheer Mullik of his conduct to Syud Nasir-ood-Deen, ordered that he should be thrown under the animal's feet, which in one minute crushed him to death, where he lay as lifeless as if he had been dead a hundred years.

Ahmud Shah Wully Bahmuny reigned twelve years and two months, and died on the 28th day of Rujub, A. H. 838 (Feb. 19, A. D. 1435)[74]

It is related that he paid great deference to holy and learned personages. As an instance of which, he deputed two holy men from his court to proceed to Kirman in Persia, in order to solicit Shah Neamut Oolla to return with them to India. These persons were Sheikh Hubeed-oolla-Jooneidy and Meer Shums-ood-Deen of Koom. Shah Neamut Oolla received the deputation with great honour; and though he declined proceeding in person to India, he directed one of his favourite disciples, Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen of Kirman, to acocmpany the deputies on their return, intrusting to his charge a box, containing a green crown with twelve points, for Ahmud Shah. On the return of the embassy, the King went forth to meet it; and on seeing

73. The overbearing insolence of the military nobles in Oriental governments is strongly pourtrayed throughout this transaction, while the respect shown by Ahmud Shah Wully to holy personages is powerfully exhibited, also, in the sequel.

74. The date on his tomb at Bidur is simply 839 : the period at which the mausoleum was, probably, completed. On the door is the following inscription :

"Should my heart ache, my remedy is this—
A cup of wine, and then I sip of bliss."

Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen, he exclaimed, "Behold, this is the self-same dervish I saw in a dream before I ascended the throne, and who presented me with a green crown, having twelve points! If the box he bears should contain the green crown I saw in my sleep, then, indeed, will my dream be miraculously fulfilled." On the holy man approaching and presenting the crown, the King was overcome with astonishment. The venerable Moolla told the King to be under no surprise nor apprehension, for that the crown he had seen was the identical crown he now presented to him, and that he, indeed, was the very bearer of it.[75] Shah Neamut Oolla, in addressing the King, styled him, in his letter, Shahab-ood-Deen Ahmud Shah Wully, which so flattered him, that he adopted these titles on his signet ever after. In return for the visit of Moolla Kootb-ood-Deen, the King deputed Khwaja Imad-ood-Deen Sumnany and Seif-oolla Ahsunabad to proceed a second time to Kirman, and to entreat Shah Neamut Oolla to send one of his sons to the Bahmuny court. The saint, however, having but one son, Shah Khuleel Oolla, he only permitted his grandson, Meer Noor Oolla, to proceed to the Deccan.

On the young man's arrival at the port of Choul, the King sent his own palankeen, escorted by Meer Abool Kasim Joorjany and Syud Mahomed Sudr to attend him to the capital. On his reaching its vicinity, Ahmud Shah, attended by his sons, went forth to meet him; and having caused a mosque and a village to be erected on the spot, caused it to be called Neamutabad. Some time after, the King conferred the title of Mullik-ool-Mushayik (the Chief of holy men) on the grandson of Shah Neamut Oolla. He caused him, also, to sit above all other chiefs at the durbar, not even excepting the descendants of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-Duraz. In the course of time, too, the King gave his daughter in marriage to Meer Noor Oolla.

On the demise of Shah Neamut Oolla, in the year 834 (A. D. 1431), his son, Shah Khuleel Oolla, together with all his family, came to India. His second son, Shah Mohib Oolla (brother of Meer Noor Oolla), rose to great distinction in the

75. The coincidence between this story and that told of Alexander the Great, recognising the high priest of the Jews at Jerusalem as the person he had before seen in a dream is remarkable. Ahmud Shah Bahmuny was as desirous of being considered a wully, or saint, as Alexander to be thought the son of Jupiter.

Deccan as a military commander; and for his services he not only received the district of Beer as a maintenance, but also obtained in marriage the hand of the King's grand-daughter, the daughter of the Prince Alla-ood-Deen. The district has ever since continued in the family of these distinguished holy personages; and the mausoleum built on the outside of the town of Beer, which is now standing, was intended to receive the ashes of those venerable saints.

By his military enterprises, Shah Mohib Oolla acquired the appellation of Ghazy. "The holy Warrior."

ALLA-OOD-DEEN SHAH BAHMUNY II.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah ascended the throne at Ahmudabad Bidur, agreeably to the will of his father. He did not neglect his brother Mahomed Khan, but allowed him elephants, horses, and considerable estates. He appointed Dilawur Khan, one of the first officers of the court, to be his minister, with the title of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, and Khwaja Jehan Astrabady to be vizier. Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, an ancient chief, who, after performing great services to the royal family, had retired from business, was prevailed on to accept the office of Ameer-ool-Omra, and he was despatched, together with his brother Mahomed Khan and Khwaja Jehan, with a powerful army, against the infields of Beejanuggur; the Raja of which had withholden the tribute for five years, and now refused to pay the arrears. This army laid waste the country, and committed great devastation; and the Raja only obtained peace by giving up twenty elephants, a considerable sum of money, and two hundred females, skilled in music and dancing, for the King, besides valuable presents which he made to the Prince Mahomed Khan.

On the return of the army near Moodkul, some discontented offices represented to Mahomed Khan, that as his father had made him a partner in the kingdom during his life, it was but just that Alla-ood-Deen Shah should either admit him to sit with him on the throne, and have the joint management of state affairs, or that he should make a division of the territories between them; but as the King showed no disposition to do either, his advisers observed, that the Prince had a right by force of arms to possess himself of half the kingdom. Mahomed Khan,

entering into these views, endeavoured to persuade Khwaja Jehan, as also Imad-ood-Moolk Ghoory, to countenance his designs; both these officers, however, strenuously refusing to lend themselves to his project, and setting before him the criminality of his intentions, the Prince caused them to be assassinated. After which, having procured a considerable army from the Ray of Beejanuggur to aid him, he seized upon Moodkul and Rachore, as well as on Sholapoor, Beejapoor, and Nuldroog.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah was more affected at the death of Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory than at any other part of these proceedings; observing, that he had performed invaluable services for the state, that he was dear to him as his father, and that he was certain no good would come to the murderer of so worthy and distinguished a personage. Measures were now taken for collecting the King's troops, and large sums of money expended in equipments; after which, the King marched from the capital to engage the rebels. A severe conflict shortly after ensued between the brothers, when victory declared in favour of Alla-ood-Deen Shah. Most of the officers who had excited the insurrection were taken prisoners, while the Prince Mahomed Khan fled, with a few attendants, to the hills and woods for shelter. The King, mean time, returned to the city of Ahmudabad Bidur, and after pardoning the crimes of several of the guilty officers, he released them from confinement. By assurances of forgiveness and safety, also, the King prevailed on his brother to deliver himself up. On his arrival, he was received with affection, and not long after obtained the fortress and revenue of the territory of Rachore, vacant by the death of his brother, Prince Dawood, governor of Tulingana. Here the Prince Mahomed Khan lived many years in the undisturbed possession of his estate, spending his time in a series of pleasures.

On the 1st day of the year Mohurrum I, A.H. 840 (July 15, A.D. 1436), Alla-ood-Deen Shah conferred robes of honour on Dilawur Khan, and intrusted him with an army to reduce the tract of country along the sea-shore called Concan, inhabited by a hardy race of men. The rajas of Rairee and Sonkehr,[76] being soon humbled, agreed to pay regular tribute; and Dilawur Khan, having secured the beautiful daughter of the latter raja for the

76. Sonkehr. The situation of this place has not been ascertained, and may, probably, be an error in the MSS. I have consulted.

King, returned to the capital accompanied by her, and with some years' arrears of tribute. The King at first was pleased at his services, and charmed with the Raja's daughter, who was without equal in beauty, disposition, and knowledge of music. He gave her the title of Perichehra,[77] and the fame of their loves became notorious. At length, learning that Dilawur Khan had received bribes from the rajas of Concan, and had not done his utmost to reduce their fortresses, he became cool towards the minister, who of his own accord resigned the seals of office, and by so doing saved himself from danger. This important situation was now filled by the eunuch Dustoor-ool-Moolk; but all ranks of people soon became disgusted with his insolent behaviour, which, though daily represented to the King, made no impression on his mind. Alla-ood-Deen Shah regarded these complaints as proceeding from envy, and the result of a faction, on which account he showed him every day greater favour. At length Hoomayoon, the King's son, desiring the eunuch to accede to some petition which he had brought forward, he replied he could not attend to it immediately, but in a day or two would take it into his consideration. At the expiration of two or three days, the Prince again sent him word that the business was still unfinished, and desiring that he would conclude it without delay. The minister returned for answer, that the case did not come within the Prince's department, and that it was unbecoming in him to interfere.

The Prince, naturally violent, lost his temper, at this affront, and calling one of his attendants, ordered him to assassinate the eunuch; at the same time, he promised to protect him from the consequences. The soldier, who had himself suffered some injury from the minister, accepted the commission; and accordingly, on the same day, while Dustoor-ool-Moolk was coming from the court, the assassin approached him as if about to present a petition, when suddenly drawing a dagger from his girdle, he stabbed him to the heart. The Prince's guards, who were prepared for the event, favoured the murderer's escape, and a scuffle arose in consequence between them and the minister's attendants. The noise reached the King's apartments, and the Prince Hoomayoon went out as if to enquire the cause of the disturbance. On his return, he informed the King that a soldier

77. Fairy Face.

of long service, and who had claims on the royal favour, having been contemptuously treated by Dustoor-ool-Moolk, and having, now especially, suffered abusive language from him, had stabbed him, and was seized by the troops, who waited orders concerning his disposal. The King, who throughout his reign was averse to pass sentence of death on any one, and suspecting the real truth from the Prince's manner, merely directed the murderer to be confined, and conferred the vacant office of minister on Meamun Oolla Deccany, one of the learned men of the time of Feroze Shah.

In the year A.H. 841 (A.D. 1437), Mullika Jehan, the King's wife, (the daughter of Nuseer Khan, ruler of Kandeish,) jealous of her husband's preference to Perichehra, and offended with his coldness towards herself, wrote letters of complaint to her father. Nuseer Khan, making this plea to wage war with Alla-ood-Deen Shah, and being supported by Ahmud Shah of Guzerat, projected the conquest of Berar. He accordingly made private overtures to the officers of that province, promising them great rewards if they would join his standard. His offers met with such success, that the Deccan chiefs unanimously resolved to join him; observing, that as he was descended from the great Oomr, if they fell in battle fighting against his enemies, they should die martyrs. Nuseer Khan accordingly entered Berar with all the troops of Kandeish, a considerable force having been also sent to his aid by the Raja of Gondwana. The treacherous officers attempted to seize their governor, Khan Jehan, who was too firmly attached to the house of Bahmuny to join the invaders; and he, obtaining information of their designs, fled to the fortress of Narnala, where he shut himself up, and wrote accounts of the state of affairs to his court. The traitors, meanwhile, joined Nuseer Khan, and not only read the Khootba in his name, as King of Berar, but marched with him to besiege Narnala.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, on receiving this intelligence, called a council of his ministers and military chiefs, to concert measures for acting at such a critical moment. It was recommended that the King should proceed in person against the enemy, it being probable that both the kings of Guzerat and Malwa, as also the Rays of Gondwana, were prepared to aid in assisting Nuseer Khan. The King, however, suspecting the fidelity of his chiefs,

appointed Mullik-oot-Toojar, then governor of Dowlutabad, to conduct the campaign.

Mullik-oot-Toojar having accepted the commission, observed, that servants had no option but submission, and it was their duty to resign even life itself at the command of their masters; but he observed, that it was notorious the defeat at Mahim (Bombay) was occasioned solely by the enmity of the Deccany and Abyssinian officers towards him, since they could not bear to see a foreigner[78] distinguish himself. He humbly requested, therefore, that the King would, on the present occasion, give him the command of the household troops, and all the foreigners, without any Deccanies or Abyssinians, when he trusted, by the blessing of the Almighty, and the royal auspices, he should be able to bring affairs in Berar to a prosperous issue. Alla-ood-Deen Shah consenting, directed three thousand Mogul bowmen from the body-guard to attend him, as also many Mogul officers, who had been brought up in the service of Feroze Shah and Ahmud Shah. Among these guards were two princes, Mujnoon Sooltan and Shah Koolly Sooltan, both lineal descendants from the great conqueror of Chungiz Khan. Mullik-oot-Toojar proceeded, in the first place, to Dowlutabad, from whence he despatched an army of observation to the frontiers of Guzerat and Malwa, and entered Berar with a well equipped army of seven thousand veteran Moguls;[79] Khan Jehan, also, having found an opportunity of quitting Narnala, joined the King's army at Mehkur. Mullik-oot-Toojar now detached Khan Jehan with his troops to Elichpoor, in order to prevent the Ray of Gondwana from entering Berar by that route, while himself moved with the main body towards the Rohunkehra Ghat, where the enemy was encamped. At the foot of the pass, he was opposed by a detachment of Kandeish troops, whom he routed with great slaughter; and Nuseer Khan, thinking this defeat an ill omen, retreated with precipitation to Boorhanpoor, to which city he was pursued by

78. Khulf Hussun, Mullik-oot-Toojar, it has been before stated, was a foreign merchant. The hostility of the Deccanies and Abyssinians to the Persians and Toorks seems to have prevailed throughout the long period of the reign of the Deccan kings.

79. Mogul is the appellation given by the Deccany historians to all the foreign Mahomedans, whether Arabs, Persians, or Tartars, whereas, the name ought strictly to be confined to one particular race.

Mullik-oot-Toojar; and not thinking himself safe even at that capital, he fled to the fortress of Lulling.[80]

Mullik-oot-Toojar, having levied heavy contributions from the citizens of Boorhanpoor in jewels, money, and effects, proceeded to lay waste the province of Kandeish; which having done to the extent of his wishes, he returned to Boorhanpoor, burned down the royal palaces, and dug up their foundations, and then marched as if towards the Deccan; but during the night, having changed his route, he made one forced march, and appeared suddenly before Lulling with four thousand horse. Nuseer Khan, who had with him twelve thousand men, thinking he must have the advantage over an enemy inferior not only in numbers, but exhausted with fatigue, gave battle. The Kandeish troops, however, were totally defeated, and many of Nuseer Khan's principal officers, together with the rebel chiefs of Berar, were slain; while Mulik-oot-Toojar having secured a large booty, part of which consisted of seventy elephants and some artillery, returned in triumph towards Ahmudabad Bidur.

On his approach, Alla-ood-Deen Shah, to mark his sense of the meritorious services of his general, sent the Prince Hoomayoon, attended by all the court, to meet him at a considerable distance from the city; where, on his arrival, the King gave him a suit of the royal robes, an elephant, and a sabre set with jewels, with permission to retire to his government of Dowlutabad. At the same time, all the chiefs who had accompanied him were gratified with titles, promotion, and grants of lands. To Shah Koolly Sooltan, who had particularly distinguished himself, the King gave his daughter in marriage; and ordered that the Moguls should, in future, take precedence of the Deccanies and Abyssinians. From the day of this distinction till the present time the most rooted inveteracy has existed between the Deccanies and Moguls, which the former have evinced on all occasions, when opportunities offered.

About this time, Dew Ray of Beejanuggur summoned a council of his nobility and principal brahmins; observing to them, that as his country (the Carnatic), in extent, population, and

80. This little, and now insignificant, fortress seems to have been the most formidable of the retreats of Nuseer Khan. Buglana, with its hundred hills, was yet unsubdued by the Mahomedans; but it seems strange he should not have taken refuge in Aseer, where, had he been prepared, he might have bidden defiance to the Deccan army.

revenue, far exceeded that of the house of Bahmuny, and also as his army was more numerous, he requested them to point out the cause of the successes of the Mahomedans, and of his being reduced to pay them tribute. Some said, that the Almighty had decreed to them a superiority over the Hindoos for thirty thousand years, a circumstance which was foretold in their own writings; that it was on this account, therefore, the Hindoos were generally subdued by them. Others said, that the superiority of the Moslems arose out of two circumstances: first, that their horses were stronger, and able to endure more fatigue than the weak animals of the Carnatic; secondly, that a great body of excellent archers was always maintained in pay by the kings of the house of Bahmuny, of whom the Ray had but few in his army.

Dew Ray, upon this, gave orders to enlist Mussulmans in his service, allotting to them estates, and erecting a mosque for their use in the city of Beejanuggur.[81] He also commanded that no one should molest them in the exercise of their religion, and, moreover, he ordered a Koran to be placed before his throne on a rich desk, so that the faithful might perform the ceremony of obeisance in his presence without sinning against their laws.[82] He also made all the Hindoo soldiers learn the art of archery; to which both he and his officers so applied themselves, that he could soon muster two thousand Mahomedans and sixty thousand Hindoos well skilled in archery, besides eighty thousand cavalry, and two hundred thousand infantry, armed in the usual manner with pikes and lances.

With this host, he resolved on conquering the Bahmuny kingdom; and, accordingly, in the year A.H. 847 (A.D. 1443), having crossed the Toongbudra suddenly, he took the fortress of Moodkul, sent his sons to besiege Rachore and Bunkapoor, and encamped with his army along the bank of the Krishna.

81. This is a curious and instructive fact, and shows that strong inducements of interest will, at all times, overcome the repugnance the Hindoos have to associate with strangers. It is difficult to conceive a stronger instance than this of a Hindoos raja enlisting Mussulmans to oppose their brethren in arms.

82. The Mussulmans, too, had compunctions in bowing to an infidel, who, to humour them, allowed a Koran to be put before him, and they saluted it, while the Raja chose to take the compliment to himself: so that the feelings of both parties were spared.

From hence he sent detachments which plundered the country as far as Sagur and Beejapoor, laying it waste with fire and sword. Alla-ood-Deen Shah, on receiving intelligence of these events, prepared to repel the invasion, and commanded all his troops from Tulingana, Dowlutabad, and Berar, to repair to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur without delay. On reviewing them, he found his army to consist of fifty thousand horse, sixty thousand foot, and a considerable train of artillery. With this force he marched against the enemy; and Dew Ray, on his approach, encamped under the walls of the fortress of Moodkul, and detached a large body of light troops to harass the King on his advance. The King's army halted at the distance of twelve miles from Moodkul, and Mullik-oot-Toojar was detached with the Dowlutabad division against the sons of Dew Ray; while Khan Zuman, governor of Beejapoor, and Khan Azim, commander of the forces of Berar and Tulingana, were opposed to the main body of the enemy. Mullik-oot-Toojar, going first to Rachore, gave battle to the eldest son of Dew Ray, who was wounded in the action, and fled towards Bunkapoor, from whence he was joined by his younger brother, who quitted the siege of that fortress.

In the space of two months, three actions took place between the two grand armies; in the first of which, multitudes were slain on both sides, and the Hindoos having the advantage, the Mussulmans experienced heavy losses. The King was successful in the second; and in the last, the eldest son of Dew Ray was killed by a spear thrown at him by Khan Zuman; which event struck the Hindoos with a panic, who fled with precipitation into the fortress of Moodkul. Musheer-ool-Moolk and his brother (officers of note), following the fugitives, entered the fort with them; and the infidels, admiring their valour, took them both prinsoners without injury, and carried them before Dew Ray, who caused them to be kept in confinement. Alla-ood-Deen Shah, upon this, wrote to him, that he valued the lives of the two chiefs equal to that of two hundred thousand common men, therefore, as it was a rule with the princes of his family to slay a hundred thousand Hindoos in revenge for the death of a single Mussulman, he swore, should Dew Ray take away the lives of the two captive officers, he would revenge the death of each by the slaughter of a hundred thousand Hindoos.

The Raja, who knew by experience the determination with which the Bahmuny princes fulfilled their vows, despatched confidential persons to the King, proposing, on condition of his promising not to molest his territories in future, to pay annually the stipulated tribute, and to release the two prisoners. The King acceding to these terms, a treaty was concluded, and Dew Ray immediately sent back Musheer-ool-Moolk and his brother. He also made an offering of forty war elephants, and valuable effects to a great amount, paying at the same time the tribute due for some years past. The King then honoured the Ray with a handsome dress, and presented him with several horses covered with rich furniture set with jewels; after which he began his march homeward; and during the rest of his reign, Dew Ray regularly remitted his tribute, the King strictly observing, on his part also, the treaty formed on this occasion.

In the early part of his reign, Alla-ood-Deen Shah erected, at Ahmudabad Bidur, an infirmary for the poor; to support the expenses of which he granted considerable tracts of land, and established in it both Mussulman and Hindoo physicians. To every part of his dominions he sent censors of morals and just judges; and though he drank wine himself he forbade the use of it to others, as also the practice of gambling. He put chains on the necks of kullendurs,[83] and idle, dissipated vagabonds, whom he punished by employing them in removing filth from the streets, in dragging heavy stones, and in the performance of all manner of laborious work, in order that they might reform, and either earn their livelihood by industry, or quit the country altogether. If any person, after admonition and moderate correction, was convicted of drinking wine, it was enacted, that melted lead should be poured down his throat, whatever might be the rank of the offender.

One of the grandsons of Syud Mahomed Geesoo-Duraz, captivated by a courtesan, was induced by her to drink wine, and becoming quarrelsome from its effects, he beat the woman, and cut off her side locks. The affair was brought before the kotwal,[84] who confined both parties; but out of consideration for the rank of the Syud, he thought proper to refer the case to the royal presence. The King was much enraged, and ordered the

83. Calendars.
84. Civil magistrate.

offender to be carried to the most public square of the city, there to receive two hundred blows on the soles of his feet, and he was required to take a solemn oath against drinking wine; while the courtesan was led through the streets dressed in an ass's skin, and afterwards banished from the city.

The King regulated his civil and military departments so wisely, that the acts of Fureedoon and Nowshirwan lost their lustre when compared with his. On Friday's and on all holidays, he attended the mosque and heard sermons. He was averse from shedding human blood, though he destroyed many idolatrous temples, and erected mosques in their stead. He held conversation neither with Nazarenes nor with bramins; nor would he permit them to hold civil offices under his government.[85]

After the war of Beejanuggur the King changed his conduct, and gave himself wholly up to luxurious enjoyments. Transferring the management of his government to ministers, he collected a thousand of the most beautiful women he could procure; to accommodate whom he erected a magnificent palace, and laid out elegant gardens around it, on the banks of a piece of water. This palace he called the abode of bliss; and therein he spent most of his time in drinking ruby-coloured wines, and in pressing the lips of smooth-faced damsels, or listening to the melody of sweet-voiced musicians. During this intoxication of pleasure, he only appeared in the public audience hall once every four or five months; and the Deccany officers exercised the power of government with uncontrolled sway.

At this time Meamun Oolla Deccany formed a plan for reducing to subjection all the fortresses along the sea-coast. To effect this, the King deputed Mullik-oot-Toojar, with seven thousand Deccany infantry, and three thousand Arabian cavalry, besides his own division, to the westward. Mullik-oot-Toojar, fixing upon Chakun as his seat of government, secured the fort near the city of Joonere, from whence he sent detachments, at different times, into Concan, and reduced several rajas to subjection. At length he moved to that country in person, and laid siege to a fort the Raja of which was named Sirka,[86] whom he speedily obliged to surrender, and to deliver himself and family into his hands.

85. The passage alludes, probably, to offices at court only.

86. Sirka, or more properly Sirky (the Sirkay of the author of

Mullik-oot-Toojar insisted that Sirka should embrace the faith of Islam, or be put to death; upon which the subtle infidel, with much assumed humility, represented that there existed between him and Shunkur Ray, who owned the country around the fortress of Kehlna,[87] a family jealousy, and that should he enter into the pale of Islam, and his rival remain secure in the full possession of power, he would, on the general's retreat, taunt him with ignominy on account of his change of religion, and excite his own family and subjects to revolt; so that he should lose the countries his ancestors had held for ages. Raja Sirka added, however, that if Mullik-oot-Toojar would reduce his rival, Shunkur Ray of Kehlna, and give his country either to himself or to one of his officers, which might be effected with little difficulty, he would then pronounce the creed of the true faith, become enrolled among the servants of the King, and remit annually a tribute to his treasury, as well as assist in reducing those rajas who might hereafter fail in their duty and allegiance.

Mullik-ool-Toojar replied, that he heard the road to the Ray's country was woody, and full of difficult passes. To which Sirka answered, that while there was a guide with the army so faithful and capable as himself, not a single soul should receive injury. Accordingly, Mullik-oot-Toojar, relying on the promises of the Raja, in the year A.H. 858 (A.D. 1453), began his expedition against Kehlna, but was deserted in the outset by most of the Deccany and Abyssinian officers and troops, who declined entering the woods. Raja Sirka, agreeably to his promise, during the first two days conducted the army along a broad road, so that the general praised his zeal and fidelity; but on the third day he led them by paths so intricate, that the male tiger, from apprehension, might change his sex, and through passes more fortuitous than the curly locks of the fair, and more difficult to escape from than the mazes of love. Demons even might start at the precipices and caverns in those wilds, and ghosts might be panic-struck at the awful view of the mountains. Here the sun never enlivened with its splendour the vallies; nor had Providence designed that it should penetrate their depths. The very grass

the excellent Marratta history), is the name of one of the most ancient families of the Concan. The mother of the present Raja of Satara was of that house.

87. Vishalghur

was tough and sharp as the fangs of serpents, and the air fetid as the breath of dragons. Death dwelt in the waters and poison impregnated the breeze. After winding, weary and alarmed, through these dreadful labyrinths, the army entered a darker forest, a passage through which was difficult even to the winds of heaven. It was bounded on three sides by mountains, whose heads towered above the clouds, and on the other side was an inlet of the ocean, so that there was no path by which to advance, nor road for retreat, but that by which they had entered.[88]

Mullik-oot-Toojar at this crisis fell ill of a bloody flux, so that he could not attend to the regularity of the line of march, or give orders for the disposition of his troops, who being excessively fatigued, about night-fall flung themselves down to rest wherever they could find room, for there was no spot which admitted of two tents being pitched near each other. While the troops were thus scattered in disorder, Sirka, their treacherous guide, left them and communicated to Shunkur Ray that he had lured the game into his toils. The Ray, with a great force conducted by Sirka, about midnight attacked the Mussulmans from all quarters, who, unsuspicious of surprise, were burried in the sleep produced by excessive exertions. In this helpless state, nearly seven thousand soldiers of the faithful were put to death, like sheep, with knives and daggers; the wind blowing violently, the rustling of the trees prevented the troops from hearing the cries of their fellow-sufferers. Among these was Mullik-oot-Toojar, who fell with five hundred noble Syuds of Medina, Kurbulla, and Nujuf; as also some few Deccany and Abyssinian officers, together with about two thousand of their adherents, who had remained with their general. Before daylight the Ray, having completed his bloody work, retired with his people from the forest.

Those who survived this dreadful massacre retraced, with much difficulty, the path by which they had advanced, and joined the Deccany and Abyssinian officers, who had remained encamped on the plains above the Ghats. The latter advised the foreigners to retire to their estates, that they might recover from their

88. The above passage has been given literally, in order to afford a sample of the author's style. The description is very characteristic of the general features of the Concan country; though it is not easy to fix the exact spot into which the Mahomedan army was led to its destruction.

fatigues, and supply themselves with necessaries for future service. To this proposal the Moguls would not accede, as the town of Chakun was near, where they might, in a short time, recuit their strength, and be able to rejoin the army. Some of the Moguls, also, impurudently observed, that the defection and cowardice of of Deccancy officers, who had refused to descend the Ghats, was the occasion of the disaster which had befallen Mullik-oot-Toojar and the Syuds. After their arrival at Chakun, the Moguls threatened to write full accounts to court of the desertion of the Deccanieas.

The latter, apprehensive of this, resolved to be the first accusers, and therefore sent advices to the King, stating, that Mullik-oot-Toojar, at the instigation of a zemindar named Sirka, and by the advice of the Syuds and Moguls, had entered on a wild project in defiance of their most earnest remonstrances; that the general had by his own death suffered the punishment of his rashness, and that most of his followers had also fallen; that the surviving foreign troops, instead of agreeing to remain with them till another general should be appointed, had behaved with insolence, spoken disrespectfully of the King, and were gone in a body to the fortress of Chakun, offering their services to the rajas of the Concan, and inviting them to revolt.

These letters were forwarded through Sheer-ool-Moolk Deccany and Nizam-ool-Moolk, son of Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, officers hostile to the Moguls, whom they regarded as rivals. They accordingly presented the letters to Alla-ood-Deen Shah, when heated with wine, and related the defeat of Mullik-oot-Toojar, and the behaviour of the surviving Moguls. The story was told with a thousand exaggerations, and with aggravating and malicious insinuations. The King, incensed against the foreigners, without a moment's reflection, directed the two officers who brought the communication to repair forthwith to Chakun, and put all the foreigners to the sword.

Like Abdoolla Zecad, or Shums-ool-Joshun,[89] putting on armour against the descendants of the Prophet, these officers mov-

89. Ferishta compares the attack on the Syuds in Chakun to that made on Hoossein and his seventy followers, near Kurbulla, by Abdoolla Bin Zecad and Shums-ool-Joshun, who marched to attack, and who destroyed, the grandson of the Prophet, and his small party, in the desert.

ed towards Cnakun with a great force. The Syuds and Moguls, hearing of their approach, shut themselves up in the fort, and despatched petitions to court, relating the truth, and pleading their innocence; but their messengers were intercepted by Sheer-ool-Moolk, who destroyed the letters. They despatched other letters, but finding that none of their own companions were allowed to pass, they entrusted their petition to two natives of Hindoostan, who had been for years maintained by their countrymen. These wretches, whose black complexions were but an index of their hearts, giving way to their naturally treacherous dispositions, carried the letters to Sheer-ool-Moolk, who destroyed them, as he had done the former, and rewarded the betrayers with gifts. The approaches to Chakun were now so closely blocked up, that no persons, could pass without search; and the unfortune Syuds, like their great ancestor Hoossein, were reduced to the extremity of despair. But they resolutely determined to defend themselves till the last. Sheer-ool-Moolk, finding them obstinately bent on resistance, summoned the Deccany officers from the Concan to assist him; and thus a great army was assembled before Chakun. The siege continued for two months without effect; during which time Sheer-ool-Moolk wrote frequently to court, that the Syuds and Moguls, continuing in obstinate rebellion, had asked assistance of the King of Guzerat, offering to deliver up Chakun into his hands. The Deccany ministers supported these representations with all their influence, and procured repeated orders from the King to punish the rebels in such a manner as to operate as an example to others. If now and then a letter from the accused found its way to the capital, the ministers took care to prevent its being seen by the King, who, they pretended, was so enraged, that he would not even hear or read a word from them.

When provisions in the fort grew scarce. the besieged resolved to leave a sufficient number to defend their families, and to make a sally on their enemies; hoping, that by fighting their road through them, they might reach the capital, and lay the true state of affairs before the King. The Deccanies learning their design dreaded the event, as they knew they would all fight desperately, and some would, most probably, make good their way to court, which would immediately lead to a discovery of the treachery of the Deccanies; they therefore had recourse to stratagem to get the besieged into their power. To this end they sent a message to

them, saying, that being followers of the Prophet, and pitying their misfortunes and the children and women of the Syuds, they had interceded with the King for pardon, who at last, complying with their petition, had given orders that they should be permitted to retire unmolested out of his dominions, with their families and effects. A forged order, to this purpose, was produced as a proof of the sincerity of their declaration, and both chiefs, like Yezeed,[90] swore by the Almighty, by the Koran, and by the Prophet of God, that they would not injure them in person or property.

Relying on these solemn oaths, the unfortunate forěigners, in number about two thousand five hundred, of whom twelve hundred were Syuds of pure descent, evacuated the fort, with their wives and children, and encamped at a short distance, in order to provide the means for moving them. The Deccany chiefs for three days abided by their promises, using every endeavour to gain their confidence, and lull suspicion, by kind offices and offers of assistance. On the fourth day, however, they prevailed on the chiefs to come to an entertainment in the fort, at which all the principal foreigners, in number about three hundred, attended, with the exception of Kasim Beg (Suff Shikun),[91] Kurra Khan Koord, and Ahmud Beg of Mecca. While in the act of eating, a number of armed men, on a signal given by Sheer-ool-Moolk, rushed upon them, and put every soul to the sword. At the same instant, four thousand Deccanies outside the fort attacked the camp of the foreigners and put every male to death, even the very infants at the breast. After this tragedy, they plundered the tents, and treated the women with all the insult that lust or brutality could provoke. Since the time of Hoossein, the Syuds were never so maltreated; but is it not astonishing, that men, who called themselves servants of the Prophet, should so basely misuse his descendants?

Kasim Beg and the Moguls, who had encamped about two miles from the rest of their unfortunate companions, on hearing the alarm, armed themselves, and putting even the women in soldiers' habits, fled towards the capital. Sheer-ool-Moolk instantly despatched two thousand horse to pursue them under Dawood Khan, and wrote to all the jageerdars and farmers to

90. The Caliph Yezeed, who caused the attack on Hoossein.

91. So called from his having distinguished himself in breaking the enemy's line.

intercept them as rebels, or cut them off, under pain of the King's displeasure. Kasim Beg, however, with three hundred followers only, posted on without halting except when the Deccanies approached so near as to oblige him to disperse them, which he did frequently with desperate valour. He passed the nights in the open fields, and in this manner proceeded for some days; till at length, near the town of Beer, he was closely pressed by Dawood Khan, who had summoned Hussun Khan, the jageerdar of Beer, to his aid. This nobleman had once been saved from great danger in one of the Beejanuggur campaigns by Kasim Beg, whom he now resolved to assist in turn; and he accordingly told Dawood Khan, that it was impossible the Moguls could be rebels, as they were hastening of their own accord to the capital. Dawood Khan was now joined by Sheer-ool-Moolk in person, who overtook him with fifteen hundred additional troops, with which they attacked the Moguls. Kasim Beg, with his followers, resisted like men fighting for life. Dawood Khan was luckily killed by an arrow in the first onset; but this circumstance only excited the Deccanies to revenge, and they had almost overpowered the Moguls, when Hussun Khan coming to their assistance, the Deccanies retreated with the body of their leader towards Chakun. Hussun Khan conducted the brave sufferers to his residence, where they were supplied with provisions by his kindness; and he wrote also representations to the King, who, in answer, commanded Kasim Beg and his companions to repair to court.

Upon their arrival, Alla-ood-Deen Shah commanded them into his presence, and having examined into the whole affair, he was enraged at the conduct of his treacherous ministers, and blamed himself for his own fatal confidence. He then directed Moostufa Khan, who had withheld the letters of the Syuds from his perusal, to be beheaded on the spot, and his body to be exposed in the public streets. He appointed Kasim Beg to the government of Dowlutabad and Joonere, and conferred on him the honours enjoyed by the late Mullik-oot-Toojar. He raised all his followers to rank, and ordered fresh levies of Moguls to be raised and placed under their command. He appropriated the houses and effects of Nizam-ool-Moolk and Sheer-ool-Moolk to his own use, and commanded them, with all the other aggressors, to be led into the capital, walking on foot, loaded with heavy chains. Those persons who had been instrumental in forging the

first accusations he put to death in various ways and deprived their children of their estates, so that they wanted even a meal. According to the Tubkat Mahmood Shahy, Sheer-ool-Moolk and Nizam-ool-Moolk were afflicted with leprosy in the same year, and their children walked the streets for shameful purposes, among the outcasts of society.[92]

In this year (A.D. 1453) Sheik Azry the King's preceptor for whom when a youth he had great respect, wrote him a long letter of advice from Khorassan. The King was much effected with the persual. He in consequence forswore the use of wine, and answered the letter with his own hand, and sent also valuable presents in return. The King now rigidly enforced the institutes of Ahmud Shah, attended regularly to the administration of his affairs, and removed all the Deccanies from offices of trust.

In the year A.H. 859 (A.D. 1454), a dangerous eruption breaking out in the King's foot, which baffled the art of the surgeons, he was necessarily confined to his private apartments, and reports were often spread through the provinces of his death. Among other persons, one Julal Khan, the King's brother-in-law, being assured of his decease, seized on many districts around his government of Nowulgoond, which he gave in charge to his son Sikundur Khan, grandson (by his mother) to the late Ahmud Shah.[93] Khan Azim, governor of Tulingana, also dying at this time, and no officer of sufficient influence being on the spot to assume the charge, the officers of the province submitted to the authority of Sikundur Khan.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, in spite of his indisposition, prepared to march in order to reduce the rebels, on which Julal Khan and Sikundur Khan agreed, that the former should remain in Tulingana, and the latter proceed to Mahoor, the better to distract the motions of the royal army. The King sent offers of pardon, if the rebels would lay down their arms; but Sikundur Khan having on a former occasion joined the Prince Mahomed Khan in his

92. The reader will observe with what acrimony the whole of this transaction is related by Ferishta; but it is not easy for a Christian of the nineteenth century to enter into the feelings of a Sheea Mahomedan when reviewing such a subject. If he can imagine what would be the feelings of a Protestant writer of the time recording the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day, he would have even but a slight notion of the horror of the Mahomedan historian on the present occasion.

93. Consequently, the King's nephew.

insurrection, and having been guilty of many other offences, refused to rely on the King's promises. He therefore represented to the King of Malwa, Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, that Alla-ood-Deen Shah had been long dead, but that the ministers, pretending he was still alive, had resolved to destroy the principal nobles, and to divide the kingdom among themselves; that under these circumstances, if the King of Malwa chose to undertake the project, the provinces of Berar and Tulingana would fall without a blow into his hands. Sooltan Mahmood, crediting these assurances so flattering to his ambition, marched, in conjunction with the ruler of Kandeish, in the year A.H. 860 (A.D. 1455), to the Deccan. They were joined by Sikundur Khan, who advanced with a body of one thousand horse to meet them.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah, on receiving this intelligence, changed his design of going in person to Tulingana, whither he deputed Khwaja Mahmood Geelany (commonly called Gawan), with a considerable army, to attack Julal Khan. At the same time Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, was directed to watch the motions of the ruler of Kandeish, while Kasim Beg,[94] governor of Dowlutabad, advanced with a corps of observation towards the division led by the King of Malwa, the King of the Deccan being with the main army, consisting chiefly of the Beejapoor division, following at the distance of ten miles.

Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, now satisfied that the Deccan king was still living, and actually marching against him, retreated with the greatest part of his army, leaving an officer, under pretence of assisting Sikundur Khan, but with secret instructions, in case of his attempting to join the Deccanies, to seize his person, and bring him prisoner to Mando with all his treasure. Sikundur Khan, gaining timely information of this design, escaped from the Malwa army with two thousand Afghans and Rajpoots to Nowlgoond, to which place Khwaja Mahmood Gawan was then about to lay siege. Shortly after this, Sikundur Khan delivered up the fortress, on condition of a free pardon. On going to court with Khwaja Mahomed Gawan, he was again received into favour, and Nowlgoond was restored to him. The King having left Fukhr-ool-Moolk Toork in the government of the Mahoor districts, and Furhut-ool-Moolk in command of the garrison of Mahoor, re-

94. The same person who escaped from the massacre of the foreigners at Chakun.

turned to his capital, where in the year A.H. 862 (A.D. 1457), the disorder in his foot increasing to a mortification, he left this world of vanity for that of eternity, after a reign of twenty three years, nine months, and twenty days.

Alla-ood-Deen Shah is said to have been eloquent, possessing great wit, and fond of learning. He would sometimes ascend the pulpit in the grand mosque on Fridays and holidays, and read the Khootba, in which he mentioned himself by the following titles: "The monarch just, merciful, patient, and liberal to the servants of God, chief in worldly and religious affairs, son of the most distinguished among princes, Ahmud Shah Wully Bahmuny." One day, an Arabian merchant, who had sold horses for the King's use, the payment for which was delayed by the officers of the household, being present when he read the above titles, roused by the ill usage he had experienced, and indignant at the cruel massacre of the innocent Syuds, which had just taken place, exclaimed with a loud voice, "Thou art neither the just, the merciful, the patient, nor the liberal king, but the cruel and the false, who hast massacred the Prophet's descendants, yet darest to assume such vaunting titles in the pulpit of the true believers."[95] The King, struck with remorse, commanded the merchant to be paid on the spot, saying that those would not escape the wrath of God who had thus injured his reputation. He then retired to his palace, and never entered the mosque again, till he was brought there a corpse to be interred. The King, finding himself dying, appointed his son, Hoomayoon his successor contrary to the wishes of all his court, who dreaded his cruel and sanguinary temper; and several of the nobles made their escape to Guzerat before the King's death, to avoid the tyranny of his successor.

HOOMAYOON SHAH ZALIM[96] BAHMUNY

AT the time Alla-ood-Deen Shah was breathing his last, the Prince Hoomayoon was in his own palace, and Seif Khan and Mulloo Khan, two nobles of distinction, concealing the circumstance of

95. This is an instance of the bold language to which despotic monarchs are sometimes exposed in public, when individuals, driven to despair, take this course as a means either of shortening their lives, or of putting an end to oppression to which they are no longer willing to submit.

96. The Cruel.

the King's death, privately raised his youngest son, Hussun Khan, to the throne. In this plot they were joined by Hubeeb Oolla,[97] and some other chiefs, who regarded the measure as an unexpected blessing. A party of the insurgents now proceeded to plunder the palace of Hoomayoon Shah, and secure his person. Hoomayoon opposed this attack with resolution, obliging the insurgents to retire, and pursuing them towards the royal apartments. On the way, the elephant drivers, perdehdars,[98] silehdars, and body guards, with other persons of the household, who were ignorant of any preconcerted plan for the King's destruction, joined Hoomayoon, so that he entered the grand hall of audience without opposition, and seized his brother, who sat panic-struck and trembling upon the throne. Hoomayoon instantly ascending it in his stead, was acknowledged King without further opposition. After these prompt measures, he caused Seif Khan, the whole contriver of the plot, to be dragged through the city chained to the foot of an elephant, and directed his associate, Hubeeb Oolla to be confined as well as the Prince Hussun Khan, whose eyes he caused to be put out.[99]

Agreeably to the will of his father, he conferred the office of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut on Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with the title of Mullik-oot-Toojar, and the government of Beejapoor. Mullik Shah, an officer who claimed descent from Chungiz Khan, was appointed governor of Tulingana, with the title of Khwaja Jehan, he had also an estate in that province, with the rank of commander of one thousand; and the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk was conferred on the nephew of Imad-ool-Moolk Ghoory, a young nobleman of distinction. Sikundur Khan, son of Julal Khan, a favourite companion of the King before his accession, disappointed at not having the government of Tulingana, left court without taking leave,[100] and joining his father at Nowlgoond, began to raise troops.

97. This is one of the holy personages who were deputed to wait on Shah Neamut Oolla, in Khorassan. These learned divines seem frequently to have entered deeply into court intrigues.

98. Officers of the bed-chamber, and private apartments.

99. Seif Khan suffered death. The Prince was deprived of eyesight: and Hubeeb-Oolla, on account of the sanctity of his profession, was merely placed in confinement.

100. The etiquette of all Oriental courts requires that public officers should obtain an audience of leave previously to quitting it, if even

Hoomayoon Shah lost no time in sending Khan Jehan, governor of Berar, who had come to court to congratulate the King on his accession, against Sikundur Khan, but Khan Jehan being defeated, Hoomayoon Shah thought it necessary to march against the rebels in person, not without hopes, that upon his arrival in the vicinity of Nowlgoond, Julal Khan and Sikundur Khan would see their error and submit. In these expectations, however, he was disappointed; for Sikundur Khan made a sudden attack on the King's camp by night, with some success, which induced him on the next day to lay siege to the fort. Sikundur Khan, having great dependence on the attachment and bravery of his troops, marched out to offer battle with eight thousand Deccanies and Rajpoots; but the King, in consideration of their former intimacy and relationship, sent him word that though appearing in arms against his sovereign was a heinous offence, yet as he wished not to destroy him, he would grant him free pardon, and confer on him an estate in the province of Dowlutabad. Sikundur Khan returned for answer, that though Hoomayoon was the grandson of Ahmud Shah he was also his grandson by his daughter, consequently his partner in the kingdom of their grandfather, so that he must resign the sovereignty of Tulingana to him, or prepare for battle.[101]

Hoomayoon Shah, enraged at this insolent language, instantly ordered out the line, to attack. Sikundur Khan did not decline the contest, and repeatedly repulsed the most vigorous charges of the royal army. The action continued long indecisive, till Mullik-oot-Toojar Mahmood Gawan, with the Beejapoor division, and Khwaja Jehan Toork, with the army of Tulingana, charged the right and left wings at the same instant, and the rebels began to give way to the shock. The King, observing their confusion, supported the attack from the centre with five hundred bowmen, and five hundred spearmen, at the head of whom, mounted on an elephant, he rushed on the enemy. This assault was opposed so resolutely, that the King found himself nearly deserted by his followers, who retreated in confusion, while Sikundur Khan, avail-

for a day; and when permission was not obtained, it was understood the individual was offended, and prepared to revolt.

101. The inconvenience attending the intermarriage of the royal family with subjects is here fully exhibited, although the pretensions of Sikundur Khan were certainly extravagant and audacious.

ing himself of the moment, with his spear in the rest, attacked the King personally; when the elephant on which Hoomayoon was mounted seized Sikundur Khan in his trunk, drew him from his horse, and dashed him forcibly on the ground. His followers, who were on full speed to support his charge, unable to stop, rode over him, by which he was crushed to death. On the loss of their chief, the rebel army fled; and the King, rallying his troops, pursued the fugitives, with great slaughter, a considerable distance from the field of battle.

The next day the King commenced the siege of Nowlgoond; and at the end of a week, Julal Khan, seeing no recourse but submission, offered to surrender. Through the mediation of Mullik-oot-Toojar and Khwaja Jehan, Julal Khan was pardoned, and threw himself at the King's feet, with an offering of his wealth, accumulated during forty years of high and profitable employment. His life being spared, he was confined in a castle, where he ended his days.

Hoomayoon Shah, on the fall of Nowlgoond, meditated the reduction of the fortress of Dewurconda, belonging to a zemindar of Tulingana, who had lent his support to Sikundur Khan. To accomplish this service, he detached Khwaja Jehan and Nizam-ool-Moolk, while he marched himself to Wurungole. The Tulingas uniting fought several battles in the field, but were on all occasions defeated by Khwaja Jehan; and at length retired within the fortress, which was closely besieged on every side, though situated among high mountains and difficult woods. The Tulingas, on this occasion, applied for assistance to the Ray of Orissa, who being tempted by offers of great sums of money sent a considerable body of troops, with several war-elephants, to the support of the Tulingas, promising to advance quickly himself with his whole force. The Tulingas, inspired by these hopes, held out obstinately; and the two generals, hearing of the approach of the expected reinforcements, became doubtful how to act. Nizam-ool-Moolk proposed raising the siege and marching out of the hills and passes, in order to engage the auxiliaries to advantage on the plain, and prevent their junction. To this measure Khwaja Jehan objected; saying, that the Tulingas would attribute a retreat to fear, and issuing from the fortress would attack them on their march; so that it was better to continue the siege, and make preparations to oppose the junction of the reinforcement on the spot. On the

next day the troops of Orissa arrived; and the Tulingas sallying from the fort, both attacked the King's forces at the same instant, whose cavalry being unable to act, from the nature of the ground, a total defeat was sustained by the Mohamedans. The two generals effected their escape with the greatest difficulty from the field; nor did they halt till they reached Wurungole, being pursued for eighty miles by the enemy. Hoomayoon Shah, on enquiring into the cause of the disaster, was falsely informed by Khwaja Jehan, in order to save his own life, that he acted by the advice of Nizam-ool-Moolk, although that general entirely disapproved of the measure; and the King, in his rage, without further examination, caused that gallant nobleman to be put to death; while his relatives and followers flying, enlisted into the service of Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa. Khwaja Jehan was also disgraced, and sent close prisoner to a fortress.

Hoomayoon Shah, determined on wiping away the disgrace sustained by his troops, was busily preparing a fresh army to go against Dewurconda, when advices were brought him from the capital, that one Yoosoof Toork having set at liberty the blind Prince Hussun Khan and Shah Hubeeb Oolla, had fled with them into the country of Kandeish. The King, losing all patience, left his minister, Mahmood Gawan, to protect Tulingana, and returned in the year A.H. 864 (A.D. 1459) by forced marches to his capital, where his wrath knew no bounds. But it is necessary, before his cruelties are recorded, to mention their original cause.

Shah Hubeeb Oolla, an eminent divine, had been imprisoned for his attachment to the Prince Hussun Khan. On the occasion of the King's marching against Sikundur Khan, towards Nowlgoond, seven of the Shah's disciples formed the resolution of releasing him at all hazards. For this purpose, they addressed one Yoosoof, a Toorky slave[102] of the late Alla-ood-Deen Shah. Yoosoof was a man generally esteemed, and celebrated for his

102. The King's body-guard was composed usually of purchased slaves, who were treated with great distinction, and frequently rose to eminence. From this guard the King selected his aide-de-camps and confidential personal attendants; and they were taught to look up to the monarch alone for their future success in life. The practice has always prevailed in the eastern courts; and in the instances of the Prætorian bands under the Roman emperors, the Swiss guards of France, and the Janissaries of Constantinople, we have abundant proofs of the fondness of absolute monarchs for such instruments of power and protection.

virtue, integrity, piety, and extensive charities; he was besides, a firm disciple and friend of Shah Hubeeb Oolla. This officer promised his aid, and corrupted some of the guards and door-keepers of the palace. The number of the confederacy was limited to twelve horsemen and fifty foot, all bent upon sacrificing their lives to the service of Shah Hubeeb Oolla. Conceiving their project ripe for execution, Yoosoof went one evening with his friends to the gate of the seraglio in which the prisoners were confined. Most of the guards were absent, but he was questioned by the few on duty. Yoosoof replied, that he had the King's commands to enter the prison and blind such and such criminals, producing a forged order in support of his assertion; on seeing which, the guard suffered him to pass. On his reaching the second gate, another guard refused to admit him; for though he showed the royal commission, the kotwal's order was also necessary before entrance could be obtained; upon which, Yoosoof and his band dreading discovery rushed upon the guard, and putting them to death, passed on. Yoosoof first proceeded to the apartments of the state-prisoners, and took off the chains from Shah Hubeeb Oolla; and the Princes Hussun Khan and Yehya Khan, sons of the late King, as also Julal Khan Bokhary[103] entreated him to break their chains, and take them with him, to which he consented. After this, having gone into every apartment, he invited all those who chose to be freed from captivity to repair to the gate of the palace and join him. About seven thousand unfortunate captives of all conditions rose upon their keepers, and arming themselves with clubs or whatever came to hand, ranged themselves at the gate as directed. By this time, the kotwal of the city, having heard the alarm, advanced to the palace with the city guards; but the captives, rendered desperate, received them so warmly with showers of stones and clubs, that they were driven back. The prisoners, during the night, dispersed to different quarters among their friends; but Julal Khan, who was nearly eighty years old, and the Prince Yehya Khan, fell into the kotwal's hands in a few hours, and suffered death. The Prince Hussun Khan, and Shah Hubeeb Oolla, took shelter in the house of a barbar, where they shaved their beards, and assumed the garb of beggars. Shah Hubeeb Oolla recom-

103. The King's relative, and father to the Prince Sikundur Khan who had disputed the crown in the early part of the reign.

mended that they should quit the country; but the Prince flattered himself, that the people in general, disgusted with his brother's cruelty, were attached to him, and that it was likely he could soon raise an army and recover the throne. Shah Hubeeb Oolla having consented to assist his designs, they both left Bidur, and got some distance from the city. The Prince Hussun Khan now made himself known, and was joined by adventurers and disaffected persons from all quarters. Among others, was his deliverer Yoosoof Toork. In a few days, the Prince raised an army of three thousand horse and five thousand foot, with which he advanced to the fortified palace and garden of Kumtana, only six miles from the capital, in hopes of being able to take it. Finding this measure more difficult than he at first imagined, he retreated to the town of Beer,[104] of which he took possession, together with the country around, and continued to levy fresh troops. Such was the state of affairs when the King arrived at Ahmudabad Bidur with his army.

The King's first act was to punish the neglect of the city guard, all of whom, to the number of two thousand, he put to death with cruel torture. He also caused the kotwal to be confined in an iron cage, every day cutting off some member of his body, which he obliged him to eat, so that he very shortly died. Meanwhile he detached an army of eight thousand horse and foot against the Prince, who at first was successful. On hearing this, the King's fury knew no bounds. He reinforced his army with more troops; but seizing on the women and children of the officers, threatened to put these hostages to death if the army should be defeated, or the officers desert to the Prince, Hussun Khan.

In the next battle the Prince suffered a total defeat; and Hussun Khan, after a desperate resistance, quitted the field with his adherents, hoping to find an asylum at Beejanuggur. Upon his arrival near the fort of Beejapur, with about eight hundred horse, the governor, Siraj Khan Jooneidy, sent out a message to invite him in, declaring that he would give up the fort and all its dependencies into his hands. Hussun Khan, by the advice of Shah Hubeeb Oolla and Yoosoof Toork, entered the fort of

104. Beer was at this time in the hands of the descendants of Shah Neamut Oolla, who were naturally well disposed to Shah Hubeeb Oolla.

Beejapoor. This fort was then only built of mud. Siraj Khan received the party with apparent respect and attention. At night-fall, however, coming with his attendants to the Prince's apartment, under pretence of paying his respects, he surrounded it, and on the next day attempted to secure the persons of his guests. Shah Hubeeb Oolla suffered martyrdom in making resistance. At length the Prince Hussun Khan, Yoosoof Toork, and his other followers, even to his tent pitchers, watermen, and sweepers, were seized and sent prisoners by Siraj Khan under a strong escort, to Ahmudabad Bidur.

Hoomayoon Shah, now abandoning himself to the full indulgence of his cruel propensities, and mad with rage, directed stakes to be set up on both sides of the King's chowk, or market-place, and caused vicious elephants and wild beasts to be placed in different parts of the square, in other places cauldrons of scalding oil and boiling water were also prepared as instruments of torture. The King, ascending a balcony in order to glut his eyes on the spectacle, first cast his brother, Hussun Khan, before a ferocious tiger, who soon tore the wretched Prince to pieces, and devoured him on the spot. Yoosoof Toork, and his seven associates, were then beheaded in the King's presence, and the females of their innocent and helpless families, being dragged from their houses, were violated and ill treated in the palace-square, by ruffians, in a manner too indecent to relate. Tortures were now invented by the King, who inflicted on both young and old of both sexes torments more cruel than ever entered the imagination of Zohak[105] and the tyrant Hijaj.[106] About seven thousand persons, including females and servants, none of whom had the most distant concern in this rebellion, besides the menials, such as cooks, scullions, and others, were put to death; some being stabbed with daggers, others hewn in pieces with hatchts, and the rest flayed by scalding oil or boiling water. This tragedy happened in the month of Shaban, A.H. 864 (August, A.D. 1460), in the same year as the rebellion.

105. An ancient king of Persia, who is said to have sold himself to the devil, and who, in consequence, was afflicted by two serpents, who, rising c of his shoulders, demanded to be fed on human brains daily.

106. A barbarous tyrant of Arabia.

The author of the Towareekh Mahmood Shahy states, he learned from the royal attendants, that upon the King's first hearing of the escape of the Prince Hussun Khan rage and passion so overcame him, he tore his robes, bit his pillows, and often his own lips, in such a manner that they dropped with blood. Alarmed at the example of Hussun Khan, he put to death several innocent persons of the royal family who were confined in different fortresses. Nor did his suspicious rest here; many other persons of his own court fell the innocent victims of his indiscriminate cruelty. From this moment Hoomayoon threw off all restraint, and seized at will the children of his subjects, tearing them from their parents to gratify his passions. He would frequently stop nuptial processions in the street, and seizing the bride, after enjoying her, send her to the bridegroom's house. He was in the habit of putting the females of his own house to death for the most trivial offences; and when any of the nobility were obliged to attend him, so great was their dread, that they took leave of their families, as if preparing for death.

At length the Almighty took pity on the sufferings of his people, and listened to the complaints of the wretched. The tyrant was taken ill, and judging he should die, appointed his eldest son, Nizam Shah, then only eight years of age, his successor; and having summoned Khwaja Jehan Toork from Berar, and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan from Tulingana, made his will, constituting them a council of regency, and guardians to his son during his minority, commanding them strictly, at the same time, to transact no business without the cognisance of the Queen-mother. He died on the 28th of Zeekad, A.H. 865 (Sept. 3, A.D. 1461), according to some, but others relate that he recovered from this illness, and was assassinated during a fit of intoxication by his own servants, who were wearied out with his inhuman cruelties. His reign lasted three years, six months, and six days.

NIZAM SHAH BAHMUNY

WHEN, out of pity to mankind, the Almighty had removed Hoomayoon the Cruel from the world, and his son Nizam Shah succeeded to the throne of the Deccan, the Queen-mother acted as regent. She was a woman of great abilities herself; but she

did nothing without consulting Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, admitting no other nobles to share in the administration. Mahmood Gawan, who held the government of Berar, was appointed vizier, and Khwaja Jehan assumed the office of Vakeel-oos-Sultunut, and was made governor of Tulingana. These two ministers attended every morning at the palace, and communicated, through a female, with the Queen-mother, who, after giving her approbation, sent the young King to the hall of audience, where he sat on the throne. On his right hand stood Khwaja Jehan, and upon the left, Mahmood Gawan. These officers gave orders and transacted business in his presence. By the happy co-operation and unanimity of these three personages, the injuries occasioned by the tyranny of the late king were soon repaired; but the surrounding potentates, both Mussulmans and Hindoos, hearing that the throne of the Deccan was filled by a child, and that the nobles and officers were disaffected, owing to the cruelties of their late sovereign, conceived the design of encroaching on his dominions. In the first instance, the Rays of Orissa, in conjunction with the zemindars of Tulingana, invaded the kingdom by the route of Rajmundry, plundering and laying waste the country as far as Kowlas. The Queen-mother and the ministers, in no wise dismayed, collected an army of forty thousand men, and marched with the young monarch to oppose the enemy. The Ray of Orissa advanced to within six miles of the royal army, and within ten of the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur, it being his design to demand restitution of the country of Tulingana, and to exact tribute from the infant King. The two ministers, in reply to a communication of this nature, said, that their master had designed to invade and conquer Orissa and Jajnuggur;[107] but since the Raja had himself come so far with his army, the King would be able to effect the object of defeating him, without the trouble of marching to those distant countries; moreover, that the King had resolved not to allow a man of the enemy to escape, unless the amount of the injuries done to his dominions should be repaired, and the Raja agree to pay tribute. With this message, Shah Mohib Oolla[108] was despatched; but his escort of one hundred and sixty horsemen being stopped by

107. Jajnuggur, on the Mahanudda, the ancient capital of Orissa.
108. Shah Mohib Oolla was the grandson of the celebrated Shah Neamut Oolla of Kirman.

the infidels, he charged the Ray's advanced picquets so boldly, that supposing the whole army was in motion, the Hindoos fell back on their main body, and the Rays of Orissa and Tulingana leaving their heavy baggage on the ground, retreated during the night. Khwaja Jehan went in pursuit next day, while the king and Mahmood Gawan made easy marches after him.[109] The Rays, finding that they lost two or three thousand men in every day's march, owing to the activity of Khwaja Jehan, took protection in a fort;[110] from whence they sent to the minister, Mahmood Gawan, entreating pardon; and after much debate, and on paying a large sum of money, they were permitted to retreat without further molestation into their own territories. Nizam Shah Bahmuny returned in triumph to his capital; and having conferred honours and rewards on the officers and soldiers, permitted them to retire to their several stations

Soon after this campaign, Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa invaded the Bahmuny territories, by the route of Kandeish, with twenty-eight thousand horse; and the Rays of Orissa and Tulingana, having again taken the field, renewed their depredations on the countries of Islam. The ministers, accordingly, ordered the Tulingana division to protect that province against the Hindoos; and taking Nizam Shah with them, they marched with the forces of Beejapoor, Dowlutabad, and Berar, against Sooltan Mahmood.

Nizam Shah, in spite of his extreme youth, appeared at the head of his army. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with ten thousand horse, formed the right wing, and Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork, with other chieftains, composed the left wing, while the King remained with Khwaja Jehan, and Sikundur Khan, his foster-brother, in the centre, which consisted of eleven thousand cavalry and one hundred war-elephants. Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa committed the charge of his right wing to his son the Prince Gheias-ood-Deen, and the left to Mahabut Khan, governor of Chundery, sup-

109. Ferishta, in so hastily adopting the language of Moolla Dawood of Bidur, and the other chroniclers of the Bahmuny dynasty, has exercised, neither discretion nor even much research, in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindoos; for it is absurd to suppose, that the mere appearance of one hundred and sixty men would alone have broken up a confederacy which seems to have been so seriously formed for the recovery of Tulingana.

110. Ferishta does not mention the name of the fort.

ported by Zuheer-ool-Moolk, himself taking command in person of his best troops, which composed the centre.

Khwaja Mahmood Gawan began the battle by an attack on the enemy's left, which, after some resistance, broke and fled, Mahabut Khan and Zuheer-ool-Moolk of Malwa being both killed. Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork, with the left wing, charged the right of the Malwa army under the Prince Gheias-ood-Deen, who had gained the character of a brave soldier throughout Hindoostan. While the troops of both armies were intermingled, the two generals came in contact hand to hand with each other; when Nizam-ool-Moolk's sword being shivered to pieces, he threw the hilt[111] into the face of his antagonist with such violence as to wound him severely in the eye, which bleeding exceedingly, he fell from his horse in agony. The troops of Malwa, seeing their leader fall, became disheartened, as is usual on such occasions, and fled. They were pursued four miles by the Deccanies, who having committed much slaughter, took a vast booty, together with fifty elephants. Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, on witnessing the retreat of both wings of his army, prepared to follow their example; but another of his sons, and some of his nobles, dissuading him, he awaited the assault of Khwaja Jehan, who charged with ten thousand horse. On this occasion, Sooltan Mahmood having struck the elephant of Sikundur Khan Toork in the head with an arrow, the huge animal, mad with pain, turning round, trod down many of the troops of the army to which he belonged, and had nearly seized Nizam Shah himself.[112] Sikundur Khan, either from fear, or out of enmity to Khwaja Jehan, drew off his troops and carried the King with him to a little distance from the field of battle; on which, the Deccanies perceiving the royal standard[113] withdrawn, fled, and did not stop till they reached the capital. Khwaja Jehan, finding that the right and left wings

111. The hilts of the swords were made of solid steel, and were heavy, in order to counterbalance the weight of the thick sword blades.

112. Elephants, when enraged, become furious, and not unfrequently attack each other. The translator once witnessed an instance of this nature, in which it was not without the utmost exertion of the drivers of both elephants that the persons riding on that which was attacked escaped from being torn to pieces.

113. The royal standard, borne on an elephant, always attends the King when in the field; and it is too well known how the absence of this emblem usually decides the fate of Indian armies. Now where each

had gone in pursuit, and that the King with the Deccanies had fled, thought it prudent also to retire, which he effected with such order, that he brought back his division and the royal horses and elephants to Ahmudabad Bidur. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan and his troops, on viewing this strange reverse of fortune, retreated also. Sikundur Khan Toork on his arrival at the capital was at first rewarded by the Queen-mother for bringing her son off the field in safety; but on her learning the truth from Khwaja Jehan, Sikundur Khan was confined for his cowardice, and for disgracing the King by taking him from the field at a moment when he was on the point of gaining a victory. The friends of Sikundur Khan defended him by affirming, that he had in fact saved the King from destruction, as the two wings had dispersed to plunder, and no troops remained about the royal person; declaring that they (the Deccanies) would no longer submit to be ill used by the Moguls, who had usurped the guidance of the state. The nature of the times not allowing of his punishment, Khwaja Jehan was induced to consent to Sikundur Khan's enlargement from arrest.

Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, hearing of these dissensions and the aversion of the Deccaines to the ministers, marched on to besiege Ahmudabad Bidur. The Queen entertained suspicions of Khwaja Jehan, to whose remissness she chiefly attributed the late defeat. She was supported in this opinion by Khwaja Mehmood Gawan; and by his advice she committed the charge of the citadel of Bidur to Mulloo Khan Deccany, and retired with the King to Ferozabad. Sooltan Mahmood obtained possession of the city[114] in seventeen days after the King's departure; a great part of the country also submitted to his authority; and it was the general opinion, that the dominion of the house of Bahmuny would pass in the hands of the Khiljies, when accounts were received of the advance of Mahmood Shah of Guzerat. Nizam Shah had, previously to his retreat, by the advice of Mahmood Gawan, deputed ambassadors to request the aid of the King of Guzerat; and in the mean time, collecting his scattered forces in order to defend himself, sent out detachments to harass the enemy. The King of Guzerat had now reached the frontier

regiment or brigade has a standard, and even each gun, the courage of an army is not so readily affected.

114. The citadel or fort still held out

with an army of eighty thousand horse; and the Queen-mother having despatched Khwaja Mahmood Gawan to welcome him, Mahmood Shah of Guzerat placed a division of twenty thousand cavalry and some of his principal officers at his disposal; and the allied armies, in a short time, moved simultaneously towards the capital.[115]

Sooltan Mahmood,[116] who had been unable to take the citadel of Bidur, on hearing of the approach of the allies, raised the siege, and retreated with precipitation towards Malwa. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan detached ten thousand Deccany cavalry to harass the enemy's retreat, if he took the route of Berar, while he himself marched with ten thousand men to a position lying between Kand'har and Beer; so that the Malwa troops were exposed to be intercepted in all quarters, while the light Deccany skirmishers engaging their foraging parties cut off their supplies. Sooltan Mahmood, who, according to the best accounts, had nearly thirty thousand horse, frequently tried to bring on an action; but the minister was not to be diverted from his original plan of warfare, till at length the Malwa troops were reduced to the utmost distress for food, and the King of Malwa was obliged to listen with patience to the clamours of his mutinous army.

In this exigency, having killed numbers of his elephants and set fire to his heavy baggage, he moved unencumbered towards Gondwana; to the confines of which country he was pursued, and so harassed by Mahmood Gawan, that he lost vast numbers of his men and great part of his remaining baggage. On reaching Gondwana, Sooltan Mahmood pervailed on one of the zemindars of that country to conduct him by a route which should prevent the pursuit of the Deccany troops, and admit of his fatigued

115. The jealousy of proximate states of each other's aggrandisement seems, at all times, to check the extension of their power. The balance so repeatedly restored, and so narrowly watched, by the states of Europe, seems to have been equally regarded by the Mahomedans; and it was only when their imbecility became general, that they fell to the dominion of the Moguls.

116. It will be observed that care has been taken to distinguish the several Mahmoods now mentioned: the title of Sooltan is always prefixed to the name of the King of Malwa, while that of Shah is affixed to the King of Guzerat; whereas the Deccany minister has his peculiar appellations of Khwaja and Gawan.

army marching without molestation. In vain was it represented, that the direct road could supply but little water for some stages. The King, not sufficiently calculating this difficulty in contemplating escape from a pursuing enemy, took that route. On the very first march, owing to the scorching winds and want of water,[117] about six thousand men perished miserably; and on the next, the natives of the mountains, taking advantage of the distresses of the army, plundered the followers; for the soldiers, dispirited by their sufferings, afforded them little protection. On that day, a single cup of water sold for two rupees, and frequently was not to be had for money. When Sooltan Mahmood, after enduring inexpressible hardships, had at length wound out his way from this dreadful labyrinth, suspecting that the distress had originated from the treachery of his guide, he commanded him to be put to death. The Gond chief, disregarding life, abused the King, boasting that, at all events, he had anticipated revenge, by destroying twelve thousand men by thirst, and that his death was of no consequence, as he had three sons, and should himself be soon transmigrated into one of their offspring. From this speech, we learn that the Gonds,[118] like the Hindoos, believe in the transmigration of souls, which makes them less anxious about life, since they imagine that good actions will ensure their speedy re-animation in a future state.

Sooltan Mahmood, before the fall of the city of Ahmudabad Bidur, permitted his soldiers to indulge in every excess incident to warfare; but when he had resolved on establishing himself in the Deccan he changed his conduct, and treated the inhabitants as if they were his own subjects. He was at all times particular in regulating his dress and diet, agreeably to the holy laws concerning things pure and impure. On this account he procured his

117. It is impossible to convey to the mind of one who has never suffered from thirst and heat in a tropical climate the horried sensations which may be brought on even in a few hours. The numerous victims to long marches without water, which sometimes occur even in British armies in the East, point out the importance of previously ascertaining that an ample supply exists at each stage.

118. Ferishta appears to be aware that the Gonds were not Hindoos, a fact which is but little known to Indians in general, and to Europeans in particular. It is to be hoped that Mr. Richard Jenkins, who has devoted much time and labour to this interesting subject, will favour the world with the result of his researches.

rice, wheat, oil, and other necessaries, for his table, when in the field even, from certain farms in his own dominions, and carried vegetables planted in wooden frames, filled with soil, along with him wherever he marched. During his stay at Ahmudabad Bidur, he sent for Mowlana Sums-ood-Deen, a holy man who attended the tomb of Shah Khuleel Oolla, to whom he complained of being distressed for vegetables, desiring that he would recommend him to some gardener, whose land was his own, in order that, agreeably to the orthodox laws, he might purchase them from him at any price. The Mowlana replied, "Your Majesty must surely be in jest : it is the height of hypocrisy to invade the territories of true believers, to lay waste their country and houses, and to rob them of their property, and then to pretend punctilio on the trifling points of the law, as regard dress and diet." Sooltan Mahmood, it is said, acknowledged the justice of the rebuke, and shed tears, but observed, that kingdoms could not exist without recourse to many actions apparently inconsistent.

After the retreat of the King of Malwa, Nizam Shah despatched ambassadors to Mahmood Shah of Guzerat, with valuable presents, returning many thanks for the friendly part he had acted. Mahmood Shah returned to Guzerat, and Nizam Shah to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur. The King of Malwa invaded the Deccan in the following year, and advanced as far as Dowlutabad; but was again obliged to retreat, owing to the timely assistance afforded by the King of Guzerat a second time (A.H. 866, A.D. 1462).

It being the custom of the house of Bahmuny for children to marry in their early years, the Queen mother procured a wife for her son among her own relatives, and prepared the nuptial feast with due magnificence and pomp. On that very night, when the assembly of mirth was full, and the court rang with feasting and joy, screams issued suddenly from the royal apartments; and the voice of lamentation proclaimed with loud cries that Nizam Shah had departed this life. This unblown blossom of the plant of royalty was suddenly nipped by a destructive blast; the down of beauty had not yet diffused itself over the flower, when death struck it with the blight of annihilation. This event happened on the night of the 13th of Zeekad, A.H 867 (July 29, A.D. 1463), just two years and one month after the Prince's accession to the throne.

MAHOMED SHAH[119] ascended the throne of the Deccan in his ninth year; and the affairs of government were conducted as in the reign of his late brother, by Khwaja Jehan and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, under the direction of the Queen-mother. Ahmud, the King's younger brother, had an ample separate establishment for his support. Khwaja Jehan took the especial charge of the King's education, who made great progress in his studies under Sudr-Jehan Shoostery, a celebrated scholar of that age, so that, next to Feroze Shah, he became the most learned prince that ever filled the Bahmuny throne. Khwaja Jehan, acquiring great power and influence in every department of the estate, usurped the sole direction of affairs. He deprived many old nobles of their estates, giving them to creatures of his own elevation; and he also peculated largely out of the royal treasury, contriving to keep his colleague, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, employed on the frontiers, so that he could interfere but little in the administration. The Queen-mother, a woman of great penetration, jealous of the unlimited power of this minister, urged the King to destroy him. For which purpose she made her son promise, on Khwaja Jehan's coming to court next day, to order him to be put to death. Khwaja Jehan attended according to custom, but his suspicion was roused by the appearance of Nizam-ool-Moolk Toork with some guards. He found, however, it was too late to retire, and as usual took his place near the King. Shortly after, two female servants appearing, said to the King in a loud voice, "The Queen expects your Majesty to perform your promise to her." Upon which the King, turning to Nizam-ool-Moolk, exclaimed, "That wretch is a traitor; put him to death." Nizam-ool-Moolk, who was inimical to Khwaja Jehan, and who had been prepared for the duty, dragged him from his place, and cut him down with his sabre in the King's presence.[120]

119. Hoomayoon the Cruel left three sons, Nizam, Mahomed, and Ahmud.

120. Ferishta does not mention the date when this tragical scene happened. The King was only eight years of age when he ascended the throne, and his marriage, at the age of fourteen, did not take place till after the death of Khwaja Jehan. The circumstance, therefore, must have occurred while the King was yet a mere boy; but it only shows at

After some days, Mahomed Shah having sent for Mahmood Gawan, conferred on him the title of Khwaja Jehan, adding the duties of Vakeel-oos-Sultanut to his other functions. On the King attaining his fourteenth year, his marriage with a princess of his own family was celebrated with great splendour, and the Queen-mother, having withdrawn from public affairs, betook herself to a life of devotion. She was, however, still consulted on matters of importance, and the King waited on her every day to pay his respects. After his emancipation from the tutelage of his mother and the minister, one of the King's first acts was to make war on his neighbours. To which end, having appointed Nizam-ool-Moolk governor of Berar, he commanded him to proceed with a powerful army, in the year A.H. 872 (A.D. 1467), against the fortress of Kehrla, then in possession of the King of Malwa. Nizam-ool-Moolk laid siege to Kehrla, and several times defeated the reinforcements sent to relieve it. On the last occasion a very obstinate engagement occurred, in which twelve thousand Rajpoots and Afghans fought desperately in the Malwa army, and great numbers were slain on both sides; victory, however, in the end, declared in favour of the Deccanies, who pursuing a part of the garrison into the fort whence they had sallied, entered the gates with the fugitives,[121] and obtained possession of the place. According to the custom of the common soldiers of the Deccan, the victors gave abusive language to the conquered garrison, which so exasperated two Rajpoot brothers, that they resolved to prove to their enemies they were not deficient, at all events, in courage. When the confusion was over, and the Malwites had evacuated the fort, the two Rajpoots addressed Nizam-ool-Moolk's attendants, saying that though they had passed their whole lives in the army, and seen many brave men, they had beheld none equal to him, and they solicited permission to kiss his feet before they departed. Nizam-ool-Moolk, observing they were unarmed, ordered them to approach, upon which they came up in a submissive manner; but turning suddenly, and snatching the sabres from the hands of the nearest guards, one of them inflicted a

how early an age Asiatic despots are taught to become familiar with such sanguinary executions.

121. This mode of terminating a siege has been often practised with success, and is one of the greatest risks attendant on sallies by the besieged.

mortal wound on Nizam-ool-Moolk, after which they defended themselves desperately, till they were both hewn in pieces. Nizam-ool-Moolk had two adopted brothers, Yoosoof Adil Khan Savaee, and Duria Khan Toork, who after establishing a strong garrison in the fort, took the general's body, and marched with a valuable booty to court. The King, approving their services, raised each of them to the rank of commanders of a thousand, with the fortress of Kehrla and its dependencies in jageer.[122]

The King of Malwa, perceiving the spirit of the Deccanies to be unshaken, and fearful of their resentment for the injuries sustained in the late reign, sent an ambassador, named Shureef-ool-Moolk, with valuable presents to Mahomed Shah's court. This nobleman represented that Sooltan Hooshung had entered into a solemn compact with Ahmud Shah Bahmuny; by which it had been stipulated that the province of Berar should belong to the King of the Deccan, while the fortress of Kehrla should remain in the hands of the King of Malwa, and that a lasting peace should subsist between them and their heirs for ever. The ambassador represented, that the Deccan troops had now seized the fortress of Kehrla, and it was, therefore, required that Mahomed Shah should abide by the treaty alluded to, and spare the subjects of both states from the calamities of war.

Mahomed Shah despatched Sheikh Ahmud Sudr, to return with Shureef-ool-Moolk, to Mando with a letter, stating, that he was well disposed to adhere to the former alliance; observing, that while the Carnatic abounded on all sides with strong holds possessed by infidels, he had no occasion to employ his arms against the fortress of Kehrla. He praised God, he added, that the breach of the treaty had not commenced on the part of the house of Bahmuny; it being clear, that in the late reign of his brother, an infant, the King of Malwa, taking advantage of the weakness of his administration, had committed such outrages on the possessions of the faithful as had not been perpetrated even by the ferocious Chungiz Khan in his conquests. In conclusion he said, that as what was passed could not be recalled, he had deputed Sheikh Ahmud, a zealous promoter of peace among the faithful,

122. The revenues and management of frontier provinces were frequently consigned to military nobles, in order to ensure their defence against external attack; but the policy too frequently led to the rebellion of the officers appointed to govern them.

to the court of Malwa, and that he was prepared to fulfil whatever engagements that holy personage should enter into. Sheikh Ahmud was met near Mando by a deputation of the principal nobles, and conducted with much respect and ceremony into the city; where, being introduced to Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, he delivered his credentials, and the King's letter. The Malwites were ready to acknowledge that the breach of the treaty originated with themselves; but they hoped that the Almighty, out of his abundant mercy and goodness, would not call them to account for it. Sooltan Mahmood declared publicly that he had been to blame, but hoped it would be forgotten; and he trusted that such a treaty might now be formed, that his successors and those of Bahmuny would, in future, never act hostilely towards each other. Sheikh Ahmud, on the part of Mahomed Shah, and the Sheikh-ool-Islam, a learned divine, on the part of Sooltan Mahmood Khiljy, drew up a treaty, to which were affixed their seals, as also those of several other holy men of both states. Both princes wrote on the margin in their own hands, "Let whosoever deviates from the contents of the treaty be cursed by God, and rejected by the Prophet." The substance of this treaty was, 1. "That both parties should refrain from molesting each other's dominions. 2. That the fortress of Kehrla, as in the reign of Sooltan Ahmud Shah the Just, should be delivered up to the King of Malwa. And, 3. That whatever countries might be conquered from the Hindoos by either state should not be coveted by the other." The negotiation being at an end, Sheikh Ahmud wrote an order to the governor of Kehrla to deliver up that fortress to the deputies of the King of Malwa. After which re returned to the Deccan; and there never, subsequently, happened any contentions between these two states.

In the beginning of the year A.H. 874 (A.D. 1469), Mahmood Gawan, the minister,[123] marched with a powerful army against Shunkur Ray of Kehlna, and other refractory rajas in the Concan. The troops of Joonere, Chakun, Kolhar, Dabul, Choul, Waee, and Man, and other parts, were ordered to join him on this service.

123. He bore the titles of Mullik-oot-Toojar, the Chief of the Merchants, and Khwaja Jehan. It affords a pleasing example of the state of civilisation, when it was deemed the highest honour in the state to be entitled Chief of the Merchants.

Shunkur Ray of Kehlna[124] constantly maintained a fleet of three hundred vessels, and interrupted the traffic of the Mahomedans. Upon the report of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan's approach, the infidels contracted defensive alliances with each other, and assembled in great numbers at the head of the passes, but Mahmood Gawan, by degrees, forced all their positions. Finding his cavalry useless in the mountainous country, he sent back the horse he had brought from the capital, and contented himself with the troops under Asud Khan Geelany, with the Joonere division, and his own dependents under Khoosh Kuddum, with the troops from Kolhar and Dabul. With this army he made his way by means of fire and the axe through the woods. He lay five months before the fort of Kehlna without reducing it, and the rains setting in, compelled him to relinquish the siege; when, committing the passes to the protection of ten thousand infantry inured to the climate, and on whom he could depend, he ascended the mountains, and constructed thatched huts to pass the wet season in the district of Kolapoor, where he conquered the fort of Ramgir. After the rainy season he again descended the passes, and by stratagem and gifts of money, obtained possession of the fortress of Kehlna, which had never, till then, been in the hands of the Mussulmans. On the approach of the monsoon of the following year A.H. 875 (A.D. 1470), he took the same measures as he had done in the former season; and at the expiration of the four wet months, marched into the country of Ray Shunkur, which he reduced, taking ample revenge for the slaughter of the former Mullik-oot-Toojar and his army. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan then moved against the port and island of Goa, belonging to the Ray of Beejanuggur, sending an hundred and twenty vessels to attack it by sea, while he marched with his army against it by land; and before the Ray of Beejanuggur could oppose his design, he made himself master of the place. Mahomed Shah, on receiving information of this important conquest, ordered the nobut to beat the march of triumph[125] for seven days, and made other rejoicings.

Khwaja Mahmood Gawan having established a strong garri-

124. It will be recollected, that it was the Raja of the fort of Kehlna, the modern Vishalgur, who effected the destruction of the Mahomedan army on a former occasion.

125. This practice prevailed before the use of artillery for salutes and rejoicing.

son in the fort of Goa, and supplied it plentifully with stores of every description, returned, after an absence of three years, to the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur. On this occasion, the King condescended to honour him with a visit of a whole week, conferring upon him the highest titles, with a suit of his own robes; and the Queen-mother[126] gave him the appellation of brother. Khoosh Kuddum, the commander of his own dependents, who had behaved with distinguished gallantry in the different campaigns, was, at the general's recommendation, promoted to high rank, with the title of Kishwur Khan, and the forts of Goa, Poonda, Kundwal, and Kolapoor, were granted to him in addition to his other estates.[127] On Mahomed Shah's leaving the house of the minister, Mahmood Gawan, retiring to his chamber, disrobed himself of his splendid dress, threw himself on the ground and wept plenteously; after which he came out, put on the habit of a dervish, and calling together all the most deserving holy and learned men, and Syuds of Ahmudabad Bidur, distributed among them most of his money, jewels, and other wealth, reserving only his elephants, horses, and library; saying, "Praise be to God, I have escaped temptation, and am now free from danger."

Moolla Shums-ood-Deen asked him why he had given away every thing but his library, his elephants, and horses? He replied, "When the King honoured me with a visit, and the Queen-mother called me brother, my evil passions began to prevail against my reason; and the struggle between vice and virtue was so great in my mind, that I became distressed even in the presence of his Majesty, who kindly enquired the cause of my concern. I was obliged to feign illness in excuse for my conduct; on which the King, advising me to take some repose, returned to his palace. I have, therefore," said the minister, "parted with wealth, the cause of this temptation to evil." His library, he said, he had retained for the use of students, and his elephants and horses he regarded as the King's, lent to him only for a season. After this day, the minister always wore plain apparel; and when at leisure from state affairs, retired to his own mosque and college, where he spent his

126. The Queen-mother had long retired from public life, though in the present instance she appears to have departed from her resolution, in order to do honour to the successful general after his campaigns.

127. Khoosh Kuddum, now entitled Kishwur Khan, had formerly charge of Dabul and Kolhar.

time in the society of the learned, and persons eminent for pity and virtue. On Friday night, he went disguised through the different wards of the city, and distributed alms to the poor, saying, as he gave them, "This is sent by the King." Notwithstanding this conduct, the people of the Deccan ever prone to wickedness and intrigue, accused this virtuous minister of corruption, and brought him to an untimely end, as will be hereafter related.

In the year A.H. 876 (A.D. 1471), Ambur Ray, cousin to the Ray of Oorea,[128] complained to Mahomed Shah, that the Ray being dead, Mungul Ray, a bramin, his adopted son, had usurped the government in defiance of his prior claim to its inheritance; and Ambur Ray now promised, if the King would assist him with troops to regain his right, he would become his tributary. Mahomed Shah, who had a great desire to possess the territory of Oorea, including Rajmundry and Condapilly thought this request favourable to his views; and by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan having conferred the title of Nizam-ool-Moolk on Mullik Hussun Bheiry directed him to proceed with a considerable army to that quarter. On the borders of Orissa, he was joined by Ambur Ray with his troops, who became the guide of the army against Mungul Ray. The usurper was defeated, and Ambur Ray placed in possession of his hereditary dominions. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by Ambur Ray, now proceeded against Condapilly and Rajmundry, both which places he reduced, and by the orders of Mahomed Shah, having established proper military garrisons to ensure their security, he permited Ambur Ray to depart to his own country, himself returning with much booty to court. On this occasion, Nizam-ool-Moolk, at the recommendation of the Queen-mother and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, was confirmed in the government of all Tulingana. At the same time, also, Duria Khan, entitled Imad-ool-Moolk, was appointed governor of Berar, and Yoosoof Adil Khan Savaee, one of the followers of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, eminent for many great qualities, and whom the minister had adopted as his son, was nominated to the government of Dowlutabad, the most important post in the state. Mahomed Shah, confiding in the abilities of Yoosoof Adil Khan, directed him to reduce the fortress of Wyragur,[129] and to recover that of Antoor, which during the Malwa invasion had fallen into

128. Ooreadese, or Orissa.

129. Probably Woshagur, lying between Antoor and Ajunta.

the possession of a Mahratta chief, who did not pay proper submission. Yoosoof Adil Khan, on reaching Dowlutabad, despatched Kasim Beg Suf-Shikun[130] to reduce Antoor, and Duria Khan against Wyragur. The chief of the former delivered it up without opposition on promise of receiving quarter; but the raja of the latter place held out against the besiegers for six months; at the end of which time, seeing no hopes of relief, he sent a message to Yoosoof Adil Khan, promising, if his life should be spared, to make an offering of all his effects in the fort, and to evacuate it with his family. Yoosoof Adil Khan, agreeing to these terms, ordered Duria Khan to permit the inhabitants to retire without molestation. Accordingly, the Ray Beejy Sing, with his family and dependents, quitted the ancient abode of his ancestors, leaving behind him his public treasures and hereditary wealth. Yoosoof Adil Khan, who had come post to the camp, entered the fort the same day, and took possession of the property; after which, he conciliated the principal inhabitants and farmers of the country by assurances of his protection. He then marched against the fort of Ranjny[131] the chief of which, whose father was lately dead, surrendered on condition of his life being spared. Yoosoof Adil Khan, having selected some elephants, horses, and such articles as he deemed fit for the King's use, received the Raja (Amur Sing) under his protection, and restored to him his fort and country. Yoosoof Adil Khan now returned to Ahmudabad Bidur, where he laid before the King such sums of money and jewels, besides presenting several elephants and horses, that the rich booties of Rajmundry and Nowlgoond appeared insignificant when compared with them. Mahomed Shah accordingly conferred on Yoosoof Adil Khan great honours; observing, that whoever had Khwaja Mahmood Gawan as his father could not fail of performing important services. The King, on this occasion, directed Khwaja Mahmood Gawan to entertain Yoosoof Adil Khan for a week at his own house, with every possible magnificence. The minister observed, that without the King's presence the feast would be incomplete. Mahmood Shah declined participating in

130. This distinguished chief had long held the command of Dowlutabad; but the duties appear to have been much enlarged at this time; and the fort and district seem to have formed only a small part of the province now placed under Yoosoof Adil Khan.

131. Probably Ranjungam, the chief town of the district of the same name.

an entertainment prepared for another guest; but promised that he would honour his house with a visit of a week, after the festival to Adil Khan was ended.

Accordingly, on the eighth day, Mahomed Shah proceeded to the minister's palace, where he passed a week in continued festivity, admitting Yoosoof Adil Khan to the honour of drinking wine with him. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, on this occasion, not only entertained the King with uncommon splendour, but presented him with fifty dishes of pure gold with covers set with jewels, each large enough to hold a roasted lamb; one hundred slaves of Circassia, Georgia, and Abyssinia, most of them accomplished singers and musicians; one hundred horses of Arabia, Syria, and Asia Minor; and one hundred dishes of superb china porcelain, to be seen no where excepting in the palaces of a few great princes. On the last day he made handsome offerings to the King's sons, and all the members of the court; then presenting the King with a list of his property, which he said belonged solely to his Majesty, he desired him to take possession. Mahomed Shah admired the compliment, and having gone through the form of accepting his offer, conferred on him anew all he had seen.[132] The influence of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan and Yoosoof Adil Khan now became so great, that they were courted and envied by all the nobility; and the Deccanies, like wounded vipers, writhing in the torment of jealousy, unitedly resolved on their destruction.

In the year A.H. 877 (A.D. 1472), Birkana[133] Ray, Raja of the fortress of Belgam, at the instigation of the Ray of Beejanuggur, marched to retake the island of Goa, as did also the Hindoo chief of Bunkapoor. Mahomed Shah, on gaining intelligence of these hostile preparations, collected his forces, and moved against Bel-

132. It would have been ungracious for the King not to have accepted the proferred wealth of the minister. To refuse an offering, in the East, is equivalent to a sign of offence, and conveys a notion either that the gift is unfit to be received, or that the donor is not worthy of presenting it. This feeling renders the exchange of presents by public functionaries a matter of state policy, which, although falling much into disuse where Europeans are concerned, can hardly be abolished entirely so long as the Oriental princes retain their courts, and adhere to their national forms and habits.

133. The Oriental scholar will recognise in this penult the language of the southern part of the peninsula.

gam,[134] a fortress of great strength, surrounded by a deep wet ditch, and near it a pass, the only approach to which was fortified by redoubts. To this place the King laid siege; and Birkana, out of regard to his future safety, sent persons secretly to Khwaja Mahmood to obtain terms; but Mahomed Shah, in order to show his power and to deter other fortresses from holding out, refused to accede to any conditions, and resolved to take it by storm. He commanded the fire-workers, as they valued their own safety, to effect a practicable breach in fourteen days, and committed to Khwaja Mahmood Gawan the duty of filling up the ditch, saying that he expected to have it passable for the troops when the guns had effected a breach. Though Khwaja Mahmood Gawan during the day threw great quantities of wood and earth into the ditch, the enemy in the night always removed them, upon which he changed his operations to another quarter, and began to form trenches and dig mines which till now had not been used in the Deccan. Birkana, confiding in his wet ditch, fancied himself secure, when suddenly three mines from the posts of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, Yoosoof Adil Khan, and Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, having been conducted under the fort wall, succeeded in forming breaches. The troops of Birkana advanced gallantly to defend the place, and nearly two thousand of the King's troops fell in the attempt to storm. The besieged had nearly repaired the work with wood and stones, when Mahomed Shah, advancing to the assault, drove the enemy before him, and gained the ramparts. While in the act of attacking the citadel, the Raja himself, having assumed a disguise, came to the royal attendants, and requested to be introduced to the King as a messenger from the Ray. On being admitted to the presence, he threw his turban round his neck, and discovered himself, saying, that he had come with his family to kiss the foot of the throne. Mahomed Shah, flattered with this exhibition of confidence and magnanimity, admitted him into the order of the nobility of his court. When opposition had ceased the King entered the citadel, and gave God thanks for the success of his arms. Having added Belgam and its dependencies to the estates of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan he returned to the capital. Soon after this expedition, in which she had accompanied her son, the Queen-mother, by whose prudence the state had acquired such

134. This fort is now occupied by British troops, and is deemed one of the strongest on the plain in that part of the country.

eminence, died on the road, and the King sent her corpse to be interred with great pomp at Ahmudabad Bidur.

When the royal standard reached the city of Beejapoor, Mahomed Shah, at the request of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, halted to repose from his fatigues; and the minister endeavoured to divert his grief from the death of his mother. Admiring the situation of Beejapoor, the King would willingly have remained there during the rainy season; but so severe a drought prevailed throughout the Deccan, that the wells dried up, and the King, contrary to his inclination, was obliged to move with his army to Ahmudabad Bidur. No rain fell during the next year either, and the towns in consequence became almost depopulated. Many of the inhabitants died of famine, and numbers emigrated, for food, to Malwa, Jajnuggur, and Guzerat. In Tulingana, Marhutt,[135] and throughout the Bahmuny dominions, no grain was sown for two years; and on the third, when the Almighty showered his mercy upon the earth, scarcely any farmers remained in the country to cultivate the lands.[136]

Not long after this dreadful visitation, while the country was just reviving from depopulation, intelligence came that the garrison of Condapilly had, in a state of mutiny, murdered their governor, seized the property of his dependents, and given up the fort to Bhimraj Oorea, a person originally patronised by Mahomed Shah. Bhimraj, on this acquisition, sent persons to wait on the Ray of Orissa, representing, that if he wished to recover his hereditary dominions in Tulingana, now was the time, as the resources of the Deccan were exhausted by two years of famine, and the armies were reduced to small numbers. Bhimraj also promised to join him, provided he were admitted to share in the conquests made from the Mussulmans; and engaged for the present to allow him to retain the fort and district of Condapilly. The Ray of Orissa, availing himself of these offers, collected ten thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, and having summoned the Raja of Jajnuggur to his assistance, entered Tulingana without delay. Nizam-ool-Moolk, governor of Rajmundry, unable to cope with so large a

135. Maharashtra.

136. It is difficult for those persons who have not witnessed the calamity to imagine the distress occasioned by long droughts, and the failure of the periodical rains in tropical climates.

force, shut himself up in that fortress, and sent accounts to court of his situation.

Mahomed Shah, by the advice of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, resolved to march against the infidels in person. Having, therefore, advanced one year's pay to the troops, he began his journey with all practicable expedition. On his arrival near Rajmundry, the enemy declined meeting him in the field, Bhimraj retired to the fortress of Condapilly, and the Ray of Orissa, crossing the river at Rajmundry, retreated towards his own dominions. Mahomed Shah, enraged at this unprovoked aggression, left Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, with the Prince Mahmood Khan, at Rajmundry, and marched with twenty thousand horse to punish the rebellious idolater. In the latter part of the year A.H. 882 (A.D. 1477), the King penetrated to the capital of Orissa, and slew without mercy the inhabitants, at the same time devastating the enemy's country. The Ray having withdrawn his troops to the very extremity of his possessions, the Mahomedans ranged unmolested, and collected contributions from the people. The King, at length, determined to send for his son and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, and to establish them in the province, which he determined to occupy as a permanent conquest.

The Ray of Orissa, hearing of the King's intentions, sent repeated embassies, with presents of elephants and other valuable articles, to open the door of forgiveness, declaring, solemnly, that he would never, on any future occasion, assist the zemindars of Tulingana. To this the King replied, that if he would give him up twenty-five elephants, which he named, and which had belonged to the late Ray, his predecessor, he would make peace. Although the Ray prized these elephants next to his life, he durst not refuse; they were accordingly sent, clothed in rich trappings, bearing in their trunks chains of gold and silver. After which, the King commenced his return from Orissa.

On the road, while one day engaged at some distance from his route in hunting, he saw a fort on a high hill, and going to view it nearer with his attendants, asked some of the country people to whom it belonged. They replied, that it was the property of the Ray of Orissa, and that no power dared be so rash as to cast even a look of conquest upon it. The King, incensed at this remark, halted at the foot of the hill, and the next day began the siege, which continued a month and a half without success. At

the expiration of that period, the Ray sent an apology for the rudeness of his subjects, whom he called clowns unacquainted with politeness, and entreated his Majesty would consider the fort his own by conquest, but bestow it upon him as one of his vassals. This ingenious apology pleasing the King, he raised the siege, and continued his march.

Mahomed Shah now sat down before Condapilly and Bhim Raj, after six months, being much distressed, sued for pardon; which being granted, at the intercession of some of the nobility, he surrendered the fort and town to the royal troops. The King having gone to view the fort, broke down an idolarous temple, and killed some bramins, who officiated at it, with his own hands, as a point of religion. He then gave orders for a mosque to be erected on the foundation of the temple, and ascending a pulpit, repeated a few prayers, distributed alms, and commanded the Khootba to be read in his name. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan now represented, that as his Majesty had slain some infidels with his own hands, he might fairly assume the title of Ghazy, an appellation of which he was very proud. Mahmood Shah was the first of his race who had slain a bramin;[137] and it is the belief of the Deccanies that this act was inauspicious, and led to the troubles which soon after perplexed the affairs of himself and his family, and ended in the dissolution of the dynasty.

Mahomed Shah, according to the advice of Khwaja Mahmood, remained nearly three years at Rajmundry, settling the conquered country, and establishing proper military posts on that frontier. Having secured the whole of Tulingana, by expelling all the refractory zemindars, he resolved on the conquest of the territory of Nursing Ray, and consulted his minister on the subject of establishing a governor for the province of Tulingana. The minister replied, that no one was more capable of such a charge than Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry; and the King, approving of the choice, committed to his care Rajmundry, Condapilly, and several other places. Wurungole, and other districts, he conferred on Azim Khan, after which he began his march towards the territory of Nursing Ray. Nizam-ool-Moolk, disappointed that Azim Khan should have a distinct charge within his province, represented, that he wished to leave his government in charge of

137. The reader will recollect the circumstances which gave rise to this dynasty assuming the title of Bahmuny.

one of his sons, and attend the royal stirrup. To this application the King replied, that his object was to afford protection to the country, and he was, therefore, indifferent by whom that should be effected. It is said that Khwaja Mahmood, perceiving Nizam-ool-Moolk to be extremely ambitious, did not wish that his son, Mullik Ahmud, who had lately married a lady from the King's haram, and was more aspiring even than his father, should be stationed with him in the same province. At the time when Nizam-ool-Moolk was originally appointed governor of Rajmundry, he persuaded the King to station Mullik Ahmud under Khodawund Khan Hubshy, giving him an estate in the Mahoor district, with the rank of an officer of three hundred. Mahomed Shah, however, now complying with the request of Nizam-ool-Moolk, recalled his son Mullik Ahmud to camp, promoted him to the rank of commander of a thousand men, and permitted him to proceed as his father's deputy to Rajmundry.

Nursing Ray was a powerful raja possessing the country lying between the Carnatic and Tulingana,[138] extending along the sea-coast to Muchlyputtun[139] (fish-town), and had added much of the Beejanuggur territory to his own by conquest, together with several strong forts. He had frequently excited the zemindars on the Bahmuny frontier to rebel; and the officers on the borders, unable to control his power, had more than once represented his conduct to court, which had, at length, induced the King to attack him.

Mahomed Shah, in the beginning of this expedition, marching by a ruined fort,[140] and being told that it had been erected by one of the Kings of Dehly to overawe the borderers, halted, and commanded it to be repaired without delay. Khwaja Mahmood Gawan made such exertions that the ordinary work of two years was accomplished in the short space of six months, a garrison established, and ample stores of all kinds laid in for its defence. On Mahmood Shah finding the works completed in so short a time, he exclaimed, "The Almighty hath bountifully conferred upon me two incalculable blessings; a great kingdom and such a servant as Mahmood Gawan!" Having said this, he took off his upper robe, and putting it on the shoulders of Khwaja Mahmood,

138. It is the tract called by the early Europeans Nursinga, probably after this prince.

139. Masulipatam.

140. Name not mentioned.

took his in return, and put it on his own person. No history, I believe, records an instance of so great an honour being conferred by any king on a subject. But as the attainment of supreme favour often leads to distrust, and sometimes even to a downfall, so it happened to Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, as will be hereafter related.

Mahomed Shah, having stationed three thousand horse near the fort to protect his rear, marched onward. Wherever he came he laid waste the country, and slew such of the inhabitants as made resistance. On his arrival at Condapilly, he was informed by the country people, that at the distance of ten days' journey was the temple of Kunchy[141] the walls and roof of which were covered with plates of gold, and ornamented with precious stones; but that no Mahomedan monarch had as yet seen it, or even heard of its name. Mahomed Shah, accordingly, selected six thousand of his best cavalry, and leaving the rest of his army at Condapilly, proceeded by forced marches to Kunchy. He moved so rapidly on the last day, according to the historians of the time, that only forty troopers kept up with him, among which number were Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry and Yoorish Khan Toork. On approaching the temple some Hindoos came forth, one of whom, a man of gigantic stature, mounted on horseback, and brandishing a drawn sabre by way of defiance, rushed full speed towards the King, and aimed a blow which the latter parried; and with one stroke of his sword cleaved him in twain. Another infidel then attacked the King, whose little band was shortly engaged man to man with the enemy; but Mahomed Shah had again the good fortune to slay his opponent, upon which the rest of the Hindoos retired into the temple. Swarms of people, like bees, now issued from within, and ranged themselves under the walls to defend it. At length, the rest of the King's force coming up, the temple was attacked and carried by storm, with great slaughter. An immense booty fell to the share of the victors, who took away nothing but gold, jewels, and silver, which were abundant. The King then sacked the city of Kunchy, and after remaining therein for a week, he returned to his army.

After this achievement, Mahomed Shah having consulted

141. Conjeveram.

Mullik Hussun Nizam-ool-Moolk,[142] Yoosoof Adil Khan, and Fukhr-ool-Moolk, detached them, together with many other of the foreign officers and troops, composed of the Dowlutabad and Joonere divisions, consisting of about fifteen thousand men, against Nursing Ray. The King himself marched towards Muchly-puttun, a place also belonging to Nursing Ray, which he reduced, with all the dependent country, and then returned to Condapilly. It was at this time that Nizam-ool-Moolk, Zureef-ool-Moolk, and other officers, envious of the favour shown towards the minister, bribed several of the King's confidential personal domestics to throw out occasional hints prejudicial to Khwaja Mahmood Gawan. They lost no opportunity of poisoning the King's mind, by rendering him suspicious of the minister's ambition, and insinuated that great peculations took place in the royal revenue. At length they brought that great man to destruction, by contriving an infamous forgery. Before I enter into the particulars of this transaction, it will be proper to state the causes of the hostility of those nobles who plotted his destruction.

The Bahmuny territories having, in the reign of Mahomed Shah, became very extensive, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan thought it desirable to make several alterations in the ordinances established by Alla-ood-Deen Hussun Shah Gungoo, which were calculated for a small state. Having convinced the King of this necessity, he was permitted to carry his plan into execution. The whole kingdom, which had been originally divided into four turufs, or provinces, and placed under four governors, was now distributed into eight. Berar was subdivided into two governments; viz. Gavul being placed under Futteh Oolla Imad-ool-Moolk, and Mahoor under Khodawund Khan Hubshy, Dowlutabad was conferred on Yoosoof Adil Khan; while a tract from Joonere, including several dependent districts on the south, such as Indapoor, Waee, Man, as well as the forts of Goa and Belgam, were placed under Fukhr-ool-Moolk. Beejapoor, with many districts along the Beema, together with Rachore and Moodkul, were reserved by the minister for himself. Ahsunabad, Koolburga,

142. Although from this sentence we should naturally conclude that Mullik Hussun Nizam-ool-Moolk (a Deccany) also went, yet from the context, explaining that the troops consisted of foreigners, and were the divisions of Dowlutabad and Joonere it appears certain he did not accompany this force.

Sagur, Nuldroog, and Sholapore, were entrusted to the Abyssinian eunuch Dustoor Deenar. The country of Tulingana, at one time entirely in the hands of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, was also divided. Rajmundry, Muchly-puttun, Bilconda, Oorea, &c. still continued under his charge; while the government of Wurungole was conferred on Azim Khan. Several places in each of the eight divisions were reserved especially to meet the King's private expenses; and distinct collectors were appointed from court to manage them.

From the time of Alla-ood-Deen Shah to the present reign, it had been the custom to leave all the forts, in each province, in the hands of the governor, or turufdar, who appointed his own commandant and garrison. In consequence of this arrangement, the governors of provinces had sometimes rebelled, and it had frequently been found difficult to reduce them to subjection. By the new regulation one fortress alone was left in the governor's hands, in which he might, if he chose, reside; but the remainder were entrusted to officers and troops distinctly appointed by the King, and paid from head-quarters.

The mode of paying the army was also altered; formerly the officers of five hundred men had one lack of hoons[143] per annum; of a thousand, two lacks, whether payable in cash or in jageer assignment. Khwaja Mahmood, after the entire conquest of Tulingana, in order to conciliate the army, increased the pay of an officer of five hundred to one lack and twenty-five thousand hoons, and an officer of a thousand to two lacks and fifty thousand. In the jageer assignments it was understood, if the revenues fell short of the estimate even by one hoon, the balance was payable out of the royal treasury: at the same time, if the officers kept one soldier less than the complement, a sum equal to his pay was

143. The hoon may fairly be estimated at three and a half rupees. An estate for the support of five hundred cavalry in the field then would yield 350,000 rupees, out of which ten per cent. at least must be deducted for collectors and maintaining a police establishment, leaving a net balance of 315,000 rupees; a sum which amounts to nearly fifty per cent. more than is necessary to support an equal number, of the same description of cavalry, in the British army, in India, at the present day.

The comparison is useful and interesting; and if the statement of the historian, which bears truth on the face of it, is to be relied on, it proves how much more liberally the Indian army was paid in those times than now. The difference is greatly magnified, too, if we consider the relative value of the metals in those days and the present.

deducted from the allowances. By these excellent rules order every where prevailed, the government acquired strength, and justice was done to all parties; but this rigid scrutiny gave offence to many ambitious chiefs, who, in consequence, entertained hatred to the minister.

Khwaja Mahmood perceived their discontent; but as all his views were directed to the public interest only, he disregarded it, feeling confidence in himself and his friends. Among the most sincere of these was Yoosoof Adil Khan, his adopted son. The enemies of the minister also felt that while these two chiefs remained together no attempt could be made against either. Yoosoof Adil Khan, having, as we have seen, gone on the expedition against Nursing Ray, the two friends were separated, and a number of Deccanies[144] and Abyssinians, who had been raised to high offices entirely at the recommendation of Khwaja Mahmood, entered into a conspiracy with Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry against

Comparative Abstract of the pay of a body of five hundred cavalry, supplying their own horses and weapons, and feeding their cattle, under the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan in 1470, and under the British government in the Deccan in 1828:—

Denomination	Bahmuny Regiment in 1470: Each Rank, per Month	Bahmuny Regiment in 1470: Total of each Rank	British Regiment in 1828: Each Rank, per Month	British Regiment in 1828: Total of each Rank	REMARKS
Commandant ...	2500	2500	1000	1000	In the British service, the commandant is an European.
Risaldar	800	800	500	500	
Five Jemadars ...	200	1000	100	500	
Twenty Duffadars ...	90	1800	60	1200	
Accountant, or Paymaster	150	150	50	50	
Five hundred Privates	40	20,000	30	15,000	
		26,250		18,250	
		12 Months		12 Months	
		315,000		219,000	

144. The Deccanies and Abyssinians on this as well as all other occasions seemed to make common cause against the foreigners.

their patron, recommending that advantage should be taken of Yoosoof Adil Khan's absence to effect the destruction of the minister.

Zureef-ool-Moolk Deccany, and one Mifta an Abyssinian, were the two persons selected to execute the plot. Having laid themselves out for the purpose, they became intimate with the Abyssinian slave who kept the minister's seal, and were in the habit of drinking with him. On one occasion, when the slave was much inebriated, they asked him to affix the minister's seal to a paper, which they said was an account of one of their friends, to which the signet of several of the departments was already attached, and which only required the minister's. The slave, intoxicated with liquor, complied, and without even unfolding the paper stamped the seal on the part pointed out to him. The two wretches, overjoyed at their success, went the same night to Nizam-ool-Moolk, who wrote a letter on the paper, as if from Khwaja Mahmood to the Ray of Orissa, in these words: "I am weary of the debaucheries and cruelty of Mahomed Shah: the Deccan may be conquered with little trouble. On the Rajmundry frontier, there is no officer of any character; and that tract lies open to invasion from your quarter. As most of the officers and troops are devoted to my interests, I will join you with a powerful army. When we have, in conjunction, reduced the kingdom, we can divide it equally between us." Zureef-ool-Moolk and Mifta Hubshy were instructed to deliver this letter to the King, in the presence of Nizam-ool-Moolk. Mahomed Shah, seeing the seal, was incensed beyond measure, and Nizam-ool-Moolk availed himself of the moment to criminate the minister more deeply by false insinuations. The King, losing all command over his reason, and without weighing the probability of the circumstance, sent for Khwaja Mahmood, without even asking to see the messenger, who, it was pretended, had been intercepted carrying the letter. The minister's friends warned him against going, and recommended him to frame some excuse for not obeying that day, but to wait till the King's frenzy should abate; by which time the authors of the forgery might be detected, and brought to punishment. Khwaja Mahmood resolved to meet the danger, repeating, in reply, certain verses to the following effect: "He who dies a martyr in the fulness of devotion, has his reward here and hereafter; happy, then, would it be for me to meet with so enviable a destiny."

"My beard has grown grey in the service of the father, it will surely be honourable that it be dyed[145] red in that of the son."

Many of the chiefs attached to the minister sent messengers to him, saying, that they had heard alarming reports, but they had each a thousand horse ready, and that if he chose to fly to Guzerat, they would attend him, and sacrifice their lives for him. He replied, he had for many years enjoyed an honourable station in his master's service, during which he had been guilty of no crime; that he relied with confidence on the justice of the King, who would certainly not punish a faithful servant on the bare accusations of his enemies; but if impelled by Providence to do so, it was befitting in him to submit to the decree. He concluded by observing, that the measure they proposed, out of duty and friendship, would on his part be ingratitude and rebellion.

Having made up his mind to the worst, he went to court. Mahomed Shah sternly asked him, "When any one is disloyal to his sovereign, and his crime be proved, what should be his punishment?" The Khwaja undauntedly replied, "Let the abandoned wretch who practises treason against his lord meet with no mercy." The King then showed him the letter; upon seeing which, the minister, after repeating the verse of the Koran, "O God, verily this is a great forgery," said, "The seal is mine, but not the letter, of which I have no knowledge." He concluded, by repeating the following verse: "By that God whose commands have been fulfilled by the just, even at the expense of their blood, false as the story of Yoosoof and the wolf[146] is that which my enemies have forged against me." The King being at the time intoxicated with wine, had resigned his reason to fury, and as the decline, of the house of Bahmuny was also to be soon completed, he went into no further examination, but rising from his seat, ordered his Abyssinian slave Jowhur to put the minister to death on the spot. Khwaja Mahmood, addressing the King, said, "The death of an old man like me is, indeed, of little moment, but to your Majesty it will be the loss of an empire, and the ruin of your character." The King without attending to him, went abruptly into his haram. The slave then drawing his sabre advanced towards the Khwaja,

145. The pun here cannot be translated. In old age the white beard is dyed first of a red hue, and by the application of indigo is changed to black.

146. Alluding to the well-known story of Joseph in sacred history.

who, kneeling down facing the Kibla, (Mecca) said "There is no God but God and Mahomed is the prophet of God." As the sabre descended he exclaimed, "Praise be to God," and thus resigned his soul to the divine mercy. Asud Khan Geelany, an officer of high rank, and a friend of the Khwaja, happening to be present, was put to death by the slave also, without orders. Thus died Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. A little before his death he completed a poem in praise of his master, Mahomed Shah.

His death happened on the 5th of Suffur A.H. 886 (April 5, A.D. 1581); and Moolla Abdool Kurreem Sindy, the author of the Tareekh Mahmood Shahy, one of the servants of the Khwaja, composed the following verses on his martyrdom :

"If you would know the date, when the innocent martyr, truly worthy of veneration, whose bounty made the world glad, suffered death, you will find it recorded in

قتل نا حق

"*'The unjust Execution.'*"[147]

In another distich, the same author observes, "If you are asked the date of his death, say that

بی گناه محمود گاوان شد شهید

"*'the guiltless Mahmood Gawan suffered martyrdom.'*"[147]

There are in the Deccan many remains of the munificence of this great man, particularly a college built by him at Ahmudabad Bidur two years before his death, containing also a mosque and a large square, which at the date of this history were as entire as if only just finished.[148] Khwaja Mahmood possessed much learning; he evinced great taste in his compositions, both in prose and verse, and in arithmetic and mathematics he had few equals. The

147. The Persian words, translated in italics, afford the number 886, the date of the minister's death.

148. After the capture of Bidur by Aurunzeeb, in the latter end of the seventeenth century, this splendid range of buildings was appropriated to the double purpose of a powder magazine and barrack for a body of cavalry, when, by accident, the powder exploding, destroyed the greater part of the edifice, causing dreadful havoc around. Sufficient of the work remains, however, even at the present day, to afford some notion of its magnificence and beauty. The outline of the square, and some of the apartments, are yet entire, and one of the minarets is still standing. It is more than one hundred feet in height, ornamented with

Rozut-ool-Insha and some poems of his production are still extant in a few of the libraries in the Deccan. It was his practice to remit annually valuable presents to several learned men in Khorassan and Irak, and the princes of those parts bestowed honours upon him. Mowlana Jamy Abdool Rahman corresponded with him, and some of his letters are to be seen in his works. Among the Mowlana's poems is one written in praise of that minister. Moolla Abdool Kureem Sindy has written an excellent life of Khwaja Mahmood, part of which is here inserted.

Khwaja Mahmood's ancestors had for many generations in succession held the office of vizier to the princes of Geelan in Persia. One of these became ruler of Rushd, which territory, according to Hajy Mahomed Kandahary, continued in the family till the time of Shah Tahmasp Sufvy Khwaja Mahmood, himself of royal extraction, alarmed at the jealousy of Shah Tahasp, persuaded his mother to quit his birth-place; and though invited to fill the high station of vizier by the princes of Irak and Khorassan, he refused that dangerous office, choosing rather to become a merchant. In this capacity he travelled through many countries, and made acquaintance with celebrated and learned men in each. In his forty-third year, with a view partly to traffic and partly in order to visit the learned men of the Deccan, he came by sea to the port of Dabul, and from thence travelled to Ahmudabad Bidur, intending to proceed from that capital to Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen Shah the Second, appreciating his great qualities, prevailed on him to become enrolled among his nobility. In the reign of Hoomayoon Shah Zalim he received the title of Mullik-oot-Toojar, and rose to the first office in the state. Mahomed Shah added to this several other titles, among which was that of Khwaja Jehan. During this reign he had two thousand Moguls in his own service, and the command of ten thousand horse from the King. The following reason is given for his being called Gawan: being one day in the King's company sitting on a terrace of the palace,

tablets, on which sentences of the Koran, in white letters, three feet in length, standing forth on a ground of green and gold, still exhibits to the spectator a good sample of what this superb edifice once was. The college is one of the very many beautiful remains of the grandeur of the Bahmuny and Bereed dynasties, which flourished at Bidur; and they render a visit to that city an object of lively interest to all travellers, but particularly to those who may peruse this history.

a cow happened to low underneath, when one of the assembly jocosely remarked, "The learned minister will perhaps tell your Majesty what the cow says." On which Khwaja Mahmood observed, "She says I am one of her species, and should not keep company with an ass." When he received the title of Khwaja Jehan, he prophetically observed that he feared it was unlucky as all who had held it came to an untimely end. He was by persuasion a rigid Soony. He loyalty to Mahomed Shah was sincere; and the fame of his liberality spread over Asia; there being scarce a town or city the learned men of which had not derived advantage from his bounty. His behaviour was affable to all, and his justice unimpeachable.

Mahomed Shah having heard frequent reports of the vast wealth of his minister, sent for the treasurer, Nizam-ood-Deen Hussun Geelany, and demanded where the money, jewels, and plate of the Khwaja were deposited. The treasurer, in apparent alarm, told the King that if he would spare his life he would discover all; on which, expecting to realise a great booty, the King took a solemn oath, promising if he concealed nothing to reward him handsomely. The treasurer then said, "O Sire, my master had two treasuries, one of which he called the King's, from which were issued the expenses of his troops, stables, and household; in this there are now ten thousand larees[149] and three thousand hoons; the other he called the treasury of the poor, and in this there is a sealed bag containing three hundred larees."[150] The King said, "How comes it that the Khwaja, whose revenues equalled that of many kings, should only have so small a sum? The treasurer said, "Whenever money came from his jageer, having taken for the King's treasury the pay of his troops and stables, he gave the remainder, in your Majesty's name, to the poor, not reserving a cowrie[151] for his own use. A sum of forty thousand larees,[152] which he brought with him from Persia to the Deccan, he employed in trade, and preserving always that capital, he expended two larees daily for his own kitchen and apparel out of the profit, the remainder of which was carried into the treasury for the poor, and issued from thence in sums remitted to his mother, his rela-

149. A silver coin worth two shillings.

150. 60*l*.

151. A small shell, of which thirty went to a penny.

152. 4000*l*.

tives, and worthy persons, with whom he had made acquaintance in his travels, and who would not come to Hindoostan."

The enemies of the minister were confounded at this account; but enviously remarked, that the Khwaja was a prudent man, and suspecting his expenses might betray his riches, had left them secreted at the capital. To which the treasurer replied, that if one laree belonging to him should be found there, or anywhere, besides the sums he had mentioned, he would submit to the severest punishment. The King then assembled all the late minister's servants, and first questioned the chief furash,[153] who said, that all the tents and carpets his master had were now in the camp, except some matting in the city on the floors of his mosque and college: he observed that the Khwaja always slept himself upon a bare mat. The overseer of the kitchen was then called, who declared, that all the utensils and vessels were with him; but that the victuals for his master's own eating were always prepared in earthen pots. The librarian lastly stood forth, and acknowledged that there were in the library three thousand volumes, but all designed for the students of the college. The King now became melancholy; and the treasurer took courage to say, "O King! may many thousands such as Mahmood Gawan be a sacrifice for thy safety; but why didst thou not regard the claims of that minister, and ascertain who was the bearer of the letter to the Ray of Orissa, that his treason might appear manifest to us, and to all man-kind." Mahomed Shah, stuck with the observation, and awaking as if from a trance of stupefaction, called to the accusers of the unfortunate minister to bring the bearer of the letter before him. None could be produced; and the real truth now flashed on the King's mind : he trembled with horror at the act that he had committed, and retired into his haram full of remorse and sorrow at his rash credulity, and for the unjust sentence passed against his faithful servant and friend. The body of the deceased was sent off in melancholy pomp from the camp to Ahmudabad Bidur for interment; three days after which ceremony, the Prince Mahmood Khan and many of the nobility were directed to visit the grave.

The King now gave orders to march; but on the very same night Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan, with the Berar and

153. The controller of the camp-equipage.

Mahoor divisions, separating from the camp, moved four miles distant. Mahomed Shah, surprised at their conduct, deferred his journey, and sent to enquire the cause of their movement. They replied, that as the favourite servants of his Majesty had by their machinations destroyed such a minister as Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, they could not but be apprehensive of their own safety if they remained at court. The King, upon this, sent them a confidential message, desiring them to come to his presence, that by their assistance he might punish the traitors who had thus abused his confidence. To this they replied, that whenever Yoosoof Adil Khan should arrive, they would come with him, and throw themselves at his Majesty's feet. The King, seeing that patience and conciliation alone would avail him, sent an order to Yoosoof Adil Khan, who came with all expedition to Condapilly, and pitched his camp close to that of the two disaffected chieftains; shortly after which, they obtained whatsoever they required. Beejapoor, the jageer of the late Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, was conferred on Yoosoof Adil Khan, who was appointed turufdar; while Duria Khan, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Mulloo Khan, and most of the Mogul officers attached to him, obtained estates in that division. Futteh Oolla, Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan were confirmed in their governments, and also obtained other demands which they made. Having attended the King to Ahmudabad Bidur, these chiefs encamped without the city and refused to enter it; on which the King, finding his authority unsupported, did not give way to useless passion, as might have been expected, but submitting peaceably to their conduct, permitted them to return with due honours to their several estates. He vainly hoped, that Nizam-ool Moolk Bheiry, now appointed minister, would supply the place of Khwajà Mahmood Gawan. In order to strengthen the hands of his new minister, he loaded him daily with public honours and private benefits; but these measures only tended to render him more and more the object of jealousy, hatred, and contempt.

Some months afterwards, the King, in hopes that Yoosoof Adil Khan, Imad-ool-Moolk, and Khodawund Khan, would join him with their armies, marched from the capital; but though they accompanied him, they encamped at a distance, and paid their respects only on the line of march, standing afar off, and being surrounded with their guards. Mahomed Shah, a thousand times in an hour, regretted the loss of Khwaja Mahmood; but as there

was now no remedy, he scorned to complain, though he inwardly suffered extreme anguish. When the army reached Belgam, and the King had seen the city and fortifications, he refused to visit Goa and the Concan, though repeatedly pressed by his officers to do so, but returned to the capital. At this time, intelligence arrived that Shew Ray, Raja of Beejanuggur, had sent a large army against Goa; on which the King directed Yoosoof Adil Khan to proceed with the Beejapoor division to oppose him. He himself returned by regular marches to Ferozabad; when Futteh Oolla, Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan, quitting the army on the route without leave, retired to their respective governments in Berar.

Mahomed Shah, aware that an attempt to enforce his authority must be attended by a civil war, resolved to take no notice of this conduct. He halted for three months at Ferozabad, and endeavoured to beguile the time in pleasure; but he was inwardly a prey to grief and mortification, which wasted his strength daily. He now proclaimed his son, the Prince Mahmood, his successor, and nominated Nizam-ool-Moolk regent in case of his death. A document to this effect was drawn out in writing, attested by the signatures and seals of the learned and pious men of the court. While this paper was framing, the King frequently said, "If they do not obey me, who reigned gloriously for many years, and conquered nations with my sword, how will they submit to a child?" His weakness daily increased; but upon his return to Ahmudabad Bidur he grew better, and presuming upon it, indulged in excesses which produced a relapse. His fever had not entirely left him, when one day he drank a large cup of wine, and withdrew to his haram, which brought on a severe fit. The physicians administered to him medicines immediately, and seeing him somewhat recovered, retired. In their absence, the King, from the vulgar notion that nothing is so good to remove the lassitude from intoxication as a fresh cordial, drank more wine, and instantly fell into strong convulsions, during which he cried out that Khwaja Mahmood Gawan was tearing him to pieces; till at length he trod the path of death on the 1st of Suffur, A.H. 887 (March 24, A.D. 1482), after a reign of twenty years. The date of his death is comprised in the following verses :

"Sooltan Mahomed Shah, ruler of kings,
"When suddenly summoned to yield up his breath,
"Abandoned the Deccan, and all worldly things,
"And 'the ruin of Deccan'[154] recorded his death."

MAHMOOD SHAH BAHMUNY II.

MAHMOOD SHAH ascended the throne of the Deccan in the twelfth year of his age; and the officers then at court, such as Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, Kowam-ool-Moolk, Kasim Bereed Toork, and others, took the usual oaths of allegiance, and the coronation was conducted with much ceremony. The Tukht Feroza was placed in the grand hall of audience, and on each side of it a chair of silver. Shah Mohib Oolla and Abdool Huneef, the two most celebrated holy men of the age, having offered prayers for the King's prosperity, placed the crown on his head; then each supporting one arm, they assisted him to acsend the throne, which at this time exceeded in splendour and intrinsic value every other in the world. After which the holy men seated themselves on either side on the silver chairs prepared for them. Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry and Kasim Bereed then advancing, made propitiatory offerings, an example which was followed by all the nobles and officers present. Previously to the coronation, one of the chiefs observed, that Yoosoof Adil Khan Toork, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Duria Khan, and Mulloo Khan, some of the principal foreign officers, not being present, the coronation would be incomplete. In answer to which, Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry replied, that ill consequences might ensue by keeping the throne vacant; but that if it were thought necessary, when the chiefs alluded to return from the campaign in the Concan, in which they were at present engaged, the ceremony might be repeated, and the titles and honours of those chiefs be confirmed, or additional ones bestowed. Moolla Abdool Kureem Sindy, who was present, states, that the people regarded these contentions as portentous of those evils which ensued; for although the reign of Mahmood Shah endured for a long period, yet it was occupied in troubles and civil wars, which ended in the subversion of the Bahmuny dynasty.

154. The words are خرابی دکن

When the late Mahomed Shah ascended the throne, being but a child, many of the nobility aspired to become independent, but owing to the able conduct of the Queen-mother and Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, their designs were frustrated. When the King came to years of discretion, he soon rendered himself capable of conducting his own affairs and by degrees the power of the nobility was restrained within proper bounds. The King's policy was to enrol foreigners, such as Georgians, Circassians, Calmucs, and other Tartars, among his personal guards. He had, besides, a band of two thousand Abyssinians and Indians. From these bands were selected the officers of government, who by degrees rose to great power. Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, a converted Hindoo, was considered by the Deccanies and Abyssinians as their leader; while the foreigners attached themselves to Yoosoof Adil Khan, originally a Toorky slave.[155] The minister, Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, himself a foreigner, favouring them, Yoosoof Adil Khan was permitted to stand at court above Nizam-ool Moolk Bheiry, which offended the pride of that chieftain; and, in the end, led to the destruction of that great minister as has been before related. Yoosoof Adil Khan, by the line of conduct he adopted, escaped the snares laid for him; and being appointed turufdar of Beejapoor became daily more powerful.

On the death of Mahomed Shah, and on the accession of Mahmood Shah II., Yoosoof Adil Khan, and the foreign officers with him, having entered into engagements to support each other, came from the Concan, in great force, to the capital in order to congratulate the young King on his accession, and encamped without the city walls. Yoosoof Adil Khan, Duria Khan, Fukhr-ool-Moolk, Mulloo Khan, Ajdar Khan, and Ghuzunfur Khan, entered the city, with a thousand foreign horse, to pay their respects to the King. When arrived at the palace, though contrary to the etiquette of the court to enter with attendants, yet, apprehensive of treachery from Nizam-ool-Moolk, they were followed by two hundred armed men. Nizam-ool-Moolk met them with five hundred select attendants, and paying them the

155. I am disposed to think Ferishta (himself a Persian) uses the word *gholam*, in this place, merely to signify a devoted servant or soldier. The life-guards in Persia are distinguished by the appellation of Gholam-i-shahy, and they are composed of the sons of the most respectable nobles of the country.

most ceremonious attention, introduced these officers to the King. Yoosoof Adil Khan paid his respects in form, and assumed his place, as usual, above Nizam-ool-Moolk and all the nobility. Duria Khan sat below Nizam-ool-Moolk, but above his son Mullik Ahmud, so that in case of treachery the foreign chiefs might fall on these two ministers.[156] Mullik Ahmud Bheiry attempted to move next his father, who forbade him to do so; and in order to prevent a disturbance, which he saw from the precautions taken by his rivals would be hazardous to his person, hastened the ceremony of bestowing the dresses of honour by the King, and the dismissal of the visitors. Yoosoof Adil Khan, on coming out, took Nizam-ool-Moolk's hand, under pretence of conversation, and led him to the outer gate of the citadel, where, having joined the whole of his guards, the chieftains parted with mutual assurances of esteem and friendship.[157] After which Yoosoof Adil Khan took up his residence at his own house in the city, with a guard of a thousand chosen men for his protection, giving orders to Duria Khan and his other friends to return to camp, and to be on the alert.

Nizam-ool-Moolk the next day visited Yoosoof Adil Khan, and after many professions of regard, proposed that he and all the foreign officers should reside in the city, in order that they might attend with him at court, and assist in the management of public affairs. Yoosoof Adil Khan replied, that his kind intentions were fully appreciated, and were consistent with his own feelings towards him, but that as for his daily attendance at court, there could be no occasion for it, as he and his friends were mere soldiers, and did not profess to understand the machinery of government, which they were willing, he said, to see Nizam-ool-Moolk conduct uncontrolled, agreeably to the will of their late sovereign, leaving in their hands the execution of the King's military orders. Yoosoof Adil Khan observed, that his friends had better remain encamped without the city, as they were boisterous, and quarrels might ensue in the town between them and the Abyssinians and Deccanies. It was at length agreed that Nizam-ool-Moolk should have the post of

156. This is well described, and conveys to the mind of one who has been present at Asiatic courts a true picture of the scene.

157. To walk hand in hand bespeaks extreme friendship and esteem. Here Yoosoof had two objects. By securing the minister's right hand in his left, he not only evinced cordiality, but prevented his employing his side-arms, while he had his own right hand free.

Vakeel-oos-Sultunut,[158] and relinquish all the other great offices which he had held under the late King. By this arrangement the office of vizier was conferred on Kowam-ool-Moolk, senior; the government of Wurungole on Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior. The government of Rajmundry was made over to Dilawur Khan, Abyssinian, the chief offices being shared out equally by both parties.[159] They then repaired together to court, where the King's assent being obtained, and dresses of confirmation presented, Yoosoof Adil Khan returned to his own house, and neevr after concerned himself in the internal affairs of the government.

For a short time, the foreigners lived amicably with the Deccanies and Abyssinians; but Nizam-ool-Moolk and Kowam-ool-Moolk, senior, encroaching on the former engagement, proposed to remove Yoosoof Adil Khan from Beejapoor, and confer that province on one Adil Khan Deccany, then deputy-governor of Wurungole. With this view they sent for Adil Khan Deccany to court, together with Futteh Oolla, Imad-ool-Moolk, on pretence of congratulating the King on his accession. They came accordingly, with their troops, and encamping without the walls, entered the city, with a few attendants, to pay their respects and make their offerings to the King, who received them graciously, and conferred on them dresses as usual.

About three weeks after this event, Nizam-ool-Moolk having discovered that Kowam-ool-Moolk Toork had quarrelled with his party, now courted him, and proposed, with the assistance of the Deccany nobility, to destroy Yoosool Adil Khan, and send off his partisans to their different stations. He observed that the Deccany officers felt they could not move out of their houses even, for fear of the foreigners: on which account he recommended, that when their plan was ripe for execution Kowam-ool-Moolk should restrain the foreign troops under his orders from quitting their quarters. Kowam-ool-Moolk entered into the design; and on the following day, Nizam-ool-Moolk having seated the King upon one of the towers of the citadel, sent orders to Adil Khan Deccany[160] and

158. An office before described as equivalent to protector during the King's minority.

159. By this it is meaned, that half of the power of the state was in the hands of the Abyssinians and Deccanies, under the patronage of Nizam-ool-Moolk Bheiry, and half in the hands of the foreigners under the patronage of Yoosoof Adil Khan.

160. This person, deputy-governor of Wurungole, must not be

Futteh Oolla, Imad-ool-Moolk to pass in review with their troops before the King, previously to receiving their audience of dismissal to their governments. Furhad-ool-Moolk, the kotwal, by some means discovered the plot, and informed Kowam-ool-Moolk that Nizam-ool-Moolk's projects extended to all the foreigners without exception, and that the plan to assassinate Yoosoof Adil Khan would only be a prelude to the total destruction of the whole; so that it would be the height of insanity for the foreigners to remain passive in their houses on such an occasion. Kowam-ool-Moolk, who wished for the death of Yoosoof Adil Khan, and relying on the sincerity of Nizam-ool-Moolk's friendship to himself, paid no regard to this intimation.

Adil Khan Deccany and Imad-ool-Moolk came into the city with their troops, being the divisions of Tulingana and Berar, and drew up before the palace. Mahmood Shah, a mere tool in the hands of the minister, at the instigation of Nizam-ool-Moolk, addressing the two chiefs, told them, that as the foreign troops were become mutinous, and committed great excesses in the city, he thought it necessary to employ their forces against the foreigners. Imad-ool-Moolk, who had a sincere regard for Yoosoof Adil Khan, having placed him in security, permitted his troops to proceed under Adil Khan Deccany against the other foreigners. Kowam-ool-Moolk himself was one of the first who fell, and the gates of the city being kept shut, the Deccanies committed great slaughter on the foreign troops, who were unprepared for such an attack. Yoorish Khan, Khoosh Kuddum Khan, and other officers, the adherents of Yoosoof Adil Khan, fought their way to the gates, which having forced, they admitted Duria Khan and a body of foreign troops from the camp outside the city. It is said the skirmishing in the streets of the capital continued for twenty days, during which time no fewer than four thousand men on either side lost their lives. At length, the holy men interfering as mediators, and many foreign officers of rank having fallen, Yoosoof Adil Khan consented to quit the capital, with his dependents, peaceably, and retire to Beejapoor.

Nizam-ool-Moolk, having now the sole power in his hands, conferred Beer, Dharoor, and many other districts on his son,

confounded with Yoosoof Adil Khan Toork, the governor of Beejapoor, the friend of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, and the leader of the foreign party.

Mullik Ahmud, and on Fukhr-ool-Moolk Deccany. The latter was the son of a slave of the late minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, a good soldier and a learned man: he was raised to the rank of commander of a thousand horse, and his son received the title of Khwaja Jehan. Imad-ool-Moolk was honoured with the office of vizier, and his son, Sheikh Alla-ood Deen, was appointed his father's deputy in Berar. Kasim Bereed, who had shown great activity against the foreigners, was made kotwal[161] of the city and Meer Nobut.[162] Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior, was deputed to Tulingana, and Nizam-ool-Moolk and Imad-ool-Moolk, acting, during four years, in conjunction with the mother of Mahmood Shah, conducted all the affairs of government.

At length Dilwur Khan, the Abyssinian, envying their power, represented to the King, that his ministers paid no regard to his authority; and that, in concert with the Queen-mother, they usurped all the power of the state, treating him still as a child. This observation provoked Mahmood Shah, who authorised Dilawur Khan to assassinate the ministers. Accordingly, one night, when they were both gone to the Queen-mother's apartments, Dilawur Khan placed himself in the passage with another person, and as the ministers came out, rushed upon them with their sabres. Nizam-ool-Moolk received a wound; but as both he and Imad-ool-Moolk were expert swordsmen, they defended themselves, keeping up a running fight till they escaped out of the palace. Having now sent word to Kasim Bereed, that the King intended to assassinate him also, they fled, with their followers, out of the city. Kasim Bereed, securing the gates of the palace, prevented all access, to the King, who was reduced to such distress, that he wrote to the ministers, apologising for his conduct, and inviting them back. They insisted, however, that, prior to their return, Dilawur Khan should be put to death; which coming to his ears, he effected his escape, with his family, to Boorhanpoor.[163] Nizam-ool-Moolk, with his son, Mullik Ahmud, returned to the capital; but Imad-ool-Moolk withdrew to his government of Berar.

Nizam-ool-Moolk, in order to strengthen his party, raised Mullik Wujjee and Mullik Ashruff, two brothers, formerly dependents of Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, to high rank, appointing the

161. Chief Magistrate of police.
162. Commander of the body guard.
163. In Kandeish.

elder governor of Dowlutabad, and the younger his deputy; at the same time exacting from them promises of attachment and fidelity to his son, Mullik Ahmud. He also intrusted the command of the fortresses of Purenda and Sholapoor to Mukdoom Khan,[164] entitled Khwaja Jehan Deccany, binding him by a similar oath; and at the expiration of three months, having obtained the King's permission, his son Mullik Ahmud was sent to Joonere as his father's deputy.

In the year A.H. 891 (A.D. 1486), Adil Khan Deccany governor of Wurungole, died, when Kowam-ool-Moolk, junior, came by forced marches from Rajmundry to that city, and established himself in Tulingana. Nizam-ool-Moolk, accompanied by the King, marched towards Wurungole; on which Kowam-ool-Moolk, falling back on Rajmundry, wrote secretly to the King, warning him against the minister. That imbecile prince, as if resigned to his fate, returned no answer, but immediately gave the letter to Nizam-ool-Moolk. The King, on reaching Wurungole, received advices from Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, that the port of Goa, which in the late reign had been granted to Kishwur Khan, and by him transferred to the charge of Nujm-ood-Deen Geelany, had, on the death of the latter, been seized by one of his officers named Bahadur Geelany, who also occupied Dabul, Kolapoor, Kolhar, Punala, Sirala, and Belgam; and that, at the instigation of Yoosoof Adil Khan, he daily grew more turbulent, and committed insults on the port of Choul and other places on the sea-coast. The advices stated also, that Zein-ood-Deen, the jageerdar of Chakun, was in open revolt.

Nizam-ool-Moolk commanded his son first to reduce Zein-ood-Deen, and sent orders to Khwaja Jehan Deccany, governor of Purenda, and Mullik Wujjee, governor of Dowlutabad, to march to the support of his son. In this state of affairs, Zein-ood-Deen applied for assistance to Yoosoof Adil Khan of Beejapoor, who sent six thousand horse to join him, commanding them to encamp near the fort of Indapoor,[165] and there to watch the movements of

164. He had also the title of Fukhr-ool-Moolk.

165. The position of Indapoor was well situated for preventing the junction of Khwaja Jehan Deccany from Purenda and Sholapoor, and enabled the troops to descend into the southern Concan by the Par Ghat to the relief of Choul, almost as soon as Mullik Ahmud could reach it from Joonere.

Mullik Ahmud, and in case of his moving towards the Concan to hasten thither and oppose him.

When this news reached Wurungole, the influence of Nizam-ool-Moolk visibly declined. He was treated with slight by the King; and the attachment of Kasim Bereed, Dustoor Deenar, and the Abyssinian officers, to him, fell off. The King, who earnestly wished for his destruction, encouraged the defection of the chiefs by complaints of the minister's conduct, and authorised them to assassinate him on the first opportunity. Nizam-ool-Moolk, being informed of this circumstance, fled from the camp at midnight; but instead of joining his son at Joonere, proceeded to Ahmudabad Bidur, hoping to secure the King's treasure. Pussund Khan Deccany, who had been raised from the abyss of poverty to the rank of a noble, and was now governor of the capital, received him into the city with assurances of attachment. The minister, deeming himself secure, wrote to his son Mullik Ahmud to join him from Joonere without delay; and opening the royal treasures, distributed them with a lavish hand, in order to raise troops.

Mahmood Shah, on receiving intelligence of these proceedings, appointed Kootb-ool-Moolk governor of Tulingana, and hastened with his army towards Bidur. Nizam-ool-Moolk, finding his influence in the city declining, resolved to secure as much of the royal treasure as possible, and join his son; but Pussund Khan, contriving to delay his departure by artful practices, wrote privately to the King, advising him to advance without delay, when he would deliver the rebel into his hands. Mahmood Shah sent for answer, that if he was sincere, he would send the traitor's head to him as a proof of his loyalty. Pussund Khan, accordingly, attended by five hundred followers, went to Nizam-ool-Moolk in the palace, and pretended that he wished to converse with him in private, on affairs of importance. The unsuspicious minister, complying with his request, retired with him into a private apartment, when Pussund Khan being young and strong, seized the defenceless old man by the throat and strangled him. Having cut off his head, he brought it out, and exposing it, caused a proclamation to be made, that such was the fate due to all traitors. After which, the head was sent by express messengers to the royal camp.

Mahmood Shah having returned to the city, intrusted the direction of public affairs to his other ministers; but, impelled by the indiscretion of youth, and being addicted to pleasure, he

devoted his time to excesses of all sorts, without attending, in the least, to the cares of his kingdom. Among other instances of his folly, we may mention that of his taking the jewels from the Tukht Feroza, to set in salvers, vases, and drinking goblets.

In the year A.H. 896 (A.D. 1490), the Deccanies and Abyssinians again conspired to subvert the influence which the foreigners still possessed with the King. Pussund Khan, at length, combining with the Deccanies, agreed to assassinate Mahmood Shah, and to place another prince of the royal family on the throne. The conspirators repaired to the palace armed, lest the foreign troops on guard should come to the King's assistance; and at a late hour of the night, while he was engaged in festivity, they rushed towards the royal apartments. This occasioned some noise; but before Mahmood Shah could ascertain the cause, a number of Deccanies, admitted by the porters, who were privy to the plot, entered the King's apartment. Azeez Khan Toork, with four other soldiers of the body-guard, besides Hussun Ally Subzwary and Syud Mirza Mushudy, though unarmed, threw themselves between the assassins and the King, nobly sacrificing their lives for his safety, which gave the latter time to gain the terrace of the royal tower, which, with the exception of the haram, was the only spot not in possession of the conspirators. They were, however, gallantly opposed by a few foreigners (the companions of the King's revelry) with stones, darts, and clods of earth. The King, fortunately, was able to communicate his situation to the foreign troops. Kasim Bereed, a Toork, with some others, at the head of about five hundred men, instantly repaired to the palace, but found the doors shut. Eight persons with great difficulty scaled the walls, and sounded their trumpets. Many of the Deccanies and Abyssinians, thinking all the Moguls had entered, opened the gates to make their escape, when eight-and-twenty Moguls of Subzwar received them with a shower of arrows, which drove them back, and they attempted to close the gates again : the foreigners rushing on prevented them; and Kishwur Khan, who had gone round to the foot of the King's tower, hearing the door was open, entered without delay. The conspirators now took shelter in the Agate palace, where they defended themselves. By this time the city was thrown into the utmost consternation, no one knowing the cause; but the common people began to break open and plunder the houses of all foreigners. At length the moon rising, friends and enemies could be

distinguished. The servants of the palace, who had in the first place admitted the conspirators, now turned against them, and setting fire to the straw roofs under which numbers were concealed, put them to the sword as they ran out, while about three hundred were collected in one apartment, waiting for an opportunity to force their way at dawn of day. Sooltan Jehangeer Khan Toork now took charge of the palace gates, and despatched Khan Jehan to guard the city and market, while the horses from the royal stables were taken out and distributed among the King's friends. At sunrise, Mahmood Shah ascended the throne, and commanded the foreigners to enter the houses of the treacherous Deccanies and Abyssinians, and put them to death without distinction; he authorised them to seize their property. For three days, successively, these orders were executed, and devastation raged throughout the city, no one daring to intercede with the King for pardon; till at length one of the sons of Shah Mohib Oolla requested that the massacre might cease, and he was successful in his application.

Mahmood Shah, in order to celebrate his escape from this danger, held a magnificent festival during forty days, and went in solemn procession through the city, the streets of which were handsomely ornamented for the occasion. Regarding the royal tower as auspicious, he caused a splendid building to be erected on it, wherein he afterwards spent most of his time in a continued round of licentiousness. He totally neglected the affairs of his government leaving them entirely to the direction of his favourites. Musicians and dancers flocked to his court from Lahore, Dehly, Persia, and Khorassan; as also story-tellers, reciters of the Shah Nama, and other agents of pleasure. The people, following the example of the Prince, attended to nothing but dissipation : reverend sages pawned their very garments at the wine-cellars, and holy teachers, quitting their colleges, retired to taverns, and presided over the wine-flask. The governors of provinces seeing the court thus abandoned, acted independently, so that the royal officers only who entered into their views were permitted to retain their posts, and those who refused to connive at their encroachments were expelled. The consequence of this state of affairs became in a short time apparent; for excepting the province of Tulingana, and the districts adjacent to Ahmudabad Bidur, no parts of the kingdom in reality remained in the King's possession. The turuf-

dars, however, with the exception of Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, professed obedience to the royal authority; but their submission was only nominal. If the King, at the desire of his minister, Kasim Bereed, took the field, and the provincial governors perceived any advantage to themselves in the expedition, they accompanied the royal standard, but with a retinue before which the King sunk into insignificance; and on his return to the capital they quitted him without going through the ceremony of asking leave. To evade the mortification of standing in the royal presence, or performing the customary obeisance to the King, these governors declined attending the court; and Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, who never forgave the King for the death of his father, refused to accompany the royal standard at all, but declared his independence at once, founded the city of Ahmudnuggur, and assuming the honours of majesty, sent ambassadors to Yoosoof Adil Khan and Futteh Olla, Imad-ool-Moolk, in order to prevail on them to follow his example and read the Khootba in their own names. It was accordingly resolved by all three of those chiefs to declare their independence at an early period.

Kasim Bereed, who had chosen for himself the turufdary of Ahmudabad Bidur and its vicinity, wished that the forts within his government should be occupied by his own dependents, but the royal garrisons refused to deliver them up.[166] Regarding their refusal as proceeding from the King's private orders, he also threw off his allegiance, and endeavoured to reduce them by force. On two occasions he defeated the royal troops, and was near expelling the King from his capital, when Dilawur Khan, Abyssinian, who had taken shelter at Boorhanpoor from the resentment of Nizam-ool-Moolk, hastened with an army to his sovereign's relief. Kasim Bereed being defeated fled to Golconda, pursued by Dilawur Khan, when Providence decreed a change of fortune. In the heat of pursuit, near Kowlas, a vicious elephant belonging to Dilawur Khan, refusing the guidance of his driver, ran back upon the army, and trampled many persons to death. Dilawur Khan, seeing the circumstance, seized a spear, and with some of his attendants attempted to turn the animal, but in vain; till the elephant rushing

166. It will be recollected, that in the new regulations by Khwaja Mahmood Gawan, turufdars, or governors, had no control over forts within their provinces whose garrisons were furnished by troops sent from the court.

on, the soldiers gave way, and Dilawur Khan was seized by the furious animal in his trunk, and crushed to death. Kasim Bereed, hearing of this event, turned back upon the late victorious army, which, dispirited by the loss of its chief, fled, leaving all the baggage to fall into Kasim Bereed's hands. The King, unable to resist his power, now admitted him into the capital : a hollow reconciliation took place; and the minister, seated securely in his administration, left nothing but a nominal authority to Mahmood Shah. The historians of the Bereed Shah dynasty date its establishment from this period.

Kasim Bereed, envious of the increasing power of Yoosoof Adil Khan at Beejapoor, wrote to the Ray of Beejanuggur, that Yoosoof Adil Khan, having rebelled against the King, had assumed royal titles. Kasim Bereed promised the Ray if he would invade Beejapoor he should be rewarded by the restoration of the forts of Moodkul and Rachore. The Ray, being a child, deputed his minister Timraj, with a powerful army against Yoosoof Adil Khan, and having committed great devastation obtained possession of the two forts. Yoosoof Adil Khan, however, having effected a peace with Timraj, marched to take revenge on Kasim Bereed, who applied for assistance to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, the son of the late Nizam-ool-Moolk; offering, when his enemy should be expelled, to assist him with the royal influence in obtaining possession of Goa in the Concan, and of Punala and Mohkeir out of the hands of Bahadur Geelany, to be placed entirely at his disposal. Mullik Ahmud, assenting, induced Fukhr-ool-Moolk, entitled Khwaja Jehan, and his brother Zein Khan, from Purenda, to accompany him, and marched towards Ahmudabad Bidur, where he was shortly after joined by Kasim Bereed Toork, who had brought the King with him (though he never consulted him), and the whole proceeded against the enemy. Kasim Bereed placed the King in the centre of the army, and himself assumed an advanced position. Khwaja Jehan occupied the left, and Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk the right wing. Yoosoof Adil Khan drew up his troops as will be hereafter explained. The engagement which ensued was obstinately contested, till at length the centre, and the left under Khwaja Jehan, gave way, and the King's troops were defeated; while Ahmud Nizam-ool-Moolk and Yoosoof Adil Khan, after mutual explanations, each withdrew to his own country.

In the year A.H. 899 (A.D. 1493), Mahmood Shah Guzeraty sent an ambassador to the King, representing that Bahadur Geelany, who commanded on the sea-coast, had seized many rich ships belonging to the Guzerat merchants; and not content with committing such excesses, had sent his slave Yakoot, an Abyssinian, with twenty ships of war to Mahim,[167] which he had laid waste, without mercy, imprisoning the people, and burning mosques and other buildings, and even threatened to proceed against Surat. The ambassador represented that an army from Guzerat could not march into the country of Bahadur Geelany without passing through the Deccan, and it was impossible to convey a sufficient force by sea; therefore it was incumbent on the King to punish those excesses; but should he declare himself unequal to the task, the necessary measures should be taken by sending troops from Guzerat.

Mahmood Shah, roused by this message, resolved to reduce Bahadur Geelany, and applied for support from his vassals; who apprehensive of incurring the resentment of the King of Guzerat, and hoping to share in the plunder of the rebel, complied with his orders. Yoosoof Adil Khan sent his general, Kumal Khan, with five thousand horse, to join the royal standard; Mullik Ahmud Bheiry supplied the same number under Moetibar Khan; and Imad-ool-Moolk also furnished a body of troops under the command of one of his chief officers.

Meanwhile Mahmood Shah despatched a mandate to Bahadur Geelany, informing him of the complaints of his ally, the King of Guzerat, and demanding restitution of the places, ships, effects, and captives he had seized from that state. Bahadur Khan, hearing that a confidential servant had been despatched with this communication gave orders for his being detained on the road, in the town of Mirch, and treated with contempt the royal authority, upon which Mahmood Shah began his march, and pushed on without delay. Upon his arrival before the fortress of Jumkindy, he ordered Kootb-ool-Moolk, turufdar of Tulingana, to besiege it; but that general being killed by an arrow from the walls, as he was reconnoitring, the King conferred his office and titles on Sooltan Koolly,[168] with Bongeer, Doorgy,[169] and other districts of

167. Bombay.

168. Sooltan Koolly, entitled Kootb-ool-Moolk, who established the dynasty of Kootb Shahy at Golconda.

169. The situation of this place has not been ascertained

Tulingana, in jageer, to support his dignity. Jumkindy being taken, and delivered over to the troops of Yoosoof Adil Khan, they moved to Sunkeswur, where Bahadur Khan had taken up his residence; but before the royal army arrived, he abandoned the place, which was taken from his garrison in three days, the works not being completely finished. Mahmood Shah, by the advice of Kasim Bereed, next moved against Mirch; and the troops of Bahadur Khan having met him in the field were defeated with great slaughter, the survivors retiring into the fortress. After a long siege, the governor, seeing no hopes of relief, begged for quarter, which (with the approbation of Kasim Bereed) was granted, and the latter received twenty-five horses belonging to Bahadur Khan. At the same time assurances were given to his followers that such as chose to enter into his survice should be enrolled, and the rest be allowed to depart, but without retaining either their horses or their arms. The troops replied, that after surrendering the fort, as also their horses and arms, they could not approach their chief, and would rather suffer death. The King, admiring their fortitude and fidelity, acquiesced in their request, and gave them permission to rejoin Bahadur Khan.

On the fall of Mirch, the King marched towards Walwa; and in the mean time Bahadur Geelany, listening to the advice of his friends, sent Khwaja Neamut Oolla Geelany to make offers of submission. The King, with the consent of Kasim Bereed, agreed to pardon Bahadur Geelany, to restore some of the conquered places, and to confirm him in his remaining possessions, if he would make atonement in person, pay a sum of money, and present two elephants. Neamut Oolla wrote to his master the result of his embassy, and advised him to repair to the royal camp without delay. Bahadur Khan, however, conceiving that the King's generosity proceeded from weakness, rejected the terms. He shortly after made an attack on the King's baggage, and declared his intention to have the Khootba read in his own name at the capital of Ahmudabad Bidur during that year, and in the next in Guzerat. Mahmood Shah, enraged at this insolence, marched from Walwa to Kolhar, which he reduced; and following up his successes, Bahadur Khan's affairs declined daily, till at length he fled to the fortress of Punala, the strongest place in his possession. The King not wishing to sit down before it halted at Kolapore, intending to proceed from thence to Dabul, and amuse himself on

the sea; upon which Bahadur Khan quitted Punala, with a design to lie in wait for the King on his route. In the end, however, not daring to execute his plan, he fled, and numbers of his people leaving him, some joined the King, and others went to Yoosoof Adil Khan. Mahmood Shah, with the advice of Kasim Bereed, now detached Khwaja Jehan, governor of the fort of Purenda, to prevent Bahadur Khan's re-entering Punala; and on his arrival at Kolapore, as the rainy season had set in, resolved to halt there for some time.

Bahadur Khan now became humble, and again sent Khwaja Neamut Oolla and Mujd-ood-Deen to court with petitions, declaring, that if a promise of pardon should be sent under the royal hand, with the seals of Kasim Bereed and the principal chiefs affixed, he would come to the presence, and during the remainder of his life never depart from his duty and loyalty. The King complied with his request, and in order to allay his fears, despatched some respectable persons to conduct him to court. On their arrival at Bahadur Khan's camp, his evil stars would not allow him to submit, and he started new difficulties; upon which the King recalled Khwaja Jehan from the siege of Punala, and sent him with some other officers against the enemy. Bahadur Khan advanced to meet the royalists, with two thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot. A severe action ensued, and Bahadur Khan being killed by an arrow, his troops fled. Khwaja Jehan cut off the rebel's head, and brought it to the royal camp, where the King honoured him with a suit of his own robes, and presented him with the elephants and horses taken in the action.

Two or three days after this victory, the King went to view the fortress of Punala, and despatched Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany to Goa, to condole with his brother Mullik Syeed, and bring him to the presence. At the suggestion of Kasim Bereed, Bahadur Khan's estate was conferred on Mullik Ein-ool-Moolk Geelany; and the King, with a few of his principal nobles, went to Dabul, and sailed for his amusement along the coast, after which he returned towards his capital. On the route he spent some time at the Kalabagh, a garden near Beejapoor, planted by the late Khwaja Mahmood Gawan. On his arrival at Ahmudabad Bidur, the King despatched ambassadors with rich presents to Mahmood Shah of Guzerat. Among other articles, according to the historians of the time, he sent five muns (Dehly weight) of

pearls, five elephants, and a handsome dagger, studded with jewels; he also released Kumal Khan, Sufdur Khan, and other prisoners of distinction, taken by Bahadur Khan Geelany, together with twenty ships and cargoes which he had seized.

In the year A.H. 901 (A.D. 1495), Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk Hamdany was appointed turufdar of Tulingana, and Golconda and Wurungole with their dependencies were added to his jageer; and Dustoor Deenar was constituted governor of Sagur and Ahsunabad Koolburga. The King being persuaded that the munsubdars[170] stationed with the great officers connived at measures which increased their power, withdrew all those who were with Dustoor Deenar, and ordered them to return to their duty at court. Dustoor Deenar, offended at this proceeding, in conjunction with Azeez-ool-Moolk Deccany, went into rebellion, and having collected between seven and eight thousand Abyssinians and Deccanies, he seized some of the King's districts near Koolburga. Mahmood Shah demanded the assistance of Yoosoof Adil Khan, who joined him with an army. An engagement took place near the town of Myndurgy,[171] in which the rebels were defeated, and Dustoor Deenar taken prisoner. The King would have put him to death, but was prevailed upon, at the intercession of Yoosoof Adil Khan, not only to pardon but to reinstate him in his government. As some of the rebels had taken shelter in the fort of Sagur, the King laid siege to it, and on its reduction gave it to Yoosoof Adil Khan, after which he returned to his capital.[172]

In the year A.H. 902 (A.D 1496), Yoosoof Deccany, Yoorish Khan, Mirza Shums-ood-Deen, and others, who had the King's confidence, entered into a plot with some of the Turkish officers to destroy Kasim Bereed; but he, gaining intelligence of their designs, put them to death with all their abettors. The King, enraged at this presumption, would not admit him into his presence for a whole month. At length, through the mediation of Shah Mohib Oolla, he was, with much difficulty, prevailed on to forgive and receive him into favour; after which the King relapsed into his usual indolence and debaucheries.

In the year A.H. 903 (A.D. 1497), Mahomed Shah asked the

170. Military officers commanding troops dependent on the court.

171. Situated near Akulkote.

172. The events of this campaign are more fully detailed in the history of the kings of Beejapoor.

infant daughter of Yoosoof Adil Khan in marriage for his son Ahmud, then fourteen years of age. After much negotiation, it was settled that the nuptial ceremonies should take place at Koolburga; accordingly the King repaired to that city, where Yoosoof Adil Khan entertained him with great splendour. The knot of marriage was tied by Abd-oos-Summud, kazy of the royal camp; and it was agreed that the bride should be delivered to the Prince as soon as she should attain the age of ten years. The festival was still celebrating, when Dustoor Deenar and Yoosoof Adil Khan contended for the government of Koolburga; insisting on having not only Koolburga but also Alund, Gunjowty, and Kulliany; so that his government might be connected with that of Bidur, while Dustoor Deenar maintained that the Beema river ought to be the limits of the Beejapoor province, and required that Koolburga, Sagur, and Etgeer should belong to him. The King refusing to interfere in the dispute, Dustoor Deenar retired to Purenda; and contention grew high between Adil Khan and Kasim Bereed, who opposed his pretensions. Kootb-ool-Moolk taking part with Yoosoof Adil Khan, Kasim Bereed became alarmed, and moved with his eldest son and his followers to Alund, upon which Yoosoof Adil Khan, leaving the festival unconcluded, took the King with him, and together with Kootb-ool-Moolk, Mullik Elias, and Ein-ool-Moolk, marched against Kasim Bereed, who was defeated, and fled to Purenda. This event so strengthened the power of Adil Khan, that the King even declined ascending the throne in his presence. All the chiefs having through the influence of Yoosoof Adil Khan obtained their demands retired to their districts. On the dispersion of the army, Kasim Bereed ventured to return to court, and obtained the office of Vakeel as before, but conducted himself so cruelly towards his unfortunate sovereign, that he would not allow him even to satisfy his thirst without permission.

In the year A.H. 904 (A.D. 1498), Yoosoof Adil Khan led an army against Dustoor Deenar, who fled from Koolburga. He was persuaded, however, by Kasim Bereed to seek protection with Mullik Ahmud, Nizam-ool-Moolk at Ahmudnuggur. That chief having espoused his cause warmly, Yoosoof Adil Khan was unable to oppose him, and went to Ahmudabad Bidur, where the King wrote to Mullik Ahmud to desist from interference.

In the year A.H. 910 (A.D. 1504), Kasim Bereed died, and his son Ameer Bereed succeeded him in office, and assuming greater authority even than his father, deprived Mahmood Shah of the little power left him. Immediately after this event, Yoosoof Adil Khan, availing himself of the circumstance of Kasim Bereed's death, made an attack on Dustoor Deenar, who opposed him in battle, but was slain, and all his districts fell into the possession of Yoosoof Adil Khan. Shortly after, assuming the title of Shah, Yoosoof caused the Khootba to be read in Beejapoor conformably to the tenets of the Sheea persuasion, which never having been done before in any part of Hindoostan, the minds of all the Deccanies revolted against him. Mahmood Shah was now induced by Ameer Bereed to address letters to Kootb-ool-Moolk, to Imad-ool-Moolk, and to Khodawund Khan, stating that Yoosoof Adil Khan having thrown off his allegiance, had not only exalted the ensigns of rebellion, but had introduced the tenets of heretics in the countries of Islam; he required, therefore, the orthodox faithful to rally around the royal standard, in order to reduce Yoosoof Adil Khan. On the margin of each letter the King wrote the following verse: "He is grown so proud in the plenitude of his riches, that the sun in his eyes appears but in atom."

Kootb-ool-Moolk, with the officers of Tulingana, repaired to court without delay; but Imad-ool-Moolk and Khodawund Khan made excuses; upon which Ameer Bereed applied for succours to Mullik Ahmud Bheiry, who with Khwaja Jehan Deccany marched to Ahmudabad Bidur, and joined the King. Yoosoof Adil Khan, finding it imprudent to oppose so powerful a league in the field, committed Koolburga and Alund to the charge of Duria Khan and Fukhr-ool-Moolk Toork and leaving his son Ismael Khan, then an infant at the breast, with his mother and treasure, at Beejapoor, under the care of Kumal Khan Deccany, went to Berar, attended by five thousand chosen horse. Mahmood Shah pursued him with great expedition; and Yoosoof Adil Khan, finding on his arrival in the camp of Imad-ool-Moolk that chief not disposed to protect him, at the risk of drawing on him the whole of the King's army, retired to Boorhanpoor.

Imad-ool-Moolk, however. communicated privately with Mullik Ahmud, in order to persuade him that Ameer Bereed only desired to ruin Yoosoof Adil Khan, in order to obtain possession of Beejapoor; in which if he succeeded and still kept the King in

his hands, he would then effect the destruction of others; that therefore, it were better for the confederates to retire to their own country, and leave him to deal with the minister. Mullik Ahmud and Kootb-ool-Moolk, both entering into this view of the case, suddenly withdrew homewards, without taking leave of the King; and the next morning Imad-ool-Moolk sent petitions to court in favour of Yoosoof Adil Khan, begging the King to pardon him, and to return to the capital.

The King, at the instigation of Ameer Bereed, refused to comply; and Yoosoof Adil Khan hearing of the retreat of the two most powerful chiefs was encouraged to rejoin Imad-ool-Moolk, who in conjunction with him moved to attack the royal army. Ameer Bereed deeming himself unequal to defend his camp left it standing, and fled with the King to Ahmudabad Bidur. Adil Khan and Imad-ool-Moolk having divided the booty abandoned by the royalists, returned to their several capitals.

In the year A.H. 916 (A.D. 1510), Yoosoof Adil Khan dying, Ameer Bereed marched to reduce Beejapoor; but all his attempts proved vain, and the family on that throne increased daily in power. In the year A.H. 918 (A.D. 1512), Kootb-ool-Moolk assuming independence, ejected the King's name from the Khootba, notwithstanding which he continued to send to Mahmood Shah privately, every year, a present in money. In A.H. 920 (A.D. 1514), Ameer Bereed having levied a great army with the royal treasures, marched with the King, and took Koolburga from the garrison of Ismael Adil Shah, conferring it on Jehangeer Khan, the son of the late Dustoor Deenar, for whom he procured the title of Dustoor-ool-Moolk. This chief having collected troops recovered all the forts on the east of the Beema river, from Sagur to Nuldroog, which had been held by his father; and Ameer Bereed receiving reinforcements from Mullik Ahmud Bheiry and Kootb-ool-Moolk crossed the river with twenty thousand men, and proceeded by regular marches to Beejapoor. Ismael Adil Khan gave him battle near the city, and totally defeated him, so that he fled in the greatest confusion; while Mahmood Shah (who had fallen from his horse and received a severe bruise), together with his son Ahmud Khan, were left defenceless on the field, and taken prisoners. Ismael Adil Shah, observing the respect due to crowned heads, treated the King with attention, and provided him with every convenience becoming his high rank.

Mahmood Shah, shortly after, went with Ismael Adil Khan to Koolburga, where the ceremony of the nuptials between the Prince Ahmud and Beeby Musseety, sister to Ismael Adil Shah, were celebrated with great magnificence. The King having obtained five thousand foreign horse as an escort, marched to Ahmudabad Bidur, which Ameer Bereed evacuated on his approach, and retired to the fort of Ousa. Mahmood Shah now took possession of his capital; but soon after, the officers of Ismael Adil Shah, on hearing that Ameer Bereed had received aid from Boorhan Nizam-ool-Moolk, the son of the late Mullik Ahmud, deserted the King, and the minister returning, put him under greater restraint than before. Weary of his situation, the unfortunate Mahmood Shah found means to effect his escape to Gavul, in Berar, where he procured assistance from Imad-ool-Moolk, who marched with him towards the capital. Ameer Bereed, shutting himself up in the citadel, applied for relief to Boorhan Nizam-ool-Moolk, who despatched Khwaja Jehan to join him with a considerable force.

Ameer Bereed and his ally now sallied forth against the troops of Imad-ool-Moolk, who prepared to receive them, and drew up his army for action. It happened that the King was bathing at the time; and the messenger sent by Imad-ool-Moolk to inform him of the enemy's approach insolenty remarked, within his hearing, that it was no wonder a prince who could be so employed at such a critical moment should be the derision of his nobles. The King, stung with the reproof, and enraged at what he thought proceeded from the insolence of Imad-ool-Moolk, joined the line as soon as possible; but suddenly spurring his horse, galloped over to Ameer Bereed's army. Imad-ool-Moolk immediately retreated with precipitation towards his own country, and the minister returned triumphantly into the city with the King.

Ameer Bereed now put the King into such close confinement, that he could not possibly escape again. Mahmood Shah, wearied with disappointments, grown old, and become weak in intellect, gave up his authority without a struggle, and contented himself with the pleasures of wine, women, and the external pageantry of royalty. In the year A.H. 923 (A.D. 1517), Ameer Bereed found it necessary to march with him to Mahoor against Basheer Khan, who with his son was slain in battle and Mahoor was conferred on Ghalib Khan; after which Mahmood Shah II., returned to his

capital, where he died on the 4th of Zilhuj A.H. 924 (October 21, A.D. 1518), after a reign of thirty-seven years and twenty days of constant vicissitude and trouble.

AHMUD SHAH BAHMUNY II.

AMEER BEREED had but a small territory in his possession, and dreading, should he assume open independence, that the surrounding powers would attack him, placed the Prince Ahmud, son of Mahmood Shah upon the throne, leaving him the palace, with the use of the royal jewels and a daily allowance of money for his support; which not being equal to his expenses, the King broke up the crown, valued at four hundred thousand hoons,[173] and privately sold the jewels. The minister having obtained information of this circumstance put many musicians and others to death for being concerned in the sale; but he never could recover the jewels, the purchasers having fled with them to Beejanuggur. Ahmud Shah sent agents privately to Ismael Adil Shah, complaining of the ill usage he experienced; and the latter despatched ambassadors with presents to court; but before their arrival, Ahmud Shah II. died, two years after his accession to the throne, in the year A.H 927 (A.D. 1520).

ALLA-OOD-DEEN SHAH BAHMUNY II

AMEER BEREED kept the throne vacant nearly fourteen days after the death of Ahmud Shah, and then, instead of ascending it himself, he deemed it prudent to place the crown on the head of one of the Bahmuny family; accordingly Alla-ood-Deen the Second was selected for that purpose.

This Prince, who was by nature a person of excellent understanding, having witnessed the fatal consequences of the debaucheries of his predecessors, refrained from excesses, and turned his thoughts to reduce Ameer Bereed, whom he conciliated so much as to throw him off his guard. He then privately placed near his apartments a band of armed men, resolving to take th

173. 160,000*l*.

minister prisoner, when he visited him at the following new moon. Ameer Bereed, agreeably to custom, came with his sons to congratulate the King; but just as he had reached the apartment, one of the concealed persons happening to sneeze,[174] he was alarmed, and turning back, sent in guards to examine the avenues. The plot was discovered, and all who were concerned in it put to death. The King was deposed, after a short reign of two years and three months, and placed in confinement, in which situation he was shortly after murdered.

WULLY OOLLA SHAH BAHMUNY

AFTER deposing Alla-ood-Deen Shah, Ameer Bereed raised Wully Oolla, another son of Mahmood Shah Bahmuny II., to the throne. This Prince, satisfied with the pension that was allotted to him, refrained from interfering in public business. At length, becoming impatient of restraint, he endeavoured to procure more liberty, on which he was confined altogether to his palace. Three years after his accession, Ameer Bereed conceiving a passion for the King's wife, he caused him to be poisoned, and espoused the Queen.

KULLEEM OOLLA SHAH BAHMUNY

AFTER the death of Wully Oolla, Kulleem Oolla Shah, the son of Ahmud Shah by the daughter of Yoosoof Adil Shah, was styled King. Kulleem Oolla enjoyed nothing but the name of sovereign, and was never permitted to quit the palace. In the year A.H. 933 (A.D. 1526), the Emperor Babur conquered Dehly; upon which, Ismael Adil Shah, Boorhan Nizam Shah, and Kootb Shah, sent ambassadors to his court. Kulleem Oolla Shah, also, deputed one of his companions, in disguise, with a petition to the Emperor; setting forth, that his kingdom had been usurped, and his person confined by rebellious servants : offering, if the Emperor of Dehly would relieve him from his distressed situation, to cede to him Dowlutabad and the province of Berar. Babur, not being yet confirmed in his conquests, the kings of Malwa and Guzerat being

174. Sneezing throughout the East, is considered portentous either of good or evil; but always indicates some change of circumstance.

still unsubdued, paid no attention to this request; but the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Ameer Bereed, he treated the King with greater rigour, who making his escape to his uncle Ismael Adil Shah of Beejapoor, was received by him honourably, in hopes of using his name to his own advantage; but the King, dissatisfied with his reception, retired to Boorhan Nizam Shah of Ahmudnuggur. That Prince, at first, conducted himself so respectfully as to submit to stand in his presence; but being told, that such homage was acknowledging some defect in his own title to royalty, he discontinued the practice. Kulleem Oolla Shah, however, resided at Ahmudnuggur till his death, and with him ended the dynasty of Bahmuny. The Deccan had, in truth, before this event, been divided into five kingdoms, viz. Adil Shahy, or kings of Beejapoor; Kootb Shahy, or kings of Golconda; Imad Shahy or kings of Berar; Nizam Shahy, or kings of Ahmudnuggur; and Bereed Shahy, or kings of Ahmudabad Bidur;--the histories of which will form the subject of the next volume.

A COMPARATIVE VIEW

OF

THE CHRONOLOGICAL EVENTS IN EUROPE AND THOSE CONNECTED WITH THE MAHOMEDAN POWER IN UPPER INDIA, DENOMINATED HINDUSTAN.

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	TRANSOXANIA	DEHLY
1485	Battle of Bosworth.—HENRY VII., King of England	BABUR ascends the throne of Ferghana in Transoxania at the age of twelve years	
1488	. . . .	His succession is opposed by his uncles . . .	Bheilole Lody dies.—SIKUNDUR LODY, King
1491	End of the dominion of the Moors in Spain		
1492	Columbus discovers Hispaniola and Cuba		
1494	——discovers the continent of America	. . . .	The King of Joonpoor endeavours to recover his throne
1495	. . . .	. . . .	The war carried into Bengal
1497	The Portuguese double the Cape of Good Hope	Babur occupies Samarkand	
1498	. . . .	— abandons Samarkand in order to occupy Ferghana, but loses both capitals	
1499	. . . .	— retakes Samarkand from Sheebany Khan Oozbuk	
1500	The Portuguese discover Brazil	— evacuates Samarkand	
1503	. . . .	— is expelled from Transoxania by Sheebany Khan	
1504	. . . .	— seizes on Kabul	
1505	. . . .	. . . .	Dreadful earthquake at Agra
1506	. . . .	— unites with the ruler of Khorassan against the Oozbuks	Hunwuntgur and Nurwur taken from the Hindoos
1507	. . . .	— attacks the Arghoons, Huzaras, and Khiljies	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	TRANSOXANIA	DEHLY
1508	. . . .	The Prince Hoomayoon born	
1509	HENRY VIII., King of England		
1510	. . . .	Shah Ismael of Persia attacks the Oozbuks, and Sheebany is slain	Chundery occupied by Sikundur Lody, King of Dehly
1511	. . . .	Babur re-occupies Samarkand a third time	
1513	The battle of Flodden		
1517	Martin Luther begins to flourish	Babur is finally expelled from Transoxania, and retreats to Kabul	Death of Sikundur, and accession of IBRAHIM LODY
1519	. . . .	— invades India the first time, but retires	
1521	Mexico conquered by Cortez .	— invades India a second time	
1522	Circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan	— invades India a third time	
1525	. . . .	— invades India a fourth time	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1526	The Emperor Charles V. and Francis I. form the treaty of Madrid	BABUR defeats and slays Ibrahim Lody at the battle of Paniput, and lays the foundation of the empire of the Great Mogul
1527	. . . .	Great efforts made by the Indians to expel the Moguls.—The battle of Byana
1528	. . . .	Babur occupies Chundery and Gualiar
1530	. . . .	— dies.—HOOMAYOON, King
1533	. . . .	War between Hoomayoon and Bahadur Shah of Guzerat.—Battle of Agra
1534	The Protestant religion adopted in England	Bahadur Shah defeated.—Mando and Champanere taken, and Guzerat occupied by the Moguls
1535	. . . .	Insurrection in Bengal.—Bahadur Shah recovers Guzerat out of the hands of the Moguls, and is killed in an affray with the Portuguese at Diu
1536	. . . .	Hoomayoon proceeds to Bengal—his brothers Hindal and Kamran rebel against him
1537	. . . .	Exertions made by the Afghans to expel the Moguls.

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1539	. . . .	Hoomayoon expelled from India,—SHEER SHAH SOOR, King.—AKBUR, the son of Hoomayoon, born in the desert at Amerkote
1542	. . . .	— seeks an asylum at the Persian court
1543	Copernicus dies	Sheer Shah conquers Malwa
1544	. . . .	— takes Runtunbhore
1545	Council of Trent opens	— besieges Kalunjur—is killed by the bursting of a shell.—SULIM SHAH SOOR, King
1546	Martin Luther dies	
1547	EDWARD VI., King of England	
1552	. . . .	MAHOMED SHAH SOOR ADILY, King.—Hoomayoon recovers Khorassan and Kabul from his brothers
1553	. . . .	— raises one Hemoo, a Hindu shopkeeper, to the office of minister
1554	MARY Queen of England	Dissensions at the court of Dehly.—Hoomayoon is invited to resume the crown
1555	Protestants burned and otherwise persecuted in England	Hoomayoon crosses the Indus, and takes Dehly and Agra
1556	. . . .	Death of Hoomayoon.—AKBUR, King.—The Moguls are every where expelled, and fall back to Lahore
—	. . . .	Beiram Khan Toorkoman made regent.—Battle of Dehly, and final re-establishment of the Mogul dynasty
1558	Calais lost to England.—ELIZABETH Queen of England	
1559	Mary Queen of Scotland married to the Dauphin of France	The King becomes jealous of Beiram Khan, who quits the court, and revolts
1560	Popery abolished in Scotland	Beiram Khan is defeated, but pardoned
1561	Mary arrives in Scotland	— is assassinated by a soldier on his road to Mecca
1562	. . . .	Akbur conquers Malwa.—Insurrection in Bengal.—Rebellion of Shah Abool Maaly
1564	Death of Calvin	The city of Agra enclosed by a wall of cut red granite
1566	. . . .	Revolt in the Dooab and Joonpoor.—Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, the King's brother, usurps the government of the Punjab
1567	Darnley murdered	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1568	Mary Queen of Scotland flies to England .	The sons of Mahomed Sooltan Mirza go into rebellion, and find protection in Guzerat
1569	The Regent Murray assassinated .	Runtunbhore taken up sap
1570	William Prince of Orange proclaimed Stadtholder	
1572	The massacre of St. Bartholomew's day	Akbur invades Guzerat—is vigorously opposed by the Mirzas, who are eventually expelled
1573	. . . .	— establishes his power in Guzerat, and persuades the King to reside at Agra as a pensioner
1574	Africa invaded by Don Sebastian, King of Portugal	
1575	. . . .	War in Bengal & Behar, which leads to the final annexation of those kingdoms to Dehly
1579	Treaty of Utrecht	The King's brother, Mahomed Hukeem Mirza, occupies Punjab a second time, but is expelled
1580	Sir Francis Drake circumnavigates the globe	Moozuffur Shah, the ex-king of Guzerat quits Agra, and makes efforts to regain his crown
1581	The admirable Crichton dies	
1582	The Earl of Gowrie seizes James VI., of Scotland	
1584	Sir W. Raleigh discovers Virginia .	Overtures made by Boorhan Nizam Shah II. to place him on the throne of Ahmudnuggur
1585	Sixtus V. Pope	Akbur holds his court at Lahore, in order to watch the motions of Abdoola Khan Oozbuk
1586	Sir Philip Sidney dies	
1587	Mary Queen of Scots beheaded	
1588	The Spanish armada destroyed	
1589	Henry IV., King of France	
1590	. . . .	The invasion and conquest of Sind by Akbur's general Mirza Khan, the son of Beiram Khan Toorkoman
1592	Presbyterianism established in Scotland	

A.D.	GENERAL CHRONOLOGY	DEHLY
1593	. . . .	Moozuffur Shah of Guzerat is defeated, and taken prisoner—he puts an end to his life with a razor
1594	Bank of England incorporated .	A civil war at Ahmudnuggur, in which Akbur is solicited to take part
1595	. . . .	Moorad Mirza proceeds thither, and besieges Ahmudnuggur.—Peace is concluded.—Berar ceded to Akbur
1596	The English take Cadiz	
1597	. . . .	Death of Abdoolla Khan Oozbuk.—Ahmudnuggur again besieged and taken
1599	. . . .	Akbur invades the Deccan
1600	The English East India Company first established	— takes Asseer, and occupies Kandeish,—Berar, and part of the country south of the Godavery
1603	JAMES I., King of England	
1604	. . . .	Prince Daniel espouses the daughter of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. of Beejapoor
1605	Gunpowder plot discovered . .	— dies.—Akbur dies

COMPARATIVE CHRONOLOGY OF EUROPE AND INDIA
CONNECTED WITH
THE BAHMUNY KINGS OF THE INDIAN PENINSULA CALLED THE DECCAN

A.D.	EUROPE	DEHLY	DECCAN
1346	Battle of Cressy		
1347	. . . .	The Deccan becomes independent	ALLA-OOD-DEEN HUSSUN GUNGOO BAHMUNY elected King
—	. . . .	Bengal becomes independent	— usurps all the territory of the Deccan conquered by the Mahomedans
1351	. . . .	Mahomed Toghluk dies.—FEROZE succeeds	— makes Koolburga his capital
1356	Battle of Poictiers		

A.D.	EUROPE	DEHLY	DECCAN
1358	. . . .	. . . .	— dies—is succeeded by MAHOMED SHAH I.—Mahomedan coins first struck in the Deccan
1366	. . . .	. . . .	War with the Ray of Beejanuggur, wherein cannon are used for the first time
1375	. . . .	. . . .	Accession of MUJAHID SHAH, who renews the war with the Hindoos
1378	RICHARD II., King of England	. . . .	— DAWOOD SHAH—Hindoos renew the war.—Murder of Dawood Shah
—	. . . .	. . . .	— MAHMOOD SHAH I.
1383	Cannon first used by the English		
1386	Georgia subdued by Tamerlane		
1388	. . . .	GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN I., King.—ABOO BUKR, King.—NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD, King	
1397	. . . .	. . . .	Accession of GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN.—Accession of SHUMS-OOD-DEEN.—Accession of FEROZE
1398	. . . .	Tamerlane invades India	Dew Ray of Beejanuggur, and Nursing Ray of Kehrla, make war, but are both repulsed
1401	HENRY IV., King of England . .	. . . .	Feroze deputes an embassy to Tamerlane
1406	James I., King of Scotland . .	The kingdom limited to a few miles round the capital	— makes extensive conquests from the Ray of Beejanuggur
1407	. . . .	. . . .	— causes an observatory to be built at Dowlutabad
1412	. . . .	. . . .	The celebrated Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz reaches Koolburga
1414	HENRY V., King of England . .	Syud Khizr Khan ascends the throne as Tamerlane's lieutenant	

A.D.	EUROPE	DEHLY	DECCAN
1415	Battle of Agincourt . . .	— recovers parts of the Dooab and the Punjab	
1417	. . . .	. . . .	War with the Rays of Beejanuggur and Tulingana
1420	Madeira discovered by the Portuguese		
1421	Henry VI., King of England	— dies, and is succeeded by Moobarik	
1422	. . . .	War in Punjab . . .	Death of Feroze.—Accession of Ahmud Shah Wully.—War with Beejanuggur
1423	. . . .	War in Malwa . . .	Severe famine in the Deccan
1424	. . . .	. . . .	War with the Ray of Wurungole
1425	. . . .	Contests with the Mewatties	Mahoor taken.—A diamond mine discovered at Kullum
1426	. . . .	. . . .	The Ray of Kehrla solicits aid against Sooltan Hooshung of Malwa
1427	. . . .	War with Joonpoor . .	The King of Malwa invades the Deccan, but is defeated with heavy loss
1428	. . . .	. . . .	The name of Bidur changed to Ahmudabad, which becomes the capital
1429	. . . .	. . . .	The Concan invaded, and Bombay attacked by Mullik-oot-Toojar
1430	. . . .	. . . .	War in Buglana with the King of Guzerat
1432	. . . .	. . . .	The fort of Bidur built
1433	. . . .	. . . .	Kehrla besieged and taken by the King of Malwa
1435	. . . .	Moobarik dies, and is succeeded by Mahomed	Death of Ahmud Shah Wully, and accession of Alla-ood-Deen Shah II.
1436	The French retake Paris from the English	. . . .	The Rays of Rairee and Sonkehr in the Concan reduced to pay tribute
1437	. . . .	. . . .	War with Nuseer Khan of Kandeish

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1358	. . . .	. . . .	— dies—is succeeded by MAHOMED SHAH I.—Mahomedan coins first struck in the Deccan
1366	. . . .	. . . .	War with the Ray of Beejanuggur, wherein cannon are used for the first time
1375	. . . .	. . . .	Accession of MUJAHID SHAH, who renews the war with the Hindoos
1378	RICHARD II., King of England	. . . .	— DAWOOD SHAH—Hindoos renew the war.—Murder of Dawood Shah
—	. . . .	. . . .	— MAHMOOD SHAH I.
1383	Cannon first used by the English		
1386	Georgia subdued by Tamerlane		
1388	. . . .	GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN I., King.—ABOO BUKR, King.—NASIR-OOD-DEEN MAHMOOD, King	
1397	. . . .	. . . .	Accession of GHEIAS-OOD-DEEN.—Accession of SHUMS-OOD-DEEN.—Accession of FEROZE
1398	. . . .	Tamerlane invades India	Dew Ray of Beejanuggur, and Nursing Ray of Kehrla, make war, but are both repulsed
1401	HENRY IV., King of England . .	. . . .	Feroze deputes an embassy to Tamerlane
1406	James I., King of Scotland . .	The kingdom limited to a few miles round the capital	— makes extensive conquests from the Ray of Beejanuggur
1407	. . . .	. . . .	— causes an observatory to be built at Dowlutabad
1412	. . . .	. . . .	The celebrated Syud Mahomed Geesoo-duraz reaches Koolburga
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1440	The art of printing invented . .	Dehly besieged by the King of Malwa	The Ray of Beejanuggur enlists two thousand Mahomedan bowmen in his army
1443	. . . .	. . . .	— makes war with Alla-ood-Deen Shah II.
1446	. . . .	SYUD ALLA-OOD-DEEN, King	
1447	The Sforza family established in Milan	Thirteen kingdoms, and six Mahomedan principalities, in India, independent of Dehly	
1452	. . . .	Syud Alla-ood-Deen abdicates the throne in favour of BHEILOLE LODY	
1453	The Turks take Constantinople .	. . . .	Fatal result to the Mahomedans of a campaign in the Concan
1455	. . . .	Bheilole subdues the six independent principalities	
1456	. . . .	. . . .	War with the King of Malwa
1457	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Alla-ood-Deen, and accession of HOOMAYOON THE CRUEL
1459	Copper-plate engraving invented	. . . .	Insurrections throughout the realm
1460	. . . .	. . . .	The King commits the most unheard of cruelties
1461	HENRY VI. King of England	. . . .	His death—Accession of Nizam Shah
1462	. . . .	. . . .	The Rays of Tulingana and Orissa, as also Sooltan Mahmood of Malwa, make war on Nizam Shah
—	. . . .	. . . .	Bidur taken by the King of Malwa
—	. . . .	. . . .	Mahmood Shah of Guzerat interposes to save the Bahmuny kingdom
1463	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Nizam Shah, and accession of MAHOMED SHAH II.

A.D.	EUROPE	DEHLY	DECCAN
1467	. . . .	. . . .	War with Malwa.—Kehrla taken.—Peace concluded, and Kehrla restored to Malwa
1469	. . . .	. . . .	Entire conquest of the Concan by Khwaja Mahmood Gawan
1471	. . . .	. . . .	Siege and capture of Belgam
1472	Edward IV. King of England	. . . .	War in Tulingana and along the coast of Orissa.—Condapilly taken.—Conjeveram sacked
1474	Portuguese discover the Cape de Verd Isles		
1478	. . . .	The kingdom of Joonpoor united to Dehly	
1479	The kingdoms of Arragon and Castile united		
1481	. . . .	. . . .	Cruel execution of the minister Khwaja Mahmood Gawan
1482	. . . .	. . . .	Disunion of the government.—Death of Mahomed Shah II.—Accession of Mahmood II.
1483	Richard III. usurps the crown of England		
1485	Battle of Bosworth.—Accession of Henry VII. of England		
1488	. . . .	Bheilole Lody dies, and is succeeded by Sikundur	
1490	. . . .	. . . .	The King causes his minister Nizam-ool-Moolk Deccany to be killed
1491	End of the kingdom of the Moors in Spain.	. . . .	Ahmud, the son of Nizam-ool-Moolk, declares his independence
1492	Columbus discovers Hispaniola and Cuba	. . . .	The Deccanies attempt to subvert the government, which is saved by Kasim Bereed Toork, who becomes minister

A.D.	EUROPE	DEHLY	DECCAN
1493	. . . .	. . . .	The King proceeds to reduce Bahadur Geelany, who usurps the Concan, including Goa
1494	— discovers the continent of America	. . . .	Bahadur Geelany killed in action
1496	. . . .	. . . .	Dissensions between the King and his minister
1497	The Portuguese reach India by the Cape of Good Hope		
1504	. . . .	. . . .	Yoosoof Adil Khan of Beejapoor, and Duria Imad-ool-Moolk of Berar, proclaim themselves kings
1507	. . . .	. . . .	Death of the minister Kasim Berred, and the accession of his son Ameer Bereed to that office
1509	HENRY VIII. King of England		
1512	. . . .	. . . .	Sooltan Koolly Kootb-ool-Moolk of Tulingana proclaims himself King at Golconda
1517	Martin Luther begins to flourish	Death of Sikundur Lody, accession of IBRAHIM LODY	
1518	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Mahmood Shah II. and accession of AHMUD SHAH II.
1520	. . . .	. . . .	Death of Ahmud Shah II. and accession of ALLA-OOD-DEEN II.
1522	Circumnavigation of the globe by Magellan	. . . .	Death of Alla-ood-Deen II. and accession of WULLY OOLLA
1525	Sweden and Denmark embrace the reformed religion	. . . .	Death of Wully Oolla, and accession of KULLEEM OOLLA
1526	Charles V. Emperor of Germany, and Francis I. King of France, enter into the treaty of Madrid	Battle of Paniput, in which Ibrahim is slain, and the dynasty of Lody is terminated	Kullem Oolla flies from his capital; thus terminating the Bahmuny dynasty at Bidur, to which succeeds that of Bereed, established by Ameer Bereed, who ascends the throne.

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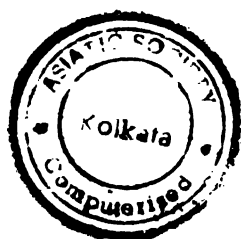
The author, Mohamed Kasim Shah Ferishta, a noted Persian historian, has tried to give a true account of the sovereigns of Delhi and of the Bahmuny kings of the Deccan. He also wrote in detail the histories of all the other Mohomedan princes who held independent sway in India during the 17th century. He continued his narrative by commemorating in the first place, the deeds of the illustrious monarchs who reigned over Bijapore. He wrote facts in simple language. *The History of the Rise of the Mahomedan Power in India* (in 4 volumes bound in 2) is the honest performance of the author.

Ferishta presented the first draft of his history to Ibrahim Adil Shah in 1606 AD and spend the rest of his life in revising it. The work has come to be regarded as a classic and still maintains a high place as an authority.

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